

1585.

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF SCOTLAND,

Written at the first by Hector Boe-
tius in Latine, and afterward tran-
slated into the Scottish speech by
John Bellenden Archdeacon of
Murrey, and now final-
lie into English by
R. H.

Wherevpon is inferred the
historie of Scotland, conteining
the beginning, increafe, proceeding,
continuance, acts, and gouvernement of
the Scottish nation, from the originall
thereof unto the yeare 1571, gathe-
red and written in English by Ra-
phaell Holindhead: and conti-
nued from 1571, to
1585, by o-
thers.

Cum priuilegio Regie
Maestatis.



To the Right worshipfull Maister
 Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the
 Requests, William Harison wistheth all knowledge
of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this
 present, and in the world to come
life everlasting.



Having by your singular curtesie received great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges already finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Le-land* our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatly fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankfulness for these your manifold kindneses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, because I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoever it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, onlie

lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expense of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiously *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpreter hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borrow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelic soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in his feare, and blesse you and my good ladie your wife with such increase of his benefits, as may most redound to his glorie,
& your own advantage.





The contents of the chapters contained
in this booke.

- 1 **O**F the bounds of Albion, with the fundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie : and finallie of the religion vsed there in old time.
- 2 The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.
- 3 The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.
- 4 The situation of Renfrew, Cliddesdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.
- 5 Of Rosse, Stranauerne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.
- 6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be seene and found.
- 7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Garcoth, with the notable cities, castels and flouds thereof.
- 8 Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland, also of the strange nature of fundrie Scottish dogs, and of the nature of salmon.
- 9 Of fundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citifus, commonlie called Hadder.
- 10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.
- 11 Of the nature of their Clarke geese, and diuerse maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.
- 12 The description of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other fundrie small Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same.
- 13 Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old and such as liued long since within this Island.
- 14 The description of an ancient Pict, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.
- 15 Of bishoprikes, vniuersities, and counties in Scotland.





The authors out of whome this historie of
Scotland hath beene gathered.

Hector Boetius.	}	Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.		Albertus Crantz.
Iohannes Maior.		Aeneas Syluius.
Iohannes Fourdon.		Edward Hall.
Rogerus Houeden.		Richard Grafton.
Richardus Southwell.		John Stow: and others.





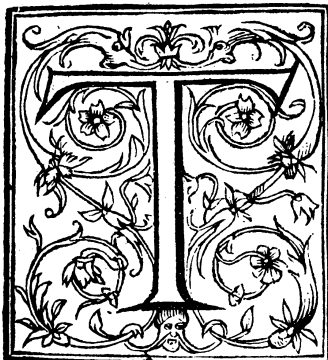
The description of Scotland, writ-

ten at the first by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and after-
ward translated into the *Scotish speech* by

John Bellenden archdeacon of Mur-
rey, and now finalle into
English by W. H.

The bounds of Albion with
the sundrie commodities thereof,
and of the great infirmities that
fall vnto the people there for
their intemperancie, and final-
lie of the religion used
there in old time.

The first Chapter.



The Ile of Al-
bion containeth
in the whole cir-
cumference, 2
9. miles, ha-
ving in length
700, & in breadth
300, as appea-
reth well by the
coast therof that
doth lie ouer a-
gainst France
where it is broad-
est, and from

thence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it
come to the utter marches & last bounds of England
and Scotland. For betwixt the Mule of Gallowaie
that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas,
and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane
ocean toward the east, are scarcelie 130 miles, and
thenceforth it groweth smaller and smaller till it
touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thir-
tie miles, as I noted before in the description of
Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horses, and
all other kind of cattell and cozne in most abundant
maner, except it be in such places where as God of
his singular godnesse hath otherwise indued the soile
with rich mines of gold, silver, tin, brasse, copper,
and quicksilver, which for the most part are so plenti-
full, that they suffice not onlie for the necessities of
the whole Island, but also of sundrie regions that are
situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skil-
full and painefull to deale withall accordingly. But
the abundance of all other things requisite for the
vse of man, that is found generallie in our Island,
maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodi-
ties, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the
great plentie of those things which heauen and earth

do minister, as grasse, cozne and cattell, foules of
sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties
of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the
same would suffice to feed and susteine all the people
of the Island, if there were none other commodities
to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border
vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland,
and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which
lie nere vnto the coast) do saile hither with great
numbers of vessels daile to fish vpon our coasts, and
buy such as we haue already caught, not onlie for
their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of
such nations as lie vpon the Levant seas, where they
sell the same at their owne wils, with very speedie
utterance. Manie other rich and pretious commodi-
ties are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the a-
forenamed nations do make no small account, be-
side these common things. What shall I saie of our
woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands,
because of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great
part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie
scarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained
and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make
this mention, because the report thereof is not yet
made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Diomachus Alex-
andrinus saith that the
wool of Brit-
taine is often
spun so fine
that it is in
manner com-
parable to
the spiders
draught.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the
kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them
from aboue, as that they might once liue in vnitie,
or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiection of
one prince, they should per long feele such a fauour in
this amitie, that they would not onelie liue franklie
of their own, without any foren purchase of things,
but also resist all outward inuasion, with small tra-
uell and lesse damage. For as touching their per-
sons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for
the attaining of learning and knowledge of hand-
crafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. There-
vnto we find them to be couragious and hardie, of-
fering themselves often vnto the uttermost perils
with great assurance, so that a man may prouoince
nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to per-
forme, if they would giue themselves to liue tempe-
ratelie, and follow their predecessors in moderation
of diet.

Therefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in
his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined
their grounds (otherwise plentifulle indued with all
kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of
wine; as foreseing that the said liquor, which bring-
eth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would
grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome to
them.

them. For they are giuen to such vnnaturall rauening and greedie desire of foireine things (whilste they contemne or not regard their owne) that they cannot refraine the immoderate vse of wine, and excelsse vled in driniking of the same: insomuch that we may see diuers to be ouertaken and haunted, not onelie with sundrie kinds of grievous maladies common to vs and them of the maine, but also manie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing at all acquainted with, as experience dailie teacheth.

Some by long sicknesse and languishing græfes doe grow into such deformitie onelie through excelsse feeding, and greedie abuse of wine, that if you knew them when they were children & yong men, you shall hardlie remember them when they be old and aged; and that which more is, in comparison of other that liue more soberlie, you will hardlie thinke them to be borne in the Ile, but rather suppose them to be changelings and monstres, brought out of other countries to gaze and loke vpon: diuers of them through the continuall vse of wine are molested in their age, with phreneticall pangs and passions. Seldome also shall you see those that are giuen much vnto wine and such welfare, to become parents of manie children, sith their naturall moisture and generatiue force is much abated, if not altogether extinguished by such immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpose, the Albanes or Britains, as Caesar in his commentaries, and Tacitus in his annales doe report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vled in old time. For in those daies the priests of Britaine named Druides, were expert both in naturall and morall philosophie, and from thence came the first professors of that sect and opinion into France. The principall seat of their priests was in the Ile of Man, which was reputed at that season for the wellspring and fountaine of all learning and knowledge, and after that their priests were once conuerted to the catholike faith, they persecuted in the same with great constancie, without anie note of heresie.

The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.

The second Chapter.

THE Picts had sometimes the principall and most fertile part of that countrie, which now is vnder the regimēt of the Scots, and after they had continued in the same by the space of 1171 yeares, ioined in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining mutuallie the warres sometimes with the Britains and Romans, and sometimes also tarring with their Scottish neighbours, at the last they fell into extreme hatred one of another, till it was brought to passe by the diuine prouidence, that the said Picts were ouerthrowne, their name extinguished, and the kingdom vniued vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scots haue bene verie oftentimes assailed with most dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes inuaded by enemies from diuers regions, yet such hath bene the fauour of almightie God towards them, that still they flourish and refine their estate inviolate.

Whatsoever we haue generallie spoken of Albion, that is chieflie to be vnderstood of the Scots, and farre greater, especiallie among the Scots, as they call them in the high land, as people that haue lesse to doe with foireine merchants, and therefore are lesse delicate, and not so much corrupted with strange bloud and alliance. Hereby in like sort it cometh to passe, that they are more hard of constitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blasts, to watch better, and abstaine long, wherunto also it appeareth that they are bold, nimble, and thereto more skilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise, they hold it with greatest constancie, as Hector hath set downe. Towards the Almaine sea, I find, that Scotland hath the Pers, sometime the most plentiful region of the Isles for their march, which so long as the said people did inhabit it, was called Deera, or Dere; but after their expulsion, it was named Pers, that is to say, the marches or limits of their countrie. In procelle of time also the Scots extended their bounds euen vnto the Tweed, which now diuideth Northumberland from the Pers.

On the other side of the countrie towards the west, sundrie small bournes descend from the Cheriot hills, and other mounteines lieng thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Annandale, and so being brought into one channell, they fall together into the Irish ocean, & stand for the bounds of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The Cheriot hills are in like sort taken for the middle marches of the region, which with certeine small brookes that fall from the same, doe separate both the countries, whereby their limits are knowne. The Pers hath vnder marches at seuerall places (whither it is extended) as sometime the Germane sea, sometime east Lothian, sometime the Tweed, and sometime the Forth, and among manie strong holds and castles, that stand vpon the borders, is the towne and castell of Barwicke in time past called Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci (if Hector be not decciued.)

The Tweed springeth out from a meane head, and after his augmentation with other small waters that fall into the same, it descendeth with a large course into the Almaine sea. Beyond the Tweed, to the middle march vnder the Cheriot hills lieth Eildale, that is to say, the vale of Tisse: beyond it is Eskdale, or the vale of Esk, of a riuer so called that runneth through the same: ouer against Eskdale on the other side lieth Cusdale, so named of the riuer Cus that passeth thereby, and falleth into the water of Annand: but Esk and Cus doe run into the Tweed: furthermore, on the west side ouer against the Irish sea, lieth Annandale, wherunto the Annand water giueth denomination, which marcheth sometimes without the bounds of Northumberland, where all the three riuers aforesaid, that is to say, Cus, Annand and Sulway descend together in one bottome into the Irish seas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochmaben, five miles in length and foure in bredth, not onlie berie full of fish, but of such kind as few men are acquainted with. Beside this lake also there is a castell of the same name, builded of purpose to restrain the furious dealing of thæues which doe great hurt in those quarters. For not onlie in Annandale, but in all the dales or vales aforesaid, are manie strong thæues, which often spoile the countrie, and exercise much cruell slaughter vpon such as inhabit there, in anie troublous time. These robbers (because the English doe border vpon their drie marches, and are their perpetuall enemies) doe often make forcible rodes into the English bounds, for their better maintenance and sustentation, or else they

they pilfer p'sonallie from them, as men leauing in the meane season a poore beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so inbred to theft and rapine, that they cannot leane off to sleale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled therefore, yet they thinke it praise-worthie to molest their aduersarie, as they call the truer sort, whereby it cometh to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plenty of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perillous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Arxand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yielded themselves vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at anie time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to give occasion vnto other men to stand to their sackings at euerie such aduenture. On the west borders and also toward the north lieth Riddesdale, so called of the water of Riddes. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing broader in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally restreyneth it selfe againe, till it cometh at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scottish writers doe report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunfrise, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought vp and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cuningham, with the notable townes, lakes and riuers in the same.

The third Chapter.

ABoue Riddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth nearest to Riddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcubryie, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbete dedicated to saint Pinian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honored of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Spirton, the one halfe whereof doth freeze by naturall congelation as other poles and plashes doe; but the other is neuer scene to beate anie yce at all, which vnto me doth seeme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreover are two other lakes, the Sallet and the Peutrarnen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochmirkton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nake) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nake, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Kean and Lois, except I be deceiued,

one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oysters, herrings, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, sith the Romans write that Span the Island lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betwene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the brates or baies are now moze wider & further distant each from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & elevation of the pole that Ptolomie ascribed to the Brigants, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Span lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spanissh (we affirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a new companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilst they were in Spaine, they called themselves Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth seeme to leane, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the uttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Arntandale, Riddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fiske wools and stoe of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carrike, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinlie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carrike, whose ruines doe yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into thre parts, to wit, Carrike, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carrike the noble citie: and in this countrie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicat and verie tender to be eaten, the fallow moreover of their wombs is so moist and sapie that it neuer wareth hard, but relenteth of the owne accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carrike is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime Raine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Ayr, full 30 foot high, and thre elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth seeme vnpossible, neuertheless the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatsoeuer the noise be. Pert to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Downe, from whence the riuier Downe doth runne through the middelt of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Carnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Downe, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is daile found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of moze reputation among vs.

Read in the Latine Hector. 12 foot in high 30 foot in length, and thre elns thick.

The description of Scotland.

The situation of Renfrew, Clideldale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Louchquhaber, Lorne, and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.

The fourth Chapter.

The water of Clide divideth Lennox on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the same hill in Calidonwood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this riuer Gluda, and Cluda: but Tacitus nameth it Clota. Not far also from the fountaines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clude hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth somewhat inward, till it come to the mountaine of Granzeben, & from thence heldeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clideldale. Betwixt Clide and Lennox lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two poles named Dubinsouth and Leboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compasse, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennox, that lieth next aboute Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Belgouia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this thin or pole are 30 Ilands, well replisht with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things worthy consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicate fishes there bred doe want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not adventure to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitfull and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which flateth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situat at the foot of the hill called Granzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Picts, and are extended from Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dæ. Certes the Picts had no part of the countrie beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmond is the castell of Dumbaittine named sometime Alclud, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmund is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that divide the region into three parts, that in the middest being called Innapdale. In Lochfine is more plentie of hering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Iland, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vsuallie had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are moreover in Argile two castels, Glenquhart and Enconell, & in it are 12 Iles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone

of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certaine season, it will kindle of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and breadth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Gartholl, one of the poles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the yeare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a grethound, and footed like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streining of himselfe ouertholw huge okes with his taile, & therevnto killed three men out-right that hunted him with three stroks of his said taile, the rest of them sauing themselves in trees thereabouts, whilst the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sights, beleue that this beast is neuer sene but against some great trouble & mischief to come vpon the realme of Scotland. For it hath bene described also before that time, although not verie often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in manner of a cape or tong, full firtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kintire (that is to saie) the head of Lorne, whose vttermoost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authoers affirme, that both Argile and Cantire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lorne is great abundance of barleie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrey land, verie rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse benefick all to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie riuers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samons, and other delicate fish, as well of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certaintie. The Lochtie riseth not above eight miles from Lochnes, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnomorth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne name Inuerlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their daillie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recouer his pishinate renowne. But whether the negligence of the due repaire of this towne, proceeded of the sloth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons doe beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncertaine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstaffage, in time past named Euonium: beyond Dunstaffage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

The discourse of Ros, Stranauerne, & Murrey land, with the lakes, riuers, and notable townes in them.

The fift Chapter.

Byond the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middest of

of the Island, being environed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nearest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauell by the countrie, by reason of the high mounteins, which maketh the countrie more apt for wild beasts than mankind to inhabit: neuertheless the waring more fertill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it yieldeth it selfe to culture, and rendreth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogether unprofitable, fith there is good grasse and verie batable for their heards: for the vallies there, being watered with sundrie pleasant streames, doe yeld a sweet and verie sauorie grasse, wherewith all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Kos are sundrie lakes, but Lochbryn is the greatest. There are also manie fresh rivers, fraught with excellent fish, and finally a notable firth or safe haven called Cromart, wherunto diuers in time of necessitie doe resort, to avoid the danger of shipwacke, that otherwise would assuredlie annoy them. The Scottish men call it Heill of Shipmen. In this region moreover is the towne called Thane, where the bones of Dunho an holy man (as they say) do rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole Island) than the holie gospell of God and merits of his sonne, whereby we are onelie saued. Two ancient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Kos, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I do not find. Next vnto the said Kos lieth the Stranauerne, as the uttermost region of Scotland, the coasts whereof abutting for a while vpon the Wencalidon sea, doe afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partlie the Wencalidon coast, and partlie Cathnesse vpon the north side, Southerland on the east, Rossia on the south, and Wencalidon againe vpon the west. There are thre great crags or points lieng on the uttermost side of Stranauerne, that is to saie, the Hoie, Hoinbryn (the greatest of the thre) and Dounisbie, which because they shoot farre off into the sea, doe make two great firths and lakes, each of them being severallie distinguished from other.

Next vnto Cathnesse lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of prouision, but chieslie for the nourishment of bestiall, wherunto it chieslie inclineth, as doe the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this lieth Murrey land, sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betwene Spate and Pesse to the Irish sea, was named Murrey; now it is knowne to be onlie beyond the water of Spate & Killocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Kos and Murrey land, is a great baie, and likewise a descent of sundrie waters: for thereinto fall the Pesse, Barden, Findoyme, Los and Spate, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce & violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the floud struing to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the invincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Pesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said plash, from whence the Lochtie runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the streame, neither the lake it selfe will yeld to be frozen in the verie deepe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie yce or anie frozen substance be cast thereinto, it will by and by relent and dissolue againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benumbed with cold. In the mouth of the Pesse, standeth a towne called Inuernesse, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be

gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuiling the commoditie of the poore inhabitants, will often seme to bereue them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Wher vpon (as they say) it commeth to passe, that the increase of stonnes decateth, and verie small stoeze is taken there by manie yeares after such iniurie offered.

But to proceed: beside Lochness, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in breadth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great stoeze of sauage beasts, as harts, wild hoxses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martins, beuers, fores & wezels, whose skins and cases are sold vnto strangers at huge and excellent prices. In Murrey land also is not alonellie great plentie of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples, but likewise of all kinds of fish, and especiallie of samon. The people thereof in like sort doe vse a strange manner of fishing: for they make a long wele of twicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide commeth, the fish shoot themselves into the same, and forthwith are so inclosed that whilst the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region moreover is a lake named Spiney, wherein is exceeding plentie of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose seed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangirs: and herevnto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be fure miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stozed with samon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiplie vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by meanes whereof all the great fishes there be utterlie consumed. In this portion furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little John remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcase hath bene 14 foot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yeeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his hand bone, which seemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse thereof, whereby it appeareth what mightie people grew vp in our region before they were overcome with gluttonie and excess. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the mouth of Spate, and therein is a cathedrall church furnished with canons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthy abbeies in Murrey, as Killos of the order of the Cister, aur, and Plucardie of the Cluniaks.

This was no Scot but an Englishman, fled into Ireland, and then into Scotland

Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbies, townes, and other notable things contained in the same.

The sixth Chapter.

Next vnto the Murrey lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertill and plentifull regions, which extend their bounds euen vnto the seas. They are both verie notable indowed with batable pastures, and by reason thereof are verie full of

The description of Scotland.

of cattell, they yeld mozeouer excellent corne, and by meanes of their large woods and forrests not without great store of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. There also vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuer maruellouslie stozed with fish, standeth a towne named Samse, and vnder these two regions aforesaid lieth Buchquhane, a verie batable soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose wool excedeth that of the like beast of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and fineness. The riuers that are in this countrie do in like maner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Kattra onellie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath bene sene: herein also standeth the castell of Slants; in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and nere vnto the same is a marvellous caue: for the water that droppeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had bene off remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled by with the same manie yeeres agone.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: finally it is most marvellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselves without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked fends do captivate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogether impossible. Next vnto this lieth the great region of Mar, which is verie plentiful of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Wadzenoch. In this is the citie of Aberdeen, wherein is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the De, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Next vnto Mar, we haue Pernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dunnother the marshall of Scotlands house, and likewise the towne of Foridon, in which the bones of Palladius do rest, who is taken generally for the apostle of our nation. The water of Eske is bound vnto this region, which is otherwise called Fortheske, a verie dangerous channell, and wherein manie haue perished for default of a brydge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Pernis, it was sometime part of Forrestia, and now watered with thre notable riuers, as the Fortheske already mentioned, and maruellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southeske; and finally the Taie, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tau.

In Angus also is an high mountaine or promontorie called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Taie also runneth farre beyond the mounteins of Granzben out of loch Taie, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Ilands, with castles in them, but the water of the lake it selfe (being most

fine and subtil) is notablie replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea beside Dumdee, a towne called in old time Aledum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weaving and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Mountrous, Brechin, and Forfaire, beside so manie castles as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed over with silence, that whereas Forfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castles, as the ruines do yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Eske, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wool, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Iland.

After we be ouer the Taie, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Dttoline. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifulle as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resolute and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I do know of) but betwene the Taie and the Tine within the whole Iland. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie cities in the same, of which S. Andrews is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are mozeouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerse Isles, and in one of them also the church of S. Phillane, a Scotch saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large & broad channell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifulle indued with cockles, oysters, muskels, scales, pellocks, mereswine, whales, and great foison of white fish: and among manie other Isles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Paie is of greatest fame, because Adrian and his fellows were killed in the same. In the midst of this Ile springeth by a founteine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a litle to be marvelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull crag, rising within the sea, whereto is so strait and narrow a passage, that a man shall hardlie come vnto it by a fischer bote, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Ballescastell) is inuincible, and therein are manie causes verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therein also is great store of soland geese (not vnlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or (as we saie) sea herons) and no where else but in Ailsate and this rocke. At their first coming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plentie of sticks and boughs together for the building of their nests, that the same do satiffie the keeper of the castell, for the percellie maintenance of his felwell, without anie other provision. These fowles do feed their yong with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue already preyed vpon anie one, and haue it fast

it fast in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, untill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their prey is taken from them by the keepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, doe turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished up their young with the other, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their prey, and stealing awaie of their young, they bring yearly no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these geese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medicine, and stealing likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the goot and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken vp and planted elswhere, it either groweth not at all, or utterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earst indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if antie salt water had bene poured thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and taste. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be seene in Fast castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the triall of this matter. In this firch also is the Ile Aimon, wherein is an abbete. There are likewise diuers other Ilands, and those are verie full of conies; and in the said firch are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with cowles hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselves likewise about the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight doth breed great terror vnto the Scottish nation, who are verie great obseruers of vncomly signes & tokens.

The description of Louthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bouge-wall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels, and flouds thereof.

The seuenth Chapter.



Of the south of the Forth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Picts, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scottish kingdome, & therefore for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castels and towne, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Forthberwic and Leith; but Edinburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of reglement as in forme of building and wisdom, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Waldens, remembred by the most renowned authors, & also the kings' chiefe palace, the which tr-

pleth the renowne of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oillie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the more is carted from thence, the more is restored: and the people are perswaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man, is now become one of the chiefe holds in Albion. It was sometime the principall house appertaining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbey or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Next vnto Louthian lieth Pers, whereof I haue spoken already, but we will now go vp higher into the land. Next vnto Pers therefore lieth Tweedale, and about it is Tweedale: next vnto Tweedale is Dunsdale, Malcopdale, Douglassdale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the archbishops see, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of saint Dongow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie zealouslie taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the commonwealth, because it is either utterlie neglected, or not very much regarded. North of Glasco lieth Menteth, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennor. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and about it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mounteine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Menteth and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were sometime white bulls with black beaces and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the tame, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor fast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to doe) they would refuse all sustenance, & starue themselves to death. Asone as any did invade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any manner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruce after his coronation did hunt one of these bulls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which volage he escaped narrowly with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe sore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand wherewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his linage is to this daie called of the Turnebulls, because he ouerturned the beast, and saued the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhood. Certes the best of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most delicate

licate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinewes and gristles, whereat some delicat feeders doe often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Pentecith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also upon Fife. Through the ballies likewise of this region runneth the water of Ern, that falleth into Tay. This is moreover worthy to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Ern and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place soeuer it be laid, it will not be remoued from thence by manuell practise, art, or engine, & yet one man may so moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Coloway lieth Stermond, a region plentifullie indued both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Stermond is Athole, wherein are manie noble ballies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose felde are so plentiful, that (if they be well filled and dressed) they will yeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Howbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat some into god and perfect rie, the like wherof I heare to be not far from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Bocne lieth Boffgewell and Carroth, very plentiful soiles both for grasse and corne. In Carroth also is an hill called Doundore, that is to say, the golden mountaine: for the shepe that feed thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreover is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their wolle much after the same manner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng together in maner of a croton which yeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scottish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Bzadalbane, Strabzau, and Badzenoth, with diuers small territories and founts, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but foliie to deale any further with them.

Of the great plentie of hares, red deer,
and other wilde beasts in Scotland,
of the strange properties of sundrie
Scottish dogs, and of
the nature of
samon.

The eight Chapter.

Having made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concerne the same in generall. First of all therfore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red deer, fallow deer, roes, wild hoxses, wolues and fores. These hoxses are not gotten but by great sight and policie: for in the winter season the inhabitants

turne certtine tame hoxses & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finally home into their maisters yards, where they be taken and sone broken to their hands. The wolues are most fierce and noisome to the heards and flocks in all parts of Scotland, sauing in one parcell of Angus, called Glennoys dale, where these beasts doe no manner of hurt vnto the domestickall cattell, but preie onlie vpon the wild.

Fores doe much mischefe generallie in all steads, but chælie in the mounteines, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath deuised a meane to preuent their malice, and to preserve their pultrie. Certes there is almost no house that doth not haue certtine daies cherish by a pong for, which the Scots doe call a Todde, and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they giue vnto their foules and other little bestials, and by this meanes so many foules and cattell as cate herof are preserved from danger of the for, almost by two moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the fores as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellows yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but eschew, and know such a one, although it were among an hundred of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous condittion; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are three sorts with vs, which are not seene else-where in any quarter of the world. The first is an hound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruel vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against themes that offer their maisters any violence. The second is a racho hound verie exquisite in following the foot, (which we call dyawling) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any manner of foule, and find out what soeuer fish is cast by, or lurketh among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a thæfe, or thæfe stolen goods in most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raise vpon him. If it be so that he haue taken the water for his safegard, he thynketh not to follow him, and entring and issuing at the same places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceaseth to range till he haue nosed his soting, & be come to the place wherein the thæfe is shotted. The dogs of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this report would seeme more incredible, except it were daily had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is good purchase in differentlie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth entrance or lute of a sleuthhound in pursuit made after fellows and stolen goods, shall be holden as accessory vnto the theft, or taken for the selfe thæfe.

Of foules, such (I meane) as live by preie, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshawks, sparrowhawks, marlions, and such like: but of water foules there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is no where else to be seene, as the capercaille or wild hoxse greater in bodie than the rauen, and lining onelie by the rinds and barks of the pine trees. We haue in like maner manie more cocks and hens, the which abstaining from corne, doe feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of Cytilus, which the Scots doe commonlie call Wadder. These

These two are verie delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the pheasant, and no lesse delicious in taste and savor: at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another foule in Pers more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a guslard, fullie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be seene in all places, such also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their eggs to haue bene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and late in other places. All other our fowles are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentifull in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and bicause the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I doe know hereof at this present time as followeth.

The samon in haruest time commeth vp into the small riuers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which forthwith they couer with sand and grauell and so depart away. From henceforth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore worthilie said to be growne out of vse and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their full fellows, during the time of this their leanness, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it commeth to passe, that a samon is oft seene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the aforesaid spawne and milt being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring dooth yeld great number of little frye, but so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yf laid forth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a marvellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vnworthie to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie lynes or pools, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow aboue, are yet deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the samon not able to pearse through the chanel, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as commeth against him, he goeth so nere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obtaieth his desire, if not, he assaileth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a little bod, and maugre his resistance, caried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as assay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do bryde themselves and become meafelled: others that happen to fall vpon drie land, a thing often seene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallowe and drie plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do oftentimes leape short. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therefore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any samon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of Nouember. Finally there is no man that

knoweth readilie whereon this fish liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humoz.

Of the fundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten in the same: of the vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citilus, commonly called Hadder.

The ninth Chapter.

BEFORE it resteth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, whereof we haue manie and sundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not unlike in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are vterlie void thereof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called Horse muskles, to be had in Dee and Done, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the deepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vnworthilie called of old time, widdowes luffes. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, where in (as in yeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their vpper shelles and mouthe a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finally produce the pearle.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the brate or banke aboue them, doe speake neuer so softly, or throw neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will deserue you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so sone as the fishermen doe catch them, they bind their shelles together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselves to be pursued. Their manner of apprehension is this, first foure or five persons go into the riuer together, vp vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more suerlie, with they fir them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon the m: then calling their eyes downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and clerenesse, and with their toes take them vp (for the depth of the water will not suffer them to scape for them) & giue them to such as stand next them.

The pearls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naille of ones little finger, as I haue had and seene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskie found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to saint James, and brought into Scotland, but they are without

Cardane de-
niet this,
lib 7. de Sub-
tilitate.

without pearls, because they live in salt water, which is an enemy to the margarite: but Cardane also denieth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many uncouth and strange shapcs of fish likewise are sene there, wherof some are armed with shels, some with hard scales, and diuers round as a ball skinned like an pycheon or hedghog, hauing but one cundit both for purgation of their excrementes, and reception of their sustenance. To thew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, sith the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish vpon our seuerall coasts, that although milians and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the pester-fang: so bountifull is God in these his benefites vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and corne is sene in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an herbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bees especiallie. This herbe in June yeldeth a purple floure. Sweet as honie, whereof the Bids in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for the bodie: but forsomuch as the manner of making hereof is perished in the haucke made of the Bids, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finally there is no part of Scotland so barren and unprofitable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be proued easilie throughout all the Isles that are annexed to the same.

Galen. lib. 7. de Antidotis saith that Cithus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth Plinie lib. 12. cap. 3. lib. 13. cap. 24. lib. 16. chap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompteth it among trees.

Of the Isles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.

The tenth Chapter.

BEing fallen at the last in to mention of our Isles, I will addresse my selfe to describe the same, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are fortie and thre Isles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eubonia, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Caesar in his commentaries, and other Romane writers do testifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwise named Botha after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Rothelaw, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Ile is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland geese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their se-

uerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Fla, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Fouant cliffe (in Scottish the tong of Lozne) within sight of Lochquahze. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Mula, which lie so large as Fla, both for length and breadth. In Mula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Neere vnto this is Jona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbey, wherein the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolme Canmof, who erected the monasterie of Dunfermelin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue bene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the northnorthwest seas, ouer against Kofse is an Ile named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Ile is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman waide through the same at the spring of the yeare, there shall no samon be sene there for a twelue month after, wheras otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Skye and the Rona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of scale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be sene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and bittermost Ile is named Hirttha, where the elevation of the pole is 63 degrees, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the first Ile of Albion, to Hirttha the last Ile hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degree, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirttha, which in Irish soundeth so much as a sheepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue side tailes that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euerie part with rochie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, do watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest commeth vnto them out of Lewis, and ministrereth the sacrament of baptism to all the children that haue bene borne there since that moneth in the yeare precedent: which being done, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiueth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two churches or chapels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The same is, that so soone as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there laieth a wipce of straw, which being done they fall all to praier, in the midst whereof fire commeth downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Ile, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certeine kind of beasts like vnto sheepe, whose nature and forme I haue already touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for hast and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Isles also is a right dangerous passage, sith the sea by working of opposite streames hath ingendred a gulle, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes casteth it forth againe, by meanes whereof many ships that

that by rage of wind and weather are enforced to come that waite are either swallowed up by the waves, or thowne against the rocks to their utter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Cozebrycke, where it will either sink, or at the least wise draw any ship vnto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

Of the nature of the Claik geese,
and sundrie maners of their pro-
creation, and of the Ile
of Thule.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOW it is come to hand that I intreat of those geese which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto been thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet with their generatton is strange indeed, I haue not a little travelled, and with no small diligence endeoured to search out the truth hereof, whereby I learne that their ingendure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elsewhere, as shall appere hereafter. All trees cast into that element in processe of time become woormeaten, and in the holes thereof ate the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be after ward) to be perceiued at the first. In the beginning, these worms doe shew their heads and feet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finallie when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of geese, they flie in the aire as other foules do.

This was notable proued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Bellego, whither the bodie of a great tree was brought by working of the sea. This tree being taken, it was carried to the lord of the soile, who some after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to see, what a multitude at wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeared as if they had bene but new shapen, diuers had head, foot and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect foules. At last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrewes church beside Aire, where the said blocke remains still to be seene. Within two yeares after there hapned such another tree to come into the fieth of Tay beside Dundee, woormeaten and full of yong geese after the same maner: the third was seene in the haven of Leith beside Edinburgh: and also within a few yeares, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien three yeares at anchor in one of these Isles, was brought to Leith, where because hir timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in hir keele were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with wormes, or bored with a wimble, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Here if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onelie as grew in these Isles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption doe turne into these foules, I will disprove his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eyes. Paister A-

lexander Galloway parson of Binkell, was with vs in these Isles, & giuing his mind with attentue diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he took vpon a branch of Alga, called in Scottish, Scat-angle, which hanged full of muske shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to see what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacite of the shell.

Finallie, knowing that I was verie inquisitiue of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hastily with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleue that these Claiks (or Barnacles as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trees or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productrix of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, because the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trees, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into geese, they beleued that these geese grew vpon trees, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit do by their stalks, but their opinion is utterlie to be reiected. For so some as these apples or fruit fall from the tree into the sea, they grow first to be woormeaten, and in processe of time to be conuerted into geese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Isles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut by my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not vnknewen vnto the Romans, as may appeare by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to vield the coasts of the whole Island of Brittain, and at their returne reported how they had seene the Thule, with other Islands lieng about the same. Pro-
lome witteeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Isles, which lie nere vnto Norway, and beyond the Orkades; but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other witte that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Arctike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, liue onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it by for bread.

Of the description of Orkeney, and
Shetland, with sundrie other small Isles,
and of the maners and conditions of the
people dwelling in the same.

The twelfe Chapter.

BEYOND the Isles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the north-west, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Pomonia, wherein is a bishops see, and two strong castels. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifully, they be without all venemous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue any while.

while, more than in Ireland, which susteineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind.ouer and beside this, there are no frogs: as for eeles they are seldome found and to be seene in the Dyachades. Having thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities apperteine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in booke.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or pole there, nere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof doth within one yeeres space alter and change exceedinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuicined with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element reteining hir former woddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, these distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre exceedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Dyachades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be reherced, for sith there is great abundance of barley whereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke seene there, neither anie foole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madness. There is herevnto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreme age in found and perfect health, whose bodies also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Ilands haue for the most part two or three lambs a peece at euerie earing, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their horses are little greater than the French asses, but in their labour they exceed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one sort greater than anie horse, of a marvellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fish when they prouideth to sleepe, fastneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espieing, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conueie themselves to the fish, and boze a great hole through hir taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprise attempted yer long to be achieved. For after this wound, it is not long yer the fish awaketh, who feeling hirselfe to be hurt, leapeeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shrowd hir in the deepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and endeavouring in vaine to breake the cable, she labourereth so vehementlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and some after also turneth vpon hir bellie, yelding hirselfe vnto the waues, and hir bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent oile of hir grease, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they exceed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Dyachades are the

Shetland Isles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dried in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Ilands great store of shæpes selles, ore hides, gotes skittines, and cases of martines dried in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zealand and Germanie, fetch them perelie by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Dyachanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Dyachanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of strong ale, content themselves with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Ilands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of flesh to feed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through drie, they grind them to small powder, which they wooke vpon with water into loaves, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselves in such maner with this their poze kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or keepe his house in winter. They are bold of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or forren warres, as men that demeaine peace and quietnesse, with mutuall loue and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power doth shew his whole indour. This finallie is to be added vnto their commendation; that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischief, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yeere there cometh a priest vnto them from Dkene, (of which diocesse they are) who ministrereth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certeine time (having taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fish, which is their sole increase, and verie true paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbred as parcels of worldlie riches and renoume, they are not without these also: for the people of these Isles are lustie, faire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and greuous infirmities: For here among these men, you shall verie seldome heare of sicknesse to attach anie, vntill extreme age come that killeth them altogether, and this is that exceeding benefit naturallie appropriated vnto their carcasses. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, & vntchangeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldlie treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for ech one not to couet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and fortunate than the Shetland men and these Islanders? Finallie, if those be the true honours, and reuerend duties which the obedient sonne with great sinceritie and bold of all flatterie, doth shew vnto his god parents, and therewithall the best sort do marvellously

See Marthiolum upon the first booke of Dioscorides capite de populo alba & nigra.

figs.

lie reioice and delite themselves: and that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we iustlie say that these men lacke anie thing, or shall we not rather asseme with great assurance, that they rather stand in need of nothing that anie most fall man can iustlie wish or desire?

But if there be anie man that will accuse me of vntruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth bold and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those Ilands, he shall vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orkades, with whome one of these Ilanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearfall of these things with his owne mouth, but also berisied the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his lims, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beautie with anie ladie of the land, and finallie so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Whereby also we may see, how far they are deceived which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happie than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued already.

St. Matthi-
us upon the
first booke of
Discolrides
capite de po-
pulo alba &
nigra.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Isles groweth the delectable amber, called *E-lestrum*, *Chrysolestrum*, or (as Discolrides saith) *Pterygo-phoron*, indued with so vehement an attractive force, that being chased it draweth straw, flax, and other like light matter vnto it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is thowen vp by continuall re-percussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocke againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilest it hangeth on the rocke, asseme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all massie substance, because that as yet it is not sufficientlie hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the Seafangle is found introned also withall, because it is driuen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and so long as it flects to and fro in this maner, so long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Nigra.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as anie horse, which the heardmen that kept their cattell nere hand caught vp, & not knowing in deed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finallie, perceiving a sweet and delectable saour to proceed from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of stufte which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather fools in the church. These men supposed that sir John had bene more cunning than themselves, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse vnskillfull & void of knowledge than they; and therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he took but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest vnto them, whereby it came to little profe and lesse gaine among the common sort, who suffered it to perish by reason of their vnskillfulnesse. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had bene the laie or flame of a candle. Wherein also the prouerbe was proued true, that the sow reckes not of balme. But so soone as I vnderstood of the matter, I used such diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to

me at Aberdeen. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, or *Chales*, and *Shetland* Isles subiect vnto the Scottish regneth.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehearfall of diuers other strange things wherethe nothing in this be- halle. But I haue made chosse onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finish this description with it not that one thing hath staied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncomly & strange incident, wherof Master James Ogilbie ambassa-dour from James our king (among other) vnto the King of France, hath certified me, and wherof he had experience of late, at such time as he was com-frethed by tempest of weather to get to land in *Shet-land*. Thus standeth the case, being thus (as I said) vpon the shore of *Shetland*, he and his companie sawe a kind of people ranging vp & doونه in the mid-*leins* there, much like vnto those which diuers pic-tures giue forth for wild men, beaie and byllie to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beaists; yet neuerthelesse deadlie enemies to mankinde: they vnderstood therewith, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies invade the small villages & coun-trie townes, killing and sleaing so manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they flie and run away with no small hast and terro, wherfore the inhabitants are enforced to cherish great numbers of the said beaists, thereby to keepe off those wild men that otherwile would annoy them. They are moouer of such strength, that some-times they pull vp yong trees by the roots to fight withall among themselves. The ambassa-dours seeing these vncomly creatures, were not a little astonished, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong gard to watch all night about them, with great fiers to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they toke the sea, and so departed thence. Finallie, the *Shetlandians* shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they preyed vpon such wild beaists as fed on the mounteins, which com-ming dolone from the snowe hills to graze in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their caues. In this exercise also they tie little boards to their feet, which beare them vp from sinking into the snow, and so with a staffe in their hands they make the better shift to cline vp and come dolone from the crags & mounteins, where- of in that region there is verie great plentie and abundance.

Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaiour of the old, and such as liued long since within this Iland.

The xiiij. Chapter.

As much as diuers no- ble men haue desired me to shew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my historie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nati- on in these present daies are different in their maners and behai-

behaviour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe already that the revealing of these things will procure unto me the hatred of sundrie worthy or renowned personages (of which few will yield to heare their doings touched or their errors reproved) yet because I owe such dutie and service unto those that have made this request unto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken unto them in this behalfe; I have condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable unto all the readers, but especially such as are not immoderately given over unto their owne affections, nor so wholly drowned in their owne sensuality and pleasures, but upon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leave whatsoever offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vices have bene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisdom and industrie they have prevailed so long time against such and so many mightie adversaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which have entered into this Island with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much brevity as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugality and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaye. And finally how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicate negligence rather than by our owne promise, we live in securitie, and thereby as it were overwhelmed and wrapped up in all avarice and excess, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall promise doth marvellously impell us.

Certes I beleve that by this meanes such as are of the more courageous sort (& yet retaining a favour of the temperance of their elders) will reioice to heare their manhood & great promise commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sort (in servile manner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excess and riot) seeing their errors justlie reprehended, and the dishonour gotten thereby openly revealed, will the rather addresse themselves to reformation of their estate, thereby to recover the ancient renowne of their forefathers, in answering to their promise, than prove a reproch unto their successors, through their lewd behaviours never to be forgiven. This I protest before all men, that whatsoever I shall speake of the evill manners of our times, I do not meane it unto all, but those onlie whome blind selfe-love, covetousnes, intemperance, excess and abuse of all Gods good gifts have so touched, that they deserve much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatise. Therefore if any man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmitie, by seeking revenge on other men, but rather endeavour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdemeanors, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neverthelesse in conversation & behaviour verie temperat, which is the founteine & originall of all vertues. In sleepe they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was readie at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readily on the ground, without all manner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked up as it came from the mill without any such curiostie, which is a great abasing of the force thereof unto

our daily nourishment. The flesh wherupon they chiefly lived, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they took great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame cattell as they bred up at home, wherof beefe was accounted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other maner and far discrepant from the use and custome of other countries. The sturkes or young beets were gelded, whether kill young for beale, or geld, to the end that they may serve afterwarde for tillage in earthing up of the ground, but the colvasses and heifers are never killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common great of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie or so much for the plentie thereof, as for that our land late often wast and untilld, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without any other diet, untill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were never overcharged, nor their bones desirous of rest through the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they used a kind of Aquavite void of all spice, and onelie consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were enforced to lie in campe, they contented themselves with water as rediest for their turnes. Each souldier also had so much meale as might serve him for a daie which he made up in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes used to do, and the emperor Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate any flesh in their tents, except they got it from their adversaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the juice thereof so used to nourish verie abundantly. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especially when they wanted their usuall prices, or could not attaine unto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, chese, meale, milke, and vineger tempered together as a shot-anchore against extreme hunger, on which they would feed and sucke out the moisture, when other provision could not be gotten. In like maner, whenever they had entred into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not live in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselves in their former activitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatly esteemed amongst our ancestors) or with running from the hilles unto the vallies, or from the vallies unto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastime whereby they were never idle. Their heads were alwaies shaven after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of haire onelie left on their foreparts, and never couered, except when they were troubled with sicknesse, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was seene to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had any shoes, they dyed them first in the water per they did put them on, especially in winter when sharpest weather shewed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their feet (which were well hardened in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to susteine great labour and daily travail.

Their apparrell was not made for brauerie and pompe, but as shuld serve best to cover their bodies, and

and serue their appointed vbes, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or wollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of hempe, clothes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare floze or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancie to eschew ease, and practise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intollerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindlie fostered; except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the blood of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselves, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but travelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their cariages and victuals trusted behind them on their horses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusal of anie labour inioined vnto them by their capitaines.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was done to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadly fude conceived in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most couragious gentleman would toonest desire to be placed in the foreward, where his vassalage or seruice & manhood should readiest be sene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselves, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendlie to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it hapened that their capitaine was beset with extreme perill, or peradventure some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenly rush in through the thickest of their enemies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogether lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerliue their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceased had killed enemies before time in the field. If anie souldier had bene found in the field without his flint and tinder box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then vfed they light armour for the most part, he was terrible scourged; but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an erile; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his capitaine, was flaine theresoouer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bowe, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a buckler, but afterward heavier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & viues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so some

as the armie did set forward, they due the first liuing creature that they found, in whose blood they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted thereof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceived, than if they had alreadie bene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne blood run from them in the fight, they waxed neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egernesse they assailed their enemies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by more manhood, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldior) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectious generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some place far off from the companie of men, where if the afterward hapened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, drunkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh river or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie giuen to perke, so in daies of peace our countrymen that offended, were oft seuerelie punished and with inconuenient rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excelsse should hardlie be restrained but by extreme seueritie: such also was their nature, that so soone as they knew themselves guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the peres and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentlie intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in priuate bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his own, that they will yield the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surplusage about the bare covenant, they will breake off and not go forwards with the bargain.

They vfed at the first the rites and maners of the Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they vfed not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with ciphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their tombes and sepulchers remanifestly amongst vs doo hitherto declare. Nevertheless in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what means) is perished and lost, and yet they haue certeine letters proper vnto themselves, which were sometime in common vse: but among such as reteine the ancient speech, they haue their aspirations, diphthongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in the withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets; they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out therein by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods are

are turned into the said language, are given by tradition from their elders, they chélie excell in physicks, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such hearbs as grow in those quarters, doe heale all manner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & vnfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all manner of necessities for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Fewer thelesse our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Sharon tong through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne manners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is vtterlie lost among vs, that inhabit nere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins reteine still their ancient speech and letters, and almost all their old rites, wher vnto in time past their forefathers haue bene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be seene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of osiers and covered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it please them.

But we will now leaue the manners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countrymen. In processe of time therefore, and chélie about the daies of Malcolme Canmor, our manners began greatly to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to war idle and slothfull, and ther vpon diuen out of their countrie into Wales by their enemies the Saxons, we began to haue alliance (by proximity of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Brits, and through our daile trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their manners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said already. Whereby shortly after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthy of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certaine idle desire of our former renowne did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English maner, it fell out per long, that wheras he in times past was accounted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prouesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went laden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fied all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Thanes, so much in Latine as *Quæstores regij*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swayed from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beleeue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vtterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to doctowrinesse, we applie our selues to drunkennes; they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excelsse with superfluitie: they were temperate,

we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and thereto hath no péece if he can once find the betne, though with his great trauell to puruey himselfe of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drownded in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to see, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & polupe in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed meet that we should now content our selues with breakefast and supper onelie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforesaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and reare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupy our selues in any godlie exercise, sith almost the whole daie and night doe scarce suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie pertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forests for venison, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doe now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Greece: nay Asrike is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for sweet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poison and destruction vnto their countrymen, as if the mind were not already sufficientlie bereft of its image of the diuinitie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewith all to be extinguished outright, which already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe him selfe vp-right, but must needs yeeld as ouercome, and to be toyne in peeces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Whereof also it cometh to passe, that our countrymen traouelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former blage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doe burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause whereof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and grovne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenly, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recover for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried already.

Our youth also following these unhappie steps of their parents, giue themselves wholly to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherby they applie themselves as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in heauie armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their softnesse,

nesse which choiketh by their vntall forces, neither be able to performe anie thing at all in comparison of the soueraigne manhood and prowesse of their elders. So some also as they retorne home, because their possessions are not otherwise able to nourish them vp in pleasure and pampering of their malues, they must fall to couetous and greedy practises, thereby to enrich themselves, or else proue strong thieues, or finally sowers of dissention and discord among the noble men, thereby to proue some commoditie.

Certes these and other vices following them necessarilie, proceede generallie from none other fountain than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would restraine, there is no region vnder the sunne that would proue more wholesome, lesse subiect to pestilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the sustentation of his people. Certes I despaise not of the redress of these things, but still hope that in short time these corrupt manners of my countrymen will be turned into better frame. We are not yet become impudent, neither altogether haue cast off vntamefastnesse, sith that in a great manie some remainder of our ancient sobernesse and manhood doth yet appeare, and thereto newnesse of life with frequent deuotion increase euerie day, through the working of the zeale of our christian religion in vs.

This also will I adde, without offense vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more stedfast to my knowledge in the christian faith, nor more constant in their faithfull promises, than the Scots haue bene since their first beginning: and for a conclusion I will say more, not onelie for their praisse, but also in exhorting them vnto perseuerance, that as our people now liuing doe passe their ancestors in sumptuous and curious attire, so they are more neat and fine in their houses, better giuen to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them also to retorne to their former frugalitie, and that with speed, Amen.

Whitherto haue I translated Hector's description of Scotland out of the Scottish into the English tongue, being not a little aided therein by the Latine, from whence sometime the translator swarveth not a little, as I haue done also from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sense out of both, as most did stand with my purposed benefit. Now will I set downe the description of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to write more at this present, but for euer hereafter of anie historிக்கal matters, sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these daies vnto the condemned, as baine and saouring of negligence, and beathenish impietie.

The description of an ancient Pict.

The 14 Chapter.

The Pict (saith Herodian) hath generallie no vse in apparell, holbeit the nobler sort of them doe wrap their heads and wombs in hoods of iron, which they take for great hauerie, esteeming this kind of attire, in such as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had twome gold or any costlie ichels. Beside this, and the shauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beasts, so that he was the greatest man that had his skin most disguised in this manner.

Certes none of them regarded to weare anie apparel, because they esteemed it a great gloire to haue these paintings seene. In warres they were bold, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselves (in stead of other armor) with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swords were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for iacke, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, because they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a pinch, when they should be compelled to waide.

Dion boasting generallie of the whole countrie, disuidereth it with Herodian into the Calidons & Picts, saying that the said countrie is verie sauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreouer (saith he) by hunting and proue, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trees: and albeit that they haue exceeding plentie of fish, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without shoes on their feet, their winces are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to steale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift horses, which run also verie swiftly, & stand at their feet with like steadfastnesse. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a little peece or two of iron, which ratteth when they shake it, and maketh a strange noise where manie of them are together. They haue also narrow daggers, but chafie they can susteine hunger and cold best of all men, and likewise soze labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will sit in the marishes by to the chins by manie daies together. In the woods they sed on roots or barkes of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus much of the Picts (which were the nearest vs) and the Calidons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their province called Maxima Cesariensis, whereof let this suffice.

The number of bishops in Scotland.

The xv Chapter.

The archbishop of S. Andrews		Albanye.	Viscounties.
50	Bishoprick of S. Andrews	Earledomes.	Berwick alias north Berwick
	Dunblane	Cathnes	Wike
	Glasgow	Sutherland	Korbozob
	Dunfalden	Kosse	Selkirk
	Dunblanen	Mozaite	Twedale
	Aberdeen	Buchanan	Dunfrise
	Brechen	Garulach	Stiddisdals
	Mozaite	Carmozan	Wigton
	Kos	Mar	Are
	Whitherne	Pernis	Lanarke
60	Cathnes	Angus	Dumbritten
	Argadie	Colvri	Sterueling
	Orkenie	Fiffe	Louthian
	Primo: one of the Isles which are exempt and pertaine vnto the pope.	Marche	Clakmanan
	Vniuersities.	Athole	Kimos
	S. Andrews	Stratherne	Fiffe
	Aberdeen	Spenteth	Perth
	Glasgow	Leuenor	Angus
	Dukedomes.	Wigton	Pernis
	Kothsay	Duglasse	Aberdeen
		Carrike	Bampf
		Cratford	Fozes
		Annandale	Innernes.
		Durmonth	FINIS.
		Huntley.	

1585

THE
Historie of Scotland,
containing the beginning, in-
crease, proceedings, continuance,
acts and gouernement of the Scotish
nation, from the originall thereof
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and
written in English by Raphaell
Hollinthead : and continued
from 1571, to 1585, by
others :

With a table of the principall
particularities herein
conteined.

M. Pal. in Ari.

Historia placeant nostras ac
peregrinas.

Cum priuilegio Regie
Majestatis.



To the Right Honorable the Lord
Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester, Baron
of Denbigh, Knight of the most noble order
of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes
Maiesties horſſe, and one of
hir Highneſſe priuie
Councell.



I may ſeeme (Right Honorable) a great preſumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scotiſh hiftorie, and other of diuers regions, conſidering ſo many ſufficient men as liue in theſe daies, farre more able to performe the ſame. But where at the motion of a ſpeciall friend, I vndertooke to deale therein, more vpon truſt of his promiſed aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleaſed GOD to call

him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to anſwer the expectation of his friends, and truſt which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accompliſh part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wiſhed deſire, by reaſon of ſuch wants as had beene ſupplied if he had liued to haue ſeene it publiſhed himſelfe.

It reſteth (right noble Earle) that it may pleaſe your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this hiftorie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as elſe-where in ſeruice of two kings of moſt famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the ſixt, ſounding ſo greatlie to his renowne, as the ſame cannot paſſe in ſilence, whileſt any remembrance of thoſe two moſt peereleſſe princes ſhall remaine in written hiftories. I therefore moſt humble beſeech your Honor, to beare with my boldneſſe in preſenting

C.ij.

ting you with someane a gift, proceeding from one, although unknownen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, mouing you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, as well this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scottish histories, I most humbly beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and favorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preserue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisdom, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be
commanded *Raphaell Hollinsbed.*



Gathelus.

Gathelus gi-
uen to Swill
and pleasure.

Gathelus
went into
Egypt, Anno
mundi 2416.

Gathelus
was intertei-
ned of Pha-
rao.

Gathelus
went against
the enemies.
Moses cap-
taine generall
under Pha-
rao,
Ios. lib. 2.
cap. 7.

Gathelus, his
doings ad-
vanced.

Moses do-
ings not a-
lowed.

Moses sed,



THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.



The Scottish men, according to the manner of other nations, esteeming it a glozie to fetch their beginning of great ancience, say that their originall descent cam fro the Greæks and Aegyptians: for there was (as

the old Scottish historiographers haue left in writing) a certeine noble man among the Greæks, named Cathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Pealus, the fourth king of the Argues. This Cathelus plaieng in his youth manie wild and brutie parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achata, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdainning their correction and wholsome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got together a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had used the like trade of lining, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and comming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharaos Dnus as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most glad some wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great stead in those warres, which the Aegyptians held at that time with the Aethiopiens that had inuaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Cathelus, to be short, went forth with his hands against the same Aethiopiens, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosen thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obtained the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefest and principall citie which stood in the Ile Peroe.

For such tokens of valiancie and worthie prowesse as Cathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he greiue also into such estimation with Pharaos, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage. But Moses was rather enuid than honored for his doing, because the Aegyptians doubted least the Israelites should increafe to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might blurpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bzing it by rebelling into their owne hands: therefore diuers informations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat

him into the land of Madian. Vnto Cathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] being taken from the Israelites. & Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter, which Cathelus thus married, was called Scota, of whome such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwarde, and are at this present day called Scotti, that is to say Scottishmen, and the land where they inhabit Scotia, that is to say, Scotland.

Cathelus thus being advanced by such honorable marriage, liued all the daies of his father in last Pharaos Dnus, in great honor. But after his deceasse, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharaos Chencres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israel then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Madianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharaos, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible manner; and moreover it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that sooner and more grieuous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Cathelus therefore being certified hereof, and gaining credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and seeke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueiance to be provided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he toke with him his wife and childzen, and a great multitude of people both Greækes and Aegyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoising vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilas, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voyage, they arrived first on the coasts of Numidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they toke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped post Cathelus of this Cathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and eslonces againe in a manner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptlie called Portingale. But who is able in a matter of such ancience to auouch anie thing for truth?

C. 14.

Cathelus

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Cathelus.

Scota daughter to Pharaos.

The credit of this historie of Cathelus we leaue to the authoꝝ. Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Madian into Aegypt.

Moses not regarded. Exodus 5.

Cathelus leauing Aegypt, seeketh other countries.

Cathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W. H. 3643. H. B. He was repelled from Barbarie.

He landed in Portingale.

Cathelus.

Cathelus giuen to will and pleasure.

Cathelus went into Aegypt, Anno mundi 2416.

Cathelus was intertained of Pharaos.

Cathelus went against the enimies, Moses capteine generall vnder Pharaos, lol. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Cathelus, his doings aduanced.

Moses doings not aduanced.

Moses fled.

The inhabit-
ants resist
Gathelus.

A communi-
cation.
Gathelus
buildeth the
citie Brig-
antia.

A communi-
cation.

Gathelus left
Doxingale,
and went into
Galitia.
He builded a
citie called
Brigantia,
and now
Compostella.

Gathelus.

He maketh
lawes and or-
dinances.

The Spani-
ards fight
with the
Scots in-
fortunatlie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Gathelus mi-
nistred iustice.
A description
of the seat.

Gathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had wasted all their purueance :) whose arrivall being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled together, and fiercely incountring with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Gathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to have there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and uncerteine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friendship with the Spaniards, and obtaining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortly after they began the foundation of a citie nere to the banks of the river called of ancient time *Spundus*, and afterwards *Bracchara*.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiving these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, God well with their securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres upon them: but when they understood that Gathelus was as ready to defend, as they were to invade, they offsones fell to a communication, & persuaded with Gathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the avoiding of variance, to remoue unto the northside of Spaine, lieng upon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called *Galitia* (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabitants) adding that if they would so do, they would aid them to the uttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their induours in anie manner of wise. This offer Gathelus gladly accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into *Galitia*, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a citie which he named *Brigantia*, but after it was named *Pontum*, and now *Compostella*.

Here Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his people to liue by, that the citie might not onelie be fenced with strong walles, but also with good and holie statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifications that may be for all cities and countries. And because he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue commandement that they should be all called *Scotishmen* (as before is said) of his wife *Scota*. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a wonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the worst, determined to foresee remedie in time, and hereupon purposing utterly to destroye them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming vpon the *Scotishmen*, gaue them a sore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the *Scotishmen*, albeit not without great bloodshed on either part, as the *Scotish* historie saith. At length a necessarie peace was agræd vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell *Scotishmen* as *Spaniards* should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to invade other.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat vpon his marble stone in *Brigantia*, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, hauing such a fatall destinie, as the *Scots* say, followeth.

ing it, that wheresoeuer it should be found, there should the *Scotishmen* reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the *Scotishmen*, receiued the croone sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of *Robert the first* king of Scotland. The inscription also of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Which may be thus translated:

Except old sawes doo faile,
and wifards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Gathelus. When he perceived that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agreement, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by seeking to enlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of covenant: and therefore vnderstanding that there was an Island lieng north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitants, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought together into an haven nere vnto *Brigantia*, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whome he had by his wife *Scota*, the one named *Iberus*, and the other *Himeneus*, to conuete them ouer into that Island, which afterwards they named *Hibernia*, after *Iberus*, but now it is commonlie called *Ireland*.

At their first arrivall there, they came into the haven of *Dundalk*, where getting on land, they first incamped themselves nere the shore, and then sent forth certeine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by such as they had happened vpon and brought with them, they understood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie simple, such I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of anie tillage. Whereupon *Iberus* with his brother *Himeneus*, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, minding to ioine them in friendship so with their *Scotishmen*, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be done, sithens the inhabitants (perceiving the *Scotishmen* not to go about to harme them) came flocking in whole about them, submitting themselves into their hands with gladnesse.

When things were once set here in a way, and that orders were given how the land should be converted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing forth of such things as serue for mans sustenance, *Iberus* (leaving his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus dead, he succeeded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioicing of all the people there.

This *Iberus* was a man of great courage, and more given to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to enlarge the

Galitia not
sufficient to
find the
Scots.

The Scots
take new
seats.

The Scots
arise in Ire-
land.

Irishmen liue
by milke and
herbes.

Irishmen are
gentle in-
treated.

Hiber.

Iberus return-
ed into
Spaine.

Iberus succe-
ded his father
Gathelus.

Under a com-
mon law.

Spaine.

Spaniards
become
one people.

Himeneus
of Ireland.

Dundalk.

The Scots
send an am-
bassador to
Gathelus
Spaine.

Did sent to
assist the
Scots in
land.

Himeneus
returned to
Spain ag-
ain.

Himeneus
of Ireland.

Himeneus
came into
Ireland.

Reber a con-
querror.

Space.

Spaniards &
Scots becom
one people.

Hemecus.
Hemecus R.
of Ireland.

Dilection.

The Scots
send amb-
assadors unto
Apetellus in
Spaine.

Did sent to
kill the
Scots in Ire-
land.

Hermoneus
returned into
Spain againe

Simon
Rech.

Brechus
came into
Ireland.

the same Hiber ceased not to conquer cities and
townes nere adjoining to the borders of his sub-
jects, by reason whereof his fame spread ouer all those
parties: and in the end constrained his enemies to
seek for peace, which he willingly granted: so that
a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and
Spaniards, the same took such good success, that
within certaine yeeres after, both the nations, which
by marriage and other contracts, which they breasted
together, became one. The succession also of kings
continued after Hiber's deceasse in his posteritie a
long season: amongst the which, Apetellus, Hermo-
neus, Ptolemeus, Hiberus, and Simon Brechus
were of most worthie fame: as is recorded by such
as haue written the histories of that nation moze
at large.

In the meane while that these things were thus a
long in Spaine, Hemecus being left, as is before
remembered, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance
there, ruled both the people of Scotland, and the
former inhabitants, with as much indifferencie as
was possible: yet could he not ioine them in one,
but that after his deceasse either of them would haue
seuerall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne
them: by reason whereof, falling effennes at discord
amongst themselves, there ensued sharpe and cruell
warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime
by truce (when both parties happlie were throughlie
wearyed) they renewed notwithstanding their mali-
cious strife againe, so some as they had once recou-
ered their decayed strengths, so that the one seeking
the others destruction, they continued in great dis-
quietnes for a long time. These Scottishmen being
thus troubled in Ireland, finally adressed an ambas-
sage unto Apetellus, who as then reigned amongst
the Scottishmen in Spaine, requirring him of aid
and succor against their enemies, who went about
with both hand and naile to expell all the Scottish nation
out of Ireland, which they were like enough to bring
to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie
through his aid provided for the contrarie.

Apetellus hearing these newes, as a man moued
with a naturall zeale toward all the Scottish linage,
gaue eare to their request, supposing it should be
his part to defend his kinfolke from all wrong and
injuries: immediately therefore he sent his three
sons, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, and Hiberus, with
a chosen power of warriors ouer into Ireland, where
vanquishing the enemies with fierce and cruell bat-
tels, they set the Scottishmen in sure and quiet pos-
session of all their lands and liuings. This done Pto-
lemeus and Hiberus remained there to rule and
inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was
the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine,
there to succed his father when time should serue
thereto.

After this the Scottish estate continued many
yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people still in-
creasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the
mother of contention, stirred up grudge and parcia-
lities amongst them, which shortly would haue de-
cayed the force of the Scottish nation, if the ancient
lawes had not provided redresse in time, which was to
perswade the people to haue a king of their owne,
who being partaker with none of them in their fac-
tions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the
whole: so that by common consent they sent into
Spaine for one Simon Rech, whose name was
right famous amongst them in that season, both as
well for that he was lineallie descended of the blood
royall, as also for that he had shewed many proofes
of his noble valiancie in sundrie affaires and busi-
nesse. This Simon being glad of thesedings, sad-
led quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with

him amongst other princelie Jewels and regall in-
struments, the fatal stone of marble, wherein he cau-
sed himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full pos-
session and establishment ouer that kingdome.

Brechus being thus crowned, was the first king
that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who
began his reigne there, in the yeere from the creation
of the world 3270, which time by maister Harisons
account is after the flood 1616, from the first bail-
ding of Rome 35, after the entrie of Brutus into
Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our sa-
uour 697. And hauing ruled his subjects with great
iustice by the space of fortie yeeres or thereabout, he
died, after whose deceasse succeeded Fandanus, who
had issue Ethon, and he begat Glaucus, which Glau-
cus begat Postillus, the father of Rothsay: all of
them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scottishmen in
Ireland, as in the description of that land moze
particulerly may appere.

This Rothsay (perceiuing the Scottish nation in-
creased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the
countrie was well able to susteine) transported o-
uer certaine numbers of them into the Isles an-
cientlie called Ebriodes, afterwards Hebrides, but
now by the Scots, the wessterne Isles, because they
lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they pla-
ced them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which
he first began to possesse Rothsay, after his owne
name. Which translation of these Scottishmen into
those Isles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of
Brechus.

This Rothsay had not bene long in those Isles, but
that hearing of his fathers deceasse, he returned in-
to Ireland to succed in his place. Where the Sco-
tishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Isles, and
how the same serued well for the breeding of cattell,
became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went
ouer thither in great numbers, with their
wives, children, and whole families, so that within a
short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Isles
were not large enough to find them sustenance, by
reason whereof diuers companies of them got them
ouer into the maine land of the north part of this
our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first
inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng
toward the west, ouer against the foreremembred
Isles, by them already inhabited, Anno 383. That
part where they first began to settle themselves, they
named Argathella, after the name of their first cap-
tein and guide Cathelus, but the inhabitants at this
day call it Argulle.

At their first coming, because they perceiued
they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouern-
ment, they seuered themselves into tribes, or as it
were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the
same hauing a speciall gouernor to see their lawes
ministered, and iustice maintained: which gouernors
were had in such reuerence, that they were as much
afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as
they were by the gods. In this state they continued
many a yeere, increasing in processe of time vnto a
mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trou-
ble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any
forren enemy. In this meane time also, the Brits,
which were a certaine people of Germanie, as most
writers doe agree, came and set foot also in another
part of Britaine, which now is comprehended like-
wise within Scotland.

Some saie that they came south of the hether part
of Scythia, and other there be which hold opinion,
that they descended of the people named in old time
Agathys, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia,
and were called Brits, because they used to paint and
colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they
used

Brechus.

4504 H.B.
60 H.B.
696 H.B.
Fandanus.

Rothsay.
The Scots
ferrie ouer in-
to the we-
sterne Isles.

They inhabit
the Ile of
Rothsay.

The Scots
inhabit the
maine land of
Scotland.

4617 H.B.
They inhabit
the countrie
called Argulla

They make
lawes and op-
tinances.
Gouernors
had in reue-
rence.

They liue in
peace.
The Brits
came into
Scotland out
of Germanie.

Editia not
sufficient to
find the
Scots.

The Scots
like new
leats.

The Scots
arise in Ire-
land.

Irishmen liue
by milke and
hearbes.

Irishmen are
gentle in-
treated.

Hiber.

Hiber retur-
ned into
Spaine.

Hiber succe-
ded his father
Cathelus.

The Picts came first into Dykeney, and changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

4867 H. B.
The Picts make strong holds.

The Picts require women of the Scots.

A league made.

The succession of the government.

Their alliance misliked.

Dissention a present destroyer.

The Picts give husbands to the Scots given to hunting and fouling.

The Britains send

used gate apparell of diuers and sundrie colours, but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Isles of Dykeney, and there inhabiting for a season, feried ouer into Cathnesse; whereof it came to passe, that the streit there at this present is called Pictland firth: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Koller, Spure repland, Speme, and Anguse, and after that, entering into Ffiffe and Louthian, they droue such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and breeding of cattell.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appeere, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arrived, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselves, if any force of enimies should chance to put them to such shifts; but perceiuing they could not continue any time without wines to mainteine their stocke and progenie by buying forth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottishmen some number of women to marrie with; that thereby a sure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if need required, they might the better defend them from their common enimies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and to surpers upon their confines.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, with covenants, that neither of them should seeke to vsurpe any peece of that which the other held, but content themselves with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enimie to both: and against whom they should be readie to ioinie their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at any time it were doubtfull who ought to succeed in the government of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scottish women should be admitted to the throne.

This alliance was such at the first misliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioinied inseparablie together, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Therefore studieng how to prevent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroy both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first together by the eares amongst themselves, that afterwards when their powers were by such meanes soe abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This deuise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion serued to worke their intent. In which meane while the assinitie betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the issue sake great loue and friendship was mainteined among them. The Picts applied themselves to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fouling, vsing about the same to go armed in iacks and light iesternes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had bene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

At length, the Britains perceiuing happlie some grudge or enuie to be entred amongst them, they

sent solemne ambassadors unto the Picts, declaring that it were more honorable for them to ioinie in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie, most fruitful and replenished with all commodities necessitie having therein rich mines of diuers kinds of metall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and savage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beasts. And hereunto they added that (which most moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by prophetes, that the Scots through treason should utterlie in time to come extinguish and destroye all the Pictish blood. Which persuasions inducd the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoeuer enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, it encouraged the Picts so, that they sought daily how to pick quarrels, and fall out with the Scottishmen: whereupon making proclamation that no Scottishman should enter into their borders, upon paine of death: some such as they took within the same, they cruelly slue; other they ransomed at excessive summes: whereupon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The one nation seeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there ensued open war betwixt them: whereby on the Scottishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarrell, sent ouer their ambassadors unto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring thereof aid in that present danger, as having now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the utter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it needfull to haue one onelie head and gouernor, they made sute also to haue some capitaine of honor with them into Albion, unto whom as to their king they would submit themselves. In that season amongst the Pictish Scottishmen, there reigned a king named Fergusuhardus, who inclining to the petition of the Pictish Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be leued, and thereto he appointed his owne sonne Fergusus to be generall of the same, a worthy yong gentleman, and an expert warriour: whom he sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, because he went forth unto such a dangerous warre.

Such also as went with him in this iourne, had their wiues, their children, and all their substance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any forren countrie. Now it came to passe that this Fergusus was no sooner come into Albion amongst the Scottishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselves against their enimies, and what order for gouernment should be obserued amongst them. Where finally for auoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decreed to chuse onlie one, whom in all things, as their king & head, they would from thenceforth follow and obeie.

But because there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusus, and that the

ambassadors unto the Picts.

A craftie suggestion.

Prophecies.

The Britains aid against the Scots.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

The Scots requite the in iurie done unto them.

Scots send for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Fergusuhardus king in Ireland.

Fergusus sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Fergusus landed in Albion. A parlement.

A king is to be choosed.

Fergusus

The Britains are about to destroye the Picts.

A reason remained unto Fergusus.

Fergusus sendeth to the Picts.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Picts called his counsell and counsels.

chaste of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge unto him, and so to the great reioicing of the people, he was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scottish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernour, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640, which is (as Harison saith in his chonologie) before the incarnation of our sauour 227, after the building of Rome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishmen being thus begun in Albion, Fergus took vpon him to rule as king, making promise on all sides to resist his enemies: who whilst these things were a doing in Argyle, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had joined themselves, and were now entred into the Scottish borders. Fergus hauing hercof knowledge, speedilie got together his people, and came with banners displayed to encounter his enemies. In king Fergus banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folded towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the maner of them when they be moued to displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cognifance in Albion, which euer since hath bene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroye them both, the vanquishers together with the vanquished, as they found them out of araise in following the chase. The like report was brought vnto Fergus by one that fled to his side from the enemies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the extermination of both the people.

By reason thereof, either part being put in feare of that which might issue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certeine daies together, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertained no lesse to the safegard and preservation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willingly gaue care to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell araise, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met together, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weighed, they condescended to haue a farther treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had vnderstood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

Herevpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his councill afore him, declaring the substance of the communication which had bene betwixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present deuiles of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yeeld withall to auoid the imminent perill of their

utter ruine and common destruction intended by the Britains.

Herevpon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be done, declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some imagined that in no case they could enter friendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murdered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a beaustie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not unknowne how the prophetic went, that the Scots should in the end destroye all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdome to keepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scottish mens friendship ought to be refused, vntill they would determine to seeke new dwellings in some other forraine parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophetic, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what folie then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? And besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottish nation, and thereby ingrafted their seed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the nearest meane and foreseeable occasion to nourish friendship amongst people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and auancement of both the nations.

Whilst the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongst them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pittie vpon them, in their so forowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murder, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their sillie little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine together in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pittie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scottish men, and to renew againe the old league that was heretofore betwene them: and for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that mischief and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enemies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should do therein as vnto him might seme good.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, declared what his subiects were agreed vpon: and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith Fergus

A prophetic.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

The Picts are moued to pittie.

Britains reputed as enemies.

The meeting of the two kings.

The Britains aid against the Scots.

The Britains are about to destroy the Picts.

Treason revealed vnto Fergus.

Fergus sent vnto the Picts.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Picts called his councill and commons.

ambassadors vnto the Picts.

A craftie suggestion.

Prophecies.

The Picts become enemies to the Scots.

The Scots revenge the iniurie done vnto them.

Scots lend for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernour.

Fergus her husband king in Ireland.

Fergus sent into Scotland, The marble stone.

Fergus ended in Albion. Parliament.

king is to be obeyed.

Fergus.

In other day
taken for the
ratification of
the peace.

The Brit-
tains go home-
ward disap-
pointed of
their purpose.

The Scots
and Picts re-
turne home in
peace.

This Coillus
by the circum-
stance of the
time, and o-
ther consid-
rations,
should seeme
to be the same
whome the
Britains name Gutte-
line.

Coillus his
subtiltie.

The Britains
rob the Scots
and the Picts
for to stirre
discord.

The Scots
and Picts in-
vade the Bri-
tains.

Coillus entred
into Scot-
land with an
armie.

Fergusse as-
sembled a
great power
of Scottish-
men.

Fergusse being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, so that comming together, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, available (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first meeting betwixt the Scots and Picts, I meane so some as the Britains had understanding of this agreement, they had no lust to tarry longer in the field; but raising their power, they departed their waies homewards, doubting least the said agreement might turne smallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scottishmen also after they had thus fullie ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake up their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (sojourning in that season nere about Forke) being informed of this sudden renouation of the league betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, was nothing ioyfull of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and means he might best provide remedie for such inconueniences as might insue, he attempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelie watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion serviceable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered nere to the marches of both the people) to fetch prizes and booties out of the Pictish confines. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains doe in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such inuiolent dissimulation, as well Scots as Picts being not a little offended, they entred some after into the British confines, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all manner of crueltie. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he took gricuous indignation thereat, and therevpon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpose, which he could not bying to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scottish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, wasting & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoeuer he found in his waies, till he came euen to the river of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to destroye the countrie, and to bring in all such prisoners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so soon as Fergusse heard of the approach of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their goods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about five thousand nimble men, and such as had bene used to climb craggie hilles, to go before and win the passages, purposing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scottishmen and Picts being now assembled together, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they

were best to doe; and in the end agreed that the same night they should set vpon the British campe: Fergusse with his Scottishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other; so that in the dead of the night the Scottishmen killing the watch, were entered into the British campe, per Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilst the Britains (awaked with the noise) drew vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the river of Dune, by a certeine blind ford, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselves by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmole they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselves, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongst the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemne buried according to his estate in Troinonant, leaning the kingdome vnto his sonne Dilidius, who with his mother Geratia gouerned the same together by the space of manie yeares.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enemies hands, got them together in the next morning, perceiving what losse they had sustained not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herald vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet persuaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yield thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwixt them.

Immediatlie herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iourne, departed to their homes, and Fergusse returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scottish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemble how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enemies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to lue in friendlie concord amongst themselves, and to abstaine from violating the leagues now concluded, as well with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scottish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this pece or that did belong. Which politike aduise of Fergusse, the Scottishmen praised most highlie, promising not onlie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

Wherevpon shortly after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of god confidence and great experience, which were appointed to be surueyors of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as nere as they could into a set number of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulness or barrenness of the soile required, so they should enlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had diuided the countrie, and according to their commission serued forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergusse then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne,

Statutes an-
lawes are
made.

Bergerium

A place apoin-
ted for iudice

Fergusse wen
into Ireland
and in his
returne was
wounded.

Roche Fer-
gule, other-
wise knocke
Fergusse.

Edadus.
Cruthenus
Camelonus.
This citie th
Scottish wo-
ters take to b
Camelodu-
num, of the
which there
is so often
mention mad
in the Roma
writers: but
doubtless here
they doe grea
lie erre.
Agueda now
called Eden-
borough.
The castell
of Aguedus.

The Scots
consult abou
an other ele
tion of a king

Coill was
slaine and his
whole armie
discomfited, of
whome as
Hector Boet
saith, their
countrie of
Coill toke
name.

Peace con-
cluded.

A parlement

An exhorta-
tion vnto qui
eternelle and
peace.

The land is
parted.

Obedient
subiects.

Then diuide
the land into
portions.

The gouerne-
ment is plac
vnto the no-
bles by lots.

as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap. By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countries took their names of those the first gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them even vnto this day. Fergus having thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subiects, studied further more to deuise lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinances he made statutes against murder, robbrie, burning of houses, and expectallie against theft.

Statutes and lawes are made.

Beregonium.

A place appointed for iustice.

Fergus went into Ireland and in his returne was drowned.

Roche Fergus, otherwise knoeke Fergus.

Edadus, Cruthenus Camelonus. This citie the Scottish writers take to be Camelodunum, of the which there is often mention made in the Roman writers: but verelie herein they doe greatlie erre. Agueda now called Edenbrough. The castill of Agueda.

The Scots consult about an other election of a king.

He builded also the castell of Beregonium in Loughabazze on the west side of Albion, ouer against the wessterne Isles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of the same Isles might haue their access & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neighbors the Picts and Britains, endeavouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finallie, sailing afterwarde into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was imbarked, was driuen vpon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scottishmen in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath bene euer since called rocke Fergus, after his name.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Britains one Enarus, named by Hector Boetius Edadus, and amongst the Picts one Cruthenus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the banke of the riuer called Caron, as the Scottish writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Pictish kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious haven apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is dammed vp in such sort, that beneath there appeareth anie token where that haven was: and the citie it selfe was finallie subuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The fozenamed Cruthenus builded also the towne of Agueda, afterwards called Edenbrough, of Ethus king of the Picts, the castell was named the castell of Aguedens, for that the daughters of the Pictish kings were there kept vnder strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & twike, till they came to yeeres of marriage.

But now to returne to the Scottishmen. After the death of Fergus, the nobles of the realme assembled together, to take counsell whome they might chuse to succeed in his place. And anie of them, in respect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Fergus, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though young of yeeres, should be forgotten: but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, sith they might not other wise deliuer themselves of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with long can be well exprest.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minority, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles: and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected,

the nobles bearing and bolstering vp all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so happen that they agreed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he seeke to aduance his kinsfolke more than reason happilie required, and peraduenture do things otherwise much displeasing to no small number of them by that his priuate authoritie. And againe, the king should no longer come to yeeres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he vnderstood what charge he had in hand: and by reason of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensuall lusts and inordinate fancies, which commonlie reigne in such yonglings as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of sufficient yeeres) how to gouerne themselves.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agreed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceased Fergus should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Fergus his sons brought vp in princelie nurture and discipline, as appertained to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yeeres, they might succeed him in the estate and kingdome.

Feritharis chosen king.

This ordinance also they decreed to be obserued as a law from thenceforth euer after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were order age to succeed him, then should one of his nearest kins, such as was thought meetest to occupie the rowne, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecessors issue without controuersie, if the same were once growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtaining the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuise for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vnle to seeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vnle and vncles sonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthie princes, to the no small danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finallie that ordinance was clearelie abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

The choosing of kings was not allowed.

But now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged sword, his scepter of assaie, and his crowne of gold fastioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortresse, signifieng that he took vpon him to preserve the libertie of his countrie, to see offenders duly punished, and the execution of lawes with equall punishment trulie ministred.

Feritharis

A two edged sword.

These ornaments of inuesture remained vnto the Scottish kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achatus king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperor and king of France, to induce for euer betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne foure flower de lices, together with foure crockets, diuided in sunder with equall spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion and sincere faith, mainteined by the Scottish nation, might

The crowne changed.

Could was flaine and his whole armie discomfited, of whome as Hector Boet. saith, their countrie of Could take name.

Peace concluded.

A parliament

An exhortation vnto quietnesse and peace.

The land is parced.

Obedient subiects.

When diuide the land into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

The league
with the
Picts con-
firmed.

might be the more evident to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Feritharis, shortly after he was thus inuested king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solempne wise confirmed, and such punished as had done anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge verie uprightly, without giuing iust occasion vnto anie to find himselfe grieved: and thus continued he certaine yeeres in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephew Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Fergus, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for aduancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Ferlegus was highly beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle persuasions staied them) to haue torne him all in peeces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Feritharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified throughly, till that all such as had bene of counsell with him in that practise, had suffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Feritharis
suddenly died.

Ferlegus
reyled.

An election of
a new king.

Mainus.

Justice main-
tained.

Small mat-
ters redress
among neigh-
bours.

Great mat-
ters determi-
ned by the
king.

Mainus con-
firmed the
league with
the Picts.

Mainus a de-
vout man in
his religion.

Feritharis liued not passing three moneths after this businesse, but died suddenly in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certaine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he together with them found meanes to sle first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed the residue of his life in great shame and ignominie. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15 yeere of his reigne, the nobles assembled together for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Mainus the younger sonne of king Fergus, as then being about 24 yeeres of age.

This Mainus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memorie the noble gouernement of his father Fergus. He therefore studing to answer the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthy acts, maintained iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing or boldring of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongst them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he vsed euery yeere once to haue a publicke out of all parts of his realme, to conferre together for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offenders were arraigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they each had committed.

Also for the more quiet of his subiects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Chynus requiring the same by his ambassadors sent vnto him. Moreover this Mainus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured beleefe, that without their fauours all worldly policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and also caused certaine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to be appointed out, and compassed about with great huge

stones round like a ring; but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched vp in manner of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in honor of their gods.

In witnes of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certaine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chapells of the gods. A man would maruell by what shift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that manner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scottishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goddesse of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto her therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice, by reason whereof this vse was taken vp; that so some as anie of them got sight of the new mone next after her change, he saluted her with certaine prayers or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome indured amongst them manie hundred yeeres after. Mainus did also appoint forth liuings for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finally, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, as well touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yeeres, leauing the estate to his sonne Dozuadille, Clidarus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Thara amongst the Picts.

Dozuadille being crowned king of the Scots, established a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient alliance. He serual his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greyhounds; ordeining that euery holder should find him two hounds and one greyhound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eye or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a statute that he should be found of the common treasure. He that killed a wolfe should haue an ore for his paines. This beast in deed the Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, vsed to pursue in all they might deuise, because the same is such an enemie to cattell, wherein consisted the chiefest portion of all their wealth and substance.

Thus the Scottishmen in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordeined, that he whose dog did teile and go through to the end of the course with the deare, so that he were seene to be at the fall, should haue the skin, the head & hories to remaine to him whose dog did best next. The body being drest & broken vp, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the maister of the game. The boluels and panch were cast to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in anie of these points, they should chose by common consent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuises were lawes made by the king as then for the further aduancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse, I cannot tell, but certaine it is, they were obserued through all the Scottish regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are vsed euen vnto these daies.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Dozuadille commanded also, that all such statutes as Fergus had made, should be kept and obserued: wherevnto he added certaine new, namelie diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualities of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the

Diana hono-
red of the
Scots.
Diana god-
desse of hun-
ting.

The new
mone is wor-
shipped.

A liuing pro-
vided for the
priests.

Dorna-
dille.

Dozuadille a
lover of peace.
Dozuadille
had pleasure in
hunting.

The reward
for killing of
a wolfe.

Lawes made
for hunting.

The dogs
rewarded.

Old lawes
allowed, and
new establi-
shed.

Not that

Not that

Exigent
now calls
the Scot-
say Galle

Not that
murder

Reurb
Reurb
ned king
Diuers
offended

Donan

A consp
of Ferg
against
Malus.
Fergus
led into

Fergus
turneth
Scottish
to remen-
tariate.

the custodie of a graue counsellor, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offendor should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offendor might understand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offendors without repining willinglie were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoeuer it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the westerne Isles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decre taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and doings of king Doznadille, who in the 28 yere of his reigne departed this world at Berregonium, now called Dunstaffe, leaving behind him a sonne called Keuther as yet not of sufficient age to succede in the estate. By reason whereof Nothatus the brother of Doznadille, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboue remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

Nothatus.

Nothatus

Bilgiantia, now called as the Scots say Galloway.

Nothatus murdered.

Keuther.

Keuther crowned king. Diuers lordes offended.

Donantia.

A conspiracie of Ferquhard against Doznadus. Ferquhard fled into Isla.

Ferquhard returned into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

This Nothatus had breath reigned two yeres, when all the people began to crie out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And for so much as he being admonished of his duetie, and required to reforme certeine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Bilgiantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, intised Keuther king Doznadilles sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterprise, they entered the palace where Nothatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certeine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diuers of their companie not tarieng till they were commanded, rashlie fell vpon him, and murdered him together with diuers of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enemies to Doualus and his friends.

After this they proclaimed Keuther king, and crowned him with all due solemnities, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie displeased therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorously murdered, but also saw hereby the ancient ordinance of choosing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, & an vnskillfull yong man aduanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decre of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Nothatus gouernor of Lozne and Cantire, called an assemblie of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to insue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Doualus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, hastilie came to the place where this assemblie was made, and there sleaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by stieing yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Isla, whither resorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquhard perswaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enemies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first ioining hands, which they did wet in mans blood (according to the

custome then vsed) they promised one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarcking themselues in certeine vessels, they entred the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering together no small number of such as willinglie resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountered with Douale in battell, whose host twise in one daie was put to flight nere to the citie Berregonium with the losse of eight thousand men.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enemies ready to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being soze trauelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Vpon Douales part there was slaine Gethus king of Picts, whose daughter king Keuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & commons that toke part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & commons of Rolle, Cathenesse, Sparne, Argile, Cantire, and Lozne, with them of the westerne Isles which were there with him.

Keuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enemies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they toke him within a castell in Cathenesse whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partlie in respect of his fathers merits, and partlie againe for that it was knowne how his tender youth was such as had not deserved death by any fact, otherwile than in that he had followed the counsell of malicious persons. By this cruell murder and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scottisshmen and Picts, both their forces were so greatlie infiebled, that they became an easie pray to their ancient and common enemies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might happilie be past and gone.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains inuaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceiving themselues not able to make resistance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Isles of Orkenie, and there assembling together, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here also they remained certeine yeres after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scottissh historie be true.) Hereof mozeoner as some suppose it came to passe, that these Islands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Picts.

In the meane while the Britains seizing vpon such countries as these Picts had forsaken, that is to saie, the Pers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garisons of men of war, to keepe the same in due subiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottissh kingdome, burning & waiking all afoze them, where with such Scots as yet remained aliue, being high-

Douales name.

Ferquhard is slaine.

Keuther the king fled.

Keuther pursued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

Gethus king.

why Orkenie was called Pictland as some suppose, but the truth should seme to be that they were so called because the Picts inhabited there before they set foot in Britaine.

The Scots
opertly shone.

lie moved to indignation, came stoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and incounting with their enemies nere to Kalendar wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being soze chased, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

Scots belie-
ged deuoure
one another.

This discomfiture put the Scottish nation into such feare and terror, that they vterlie despaired of all reconerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope vterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Keuther and all the nobilitie of the Scottish nation that was yet left alieue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Berregonium, where they held themselves as in the surest hold. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enemies to Berregonium, enuironed the castell with a strong and belement siege, untill that the Scots within were constrained through want of vittels to eat each other, according as the lots fell by a common agrément made amongst them.

The Scots
come forth
and fight.

But when it came to passe, that even those that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by issuing forth, if any of their haps might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarrying still within the fortresse, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enemies. Wherevpon by common consent there issued forth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiours, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains in fight on one side, Keuther with the residue of his people brake forth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the weserne Isles, where he found a great number of other Scottishmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Menus king of the Britains to auoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

Keuther pas-
seth into Ire-
land.

They inhabit
the moun-
tains.

Keuther remained not long in the Isles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his escape with the other of the Scottish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mounteins, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such venison and flesh of wild beasts as they killed in the wilderness: and sometimes they came downe and made raikes vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and lands, fetching great booties verie often from amongst them.

Keuther is
sent for out
of Ireland.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yeres, untill in manner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Gethus king of the Picts kept his siege roiall in Bomonia the chiefe Isle of the Orkneyes. Keuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Thereus, and shortly after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Gethus and such Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships togither, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the weserne Isles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the west halfe of Kose at Lough Bruum, and there

comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vled amongst them in those daies) they slue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his blood, they first tasted thereof after their maner, then holding vp their weapons into the aire, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the blood of their eldres with happie battell against the Britains their enemies. After this, hearing that Gethus king of the Picts was also entred the land with a mightie power of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not past thirtie miles off, he staid there abiding for his comming, to the intent that ioining their powers togither, they might be the better able to furnish their enterpryse.

The third date after they met togither with great ioy and congratulations, vnto whom with all speed a great number also of those Scottishmen and Picts that had still continued in the countrie (during the time of the persecution by the Britains) daile resorted and came flocking in from each side vnto them. Sililius king of the Britains, who succeeded after Menus, as then latelie deceased, hauing knowlege hereof, assembled a great armie of his subiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his realme, he hasted forth to encounter with their powers, and so ioining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scottishmen and Picts, by the great valiancie and manfull prowesse of Keuther: wherevpon the place where that battell was fought hath bene euer since called Keuthirdale, as ye would say Keuthers ballie.

This victorie was not very pleasant to any of the parties, by reason of the great numbers of men slaine on both sides, insomuch that they were glad to fall to agrément immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottishmen and Picts should be restored againe vnto their ancient possessions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuolate betwixt these nations. The yeare that Keuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Christ 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Keuther by Beda in his ecclesiasticall historie of England is named Kenda, who also supposeth him to be the first of all the Scottish princes, that set any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as seemeth to some) long after the supposed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cause to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he saith) other authors, touching the first comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that so long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to such puissance; it is strange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yeare 360 after Christ; as in place conuenient it shall more plainelie appere. Keuther passed the residue of his daies without any further warres, forren and ciuill, and so departed this world at Berregonium, in the 26 yeare of his reigne.

After Keuther his deceasse, his vnckles son called Keutha succeeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agrément of all the states, bicause that Thereus sonne to Keuther vnnear come to the age of ten yeres, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him. Keutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scottishmen, ordeined that such noblemen as had achieved any notable exploit in defense of their countrie, should be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in solemne wise in sepulchres aloft vpon hills or mounteins,

Customs.

Craftsmen
brought into
Scotland to
instruct the
people.

Things of
pointed forth
vnto those
craftsmen.

The Ger-
mans in aid
of the Picts.

Keuther and
Gethus met
and some
their powers
togither.

The Brit-
tains are
discomfited
by the Scots
and Picts.

whereof Keu-
thir dale take
the name.

A peace con-
cluded.

240 H.B.
499 H.B.
Keuther by
Beda is na-
med Kenda.

Keuthi res-
ted the esta-
blishment
Thereus.

Justice ne-
glected and
unplaced.

499 H.B.

Keutha.

In ordina-
nce for buriall
of their prince.
Beliefs of
pointed forth

The nobles
conspire a-
gainst The-
reus.

upon the which were set so manie obelisks or long pointed stones, as they had laine enemies in the wars: whereof some remaine there to be seene even to this daie.

This Keutha also vnderstanding of the lacke of all manner of craftmen in his realme, and of such as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of most perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabit amongst his people, the better to instruct them in their occupations. Unto these also as vnto other professing anie liberall art, were appointed honest liuinges, by way of fees, assigned to be receiued of such oxen and beestes as were killed, to euerie man of science and artificer his part. And further, each of them had certeine measures of otes and barlie in stead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the vse of coine was not knowne amongst the Scottisshmen. The which custome of distributing their beastes, which they killed in this wise, is still vsed in the westerne Isles euen to these our daies.

Keutha perceiving furthermore that through vnskillfull surgians and physicians manie wounded and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and consent of his counsell, that none should take vpon them as a surgion or physician, vnlesse they were by long experience well practised aforesaid in those sciences. For before that time they vsed to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had bene vered with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recovered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, keeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Egyptians.

Keutha thus studing for the aduancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finallie perceiving himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to traueill in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his cousin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to attaine vnto the prouidence of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Keutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Thereus, being through his persuasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemblee.

This Thereus for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such maner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sorts of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiects (as their custome is in following the maners and vsages of their princes) became so outrageous in their licentious liuinges, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof ensued theft, murder, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those sillie soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus should reigne, conspired togither, deuising meanes how to depose him of all kinglie authoritie. But he having notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequele thereof, conueied himselfe

out of the way in most secret wise, fleeing for succour vnto the Britains, vnto whom though he made earnest sute for aid to be restored home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leding a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Porke, he finallie there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the Nobles and peeres chose one Conanus lord of Gallo way to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had bene euer great amongst the people. His studie was chieslie imploted how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuting, of whom in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number: but he waied them forth, in such wise that yet he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was vnderstood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Berregonium, where by common consent, Josina brother of Thereus was chosen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no issue behind him to succede.

This Josina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Brits and Britains. He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in the facultie, speciallie he vnderstood the vertues and properties of herbes, where with in those daies the Scots vsed to heale and remedie all manner of sores and diseases, which as then were few in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now knowne amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous feeding and excesse of meates and drinks vsed in our time, whereas our elders sufficed with a little, liued without surfeiting, the chieff breeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Josina his daies it chanced that a Portugale ship was driuen and drowned by force of a streinable tempest nere vnto the shore of one of the Scottish Isles, where diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongst whom were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Berregonium, where the king as then sojourned. They were Spanish priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but whence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certeine it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most ioustillie, doing them all the honor he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordinglie ministred vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had refreshed themselves at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the maners and customs of his people, so far forth as they had seene and heard. They without pausing for answer declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of cozne and graine, as containing far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue: this they said that

Thereus fled to the Britains.

Conanus.

Conanus is chosen king.

Conanus persecuteth offenders.

He renounceth the estate.

Josina elected king.

Josina.

Surfeiting the cause of strange diseases, which so commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philosophers through shipwrecke arrive in Scotland, and are ioustillie receiued of the king.

custome.

Craftsmen brought into Scotland to instruct the people.

Liuinges appointed forth vnto those craftsmen.

Isles for physicians and surgians.

Britons are instructed in the Scots daies.

of Keutha to be seene.

re come.

H.B.

H.B.

her by

is na

Keutha.

Keutha resigned the estate vnto his cousin Thereus.

Thereus.

Iustice neglected and vice embraced.

H.B.

tha.

distance tall of princes.

The nobles conspire against Thereus.

The Scottish
religion re-
proued.

Upright li-
ning well re-
warded at
Gods hands.

Josina depar-
teth this life.

Finna-
mus.

Prelats orde-
red in reli-
gion.
Druides in
the old Sco-
tish tong cal-
l'd Durceglis.

The Scots
mistake Man
for Angleſeie.

The authori-
tie of the
Druides in-
creased.

they gathered by the influence of the heauens vnder the which it late. And as for the rites and vſages of the people, in one point they could in no wiſe commend them, for that in religion they followed the ſuperſtitious rites of the Egyptians, worſhipping the immortall gods in the ſhape of beaſts and ſouls, whereas God was euen the ſame that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them contained, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall cauſe or beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not poſſible to deuſe anie ſimilitude of living thing that might in anie wiſe repreſent him. Therefore (ſaid they) men ought to worſhip the living God with fire and deuout praier, building him a temple for that purpoſe, and onelie vnto him to burne incenſe, and to performe vowes: at whoſe hands ſuch as liued chaſtly, vprightly, and according to the rules of iuſtice, ought euer to looke for ſome high benefit, where other that liued contrarie might euer ſtand in doubt of contrarie reward.

With theſe their ſenſible inſtructions they perſuaded manie of the Scottish nation vnto their opinion, though the greateſt part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwiſe of the ſun, the mone, and ſtars, but that there was a certaine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of theſe ſtrangers brieſtie and by the way, who came into Scotland at this preſent: but now to proceed with our purpoſe. When Josina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Weragonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a ſonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers deceaſe was by conſent of the people proclaimed king of Scotland.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in ſuch eſtimation, that he ordeined that nothing ſhould be decreed or practiſed touching the publick affaires of the realme, except they were firſt made priuie and of counſell in the ſame. He ſought alſo to win the fauour of his people by meekeneſſe and gentle intreating of them, inſomuch that though he went about to reſtore the old religion ſomewhat deſaced by his father through information (as is ſaid) of the two aboue mentioned ſage philoſophers, yet did he not conſtreine anie man to worſhip the gods, otherwiſe than his fanſie ſerued him. He was the firſt that inſtituted thoſe prelats, which gouerned after the maner of biſhops, in all matters pertaining to religion, and were called in the Scottish tong Durceglis in Latine Druides. Theſe Druides were appointed to be reſident within the Ile of Man, as the Scottiſhmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were reſident in Angleſeie, in the Britiſh tong called Mon. Vnto theſe alſo hauing great linings assigned them, were the inferiour prieſts ſubiect, as receiuing at their hands all intunctions and orders for the vſe of their ſacrifices and other ceremonies.

Theſe Druides after wards applied themſelues ſo earneſtly to the ſtudie of philoſophie, as well natural as morall, that they were had in no ſmall reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of moſt perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whereof their authoritie daillie ſo far forth increaſed, that ſmallie iudgements vnto their determinations, offenders by their diſcretion puniſhed, and ſuch as had well deſerued accordingly by their appointments rewarded. Moreouer ſuch as refuſed to obeye their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, ſo that no

creature durſt once keepe companie with ſuch, till they were reconciled againe, and clarely by the ſame Druides abſolued.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Caſar, with diuers other approued authors, make mention of theſe Druides, ſignifying how the firſt beginning of their religion was in Britaine (which ſome comprehend all whole vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the ſame religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praiſed for his ſetting forth of that heathen religion, but alſo for his politike gouernement of the eſtate in iuſt full reſt and quietneſſe. Neither was his ſame a little advanced for the marriage concluded and made betwixt his ſonne Durſus and Agafia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that alliance he won diuers of the Britiſh nation vnto his friendſhip. Finally, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to viſit the king of Britas then ſore diſeaſed, after he had reigned about the ſpace of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Weragonium, and there buried amongſt his predeceſſors.

After him ſucceeded his ſonne the ſorenamed Durſus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogether giuen to banquetting and exceſſiue drunkenneſſe. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie thoſe that of their wicked deuices could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleaſures, through whoſe perſuaſions ſome of his peres he confined, ſome he ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance & inheritance, other he put to death without iuſt cauſe or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forſooke the companie of his lawfull wiſe Agafia, cauſing hir to be forced and abuſed by diuers vile perſons in moſt villanous maner.

With theſe and the ſemblable inordinat practiſes he procured the indignation of his people ſo far forth againſt him, that thoſe of the weſterne Iles with them of Cantire, Lozne, Argile, and Koſſe, conſpired together in the reformation of ſuch diſorders as were daillie vſed in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, by the wicked ſuggeſtion of euill diſpoſed counſellores, againſt whome they pretended to make their war, and not againſt their king. There were alſo ſo manie that fauoured them in this ſquarrell, and ſo few that leaned to the king to aid him againſt them, that he was conſtrained to diſſemble with them for a time, in promiſing not onelie to remove from him ſuch as they would appoint, but alſo to be ordered in all things according as they ſhould thinke good. And to put them in beleeſe that he ment as he ſpake, he committed ſome ſuch counſellores as he had about him vnto ward, and other ſome (of whome he little paſſed) he ſent vnto them as priſoners, to receiue ſuch puniſhment by death or otherwiſe, as they ſhould thinke conuenient.

He further alſo in preſence of Mozo the gouernour of Cantire, ſent to him for that purpoſe, ſware in ſolemne wiſe afore the image of Diana, to performe all ſuch promiſes and couenants as he was agreed vpon, and had made vnto the conſpirators. With which cloyed diſſimulation they being deceiued, came without ſuſpect of further guile vnto Weragonium, where at their firſt comming he was ready to receiue them (as ſeemed by his ſeined countenance) with gladſome hart and moſt friendlie meaning; but they were no ſoner entered the caſtell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpoſe fell vpon them, and ſlew them all without merrie.

This heinous act being once ſignified abroad in their countries amongſt their friends and kinſfolke, cauſed

Finna-
mus.
King Dur-
sus beſieged

Durſus is
ſlain.

Edwin is cho-
ſen king.

Edwin.

Edwin is cho-
ſen king.

Edwin is cho-
ſen king.

Edwin is cho-
ſen king.

Edwin is cho-
ſen king.

A new tumult.
King Dur-
sus besieged.

Dursus is
slaine.

Dursus.

Ewin is cho-
sen king.

Ewin.

Swearing of
the first be-
ne.

Humble reue-
rence.

The dutie of
a good prince.

A notable or-
dinance.

caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies after, manie thousands of men in furious rage came before the castell, and besieged the king most straightlie therein. Who perceiuing himselfe in such danger as he knew not well how to escape, came forth with such companie as he had about him, and incountring with his enemies, was straightwaies beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his reigne. Dursus being thus dispatched, his children doubting the indignation of the people conceived against them for their fathers fault, to auoid the perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the nobles of the realme assembled themselves together for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding to haue anie of Dursus his race to reigne ouer them, least they would seeke by some means to reuenge his death: howbeit at length when they were at point to haue fallen at variance in sustaining of contrarie opinions about the election of their prince, through a wittie oration made by Cozanus gouernour of Argile, who alledged manie weightie reasons for the auoiding of sedition, they all agreed to commit the free election vnto the same Cozanus, promising firmitie to accept whome soeuer he should name. Hereupon Cozanus consulting a little with the pères of the realme, named one Ewin the vnckles sonne of Dursus, who as then remained in Picland, whither he had withdrawn himselfe in Dursus his daies, being banished the realme by him, for that he could not awaie with his corrupt maners. This election was acceptable to all estates, for that thereby the administration of the kingdome continued in the line of their former kings.

And Ewin shortly after was brought forth of Picland with all regall solemnitie, and at Berregonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the great reioysing of the people there assembled. Here with also the nobles of the realme, putting their hands in his, bound themselves by oth to be loiall and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins commandement, begun and continued manie hundred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie; in so much that the capitaines of the tribes also required the same kind of oth of them that inhabited within their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto this day amongst those of the westerne Isles, and such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the creation of a new gouernour, whome they name their capitaine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being ended, at the next saire kept within that countrie, proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting within his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the ancient & accustomed name as such rulers aforesaid haue bene called by. And that so oft as they heare him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and make a certeine courttesie in signe of honour due to him, in such maner as we vse in hearing diuine seruice, when anie holie myserie is in doing, or anie sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest studie was to mainteine iustice throughout his dominion, and to weed out such transgressours as went about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Furthermore, considering what inconueniencies proceeded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wanton belittes, he ordeined that the youth of his realme should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and trauell, as to lie vpon hard boards without anie featherbeds or pillowes vnder them. Also to exercise themselves to throw the dart, to shoot, to wrestle, and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of

waire; that when need required, trauell and such kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might make the same intollerable. Whilist Ewin is thus occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordinances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require his aid against the Britains, who were entred his countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, lent an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forthward to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the old iniuries done to his nation by the Britains, who likewise were as readie to receiue battell, as the Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that both the armies incountring together (the Scots and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the other) there ensued a sore conflict betwixt them, continued with vnnmercifull slaughter till night parted them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who had the better, but either part being priue to their owne losses, withdrew themselves further off from the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts the same night got them into the mounteins of Picland, and the Britains so soone as it was day made homewards with all speed towards their countrie, leauing no small preie and bottie behind them, which the Scottisemen and the Picts recovered, coming downe with all speed from the mounteins, when they once heard that their enemies were departed.

King Ewin being returned from this iourne, determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of the same. He appointed also such as should watch for the apprehension of thieues and robbers by the high waies, assigning them liuings of the common treasure to lue by. And there be euen vnto this day that hold still such liuings, though the office be woyme out of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant from Berregonium, which he named after his owne name Quonium: but afterwards it was called Dunstafage, which is as much to say, as St. Stephens castell, which name it beareth at this present. Finally, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great weale of the realme, about 19 yeeres, he departed this life, leauing behind him a son base begotten, named Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be executed with all solempne pompe and ceremonies, raised by some after fundry obelisks about his graue nere vnto Dunstafage, where he was buried.

There were present also at the buriall, two of Dursus his sones, whome Ewin in his life time had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, because they were twins, and not knowne whether of them came first into the world, looked to be king after Ewin: their names were Doshan and Dorgall. And such malicious emulation and enuious spite rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attaining of their purpose, that greater could not be deuised; which Gillus, like a craftie & subtil for, by couert means sought still to augment; and in the end causing them to come together for some conclusion of agreement, at length when he had set them further at odds than they were before, he procured a number of souldiers appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and there to slaie them both.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he came for, shewed in countenance as though he had bene much offended therewith, and done what he could

A doubtfull
battell.

Dunstafage
is builded.

The craftie
swooking of
Gillus.

Dursus two
sonnes are
slaine.

D.iiij.

could to haue appeased the matter, and herewith be cometh running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good thist for himselfe, he had bene slaine by the hands of Dothan and Dozgaill, who fell into such mischance themselves, as they had prepared for other. Whereupon also he requited his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in so much that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstafage, where being receiued into the castell with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuective oration against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he perswaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowen, vnto whome the same of right appertained.

The nobles through feare consented to create Gillus king.

Gillus goeth about to murder Dothan's sonnes also.

A detestable murder.

Ederus escapeth.

Gillus counterfeith a seale to iustice.

Those that were present, perceiuing to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might haply be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaim him king: whereupon he required all such as were present, to sweare vnto him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he won the greater fauour of manie, but yet not iudging himselfe altogether in suertie, by reason that Dothan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and thereupon he made a iournie thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all loue and frendlie affection towards the childzen, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismorus, being about twelue yeres of age, and the other Cozmacus that was two yeres yonger. The yongest of the three named Ederus, being about seuen yeres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gillus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought by like the childzen of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leaving certeine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the yongest out of the way at leisure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dunstafage, he caused them to be murdered, euen in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, prouided more warlike for his safeguard, for the smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders vp into the mounteins, and there with in a secret den sustained his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gillus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he: ever reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of midowers, whereas he himselfe thirshed continually, and most of all after the blood of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance: insomuch that he con-

sed in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the latefull line of Durstus.

Now the people seeing the daile slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be verie sore moued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Kilep, Carrike, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lozne, and Argile, they assembled their powers together, and with all speed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such puissance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enemies with more speed than good successe: for per the two armies came to ioining, a great number of Gillus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that hereupon doubting the issue if he were constrained to fight, he stole priuile from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers bote, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowen, his souldiours yelded themselves vnto Cadall gouernor of Galloway, who was capitaine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernor of the realme till they had chosen a king.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Beragonium, Dunstafage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Fla, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gillus, if he should attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Isles. Whither was brought vnhim also, the yong Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gillus) whome Cadall caused to be honozable conueied vnto Episke the chiefe citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, he might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

In which meane while Gillus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, insomuch that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefe gouernors there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Whereof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, whereupon causing a counsell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agreement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Finnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was lately come from the Ile of Gotwere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gillus that sought amongst other to haue destroyed him also.

This Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gillus his enemie. And hearing that he had bene in the Ile of Fla, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gillus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernor of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstafage, directed his course straight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enemies, he put them to the worse, insomuch that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saued himselfe. His souldiours also perceiuing him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yelded themselves vnto Cadall, who toke them to grace, and forthwith sent

Gillus taken.

Gillus beheaded.

A ship taken by a tempest.

Cadall for god's sake service is rewarded.

The Scots rise against Gillus.

Gillus departeth secretly and getteth ouer into Ireland. Cadall of Galloway is chosen gouernor of the realme.

Ireland and other take Episke not to be so farre north.

Gillus purchases aid in Ireland.

Ewin the second of that name chosen king.

Ewin.

Cadall with an armie is sent into Ireland.

An interdict betwixt the kings of Scots and Pictis. The people of Pictis in uade Cathulls.

Bladus of Pictis slain by him.

Emmett's ship is burned.

Emmett's ship is burned.

Gillus ta-
kin.Gillus be-
headed,A shipwreck
by a tempest.Cadall for his
god's faithful
service is re-
warded.An interview
betwixt the
kings of
Scots and
Picts.
The people of
Dykeney in-
vade Cathe-
ness.Bladus king
of Dykeney
slayeth himself.Emerio-
chtyeys built.Ennerneffe
built.

sent out certeine companions to seeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien hys certeine daies, and was almost starved for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie strooke off his head, and presented the same unto Cadall, to the great reioicing of all the companie.

Thus after that Cadall had atchieved his enterprize with god successe, he toke the sea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greivous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voiage. Which mishance fore blemished the glorie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioicing of manie was turned into dolefull moorning for the losse of their friends and kinssolke, but namelie Cadall toke it so greivouslie, that nothing could be more of sensue unto him. Holobrit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castels in Galloway, in recompense of his god faithfull seruice at sundrie times shewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an interview with the king of Picts in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th ancient leage betwixt the Scottish men and the Picts. For more corroboration wherof Sijora the daughter of Cethus the third king of the Picts, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the solemnization being kept at Epiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Dussafage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Kosse, that the Islanders of Dykeney had passed Pictland fith, and were entred into Cathness, robbing and spoiling that countrie with a great part of Kosse, he lent an armie with all speed, and hastened towards the enimies, constraining them by his sudden comming to fight whether they would or not, hauing no leisure to get awaie, so that with small resistance they were vanquished and chased, some into the mounteins, and other to the sea side: of whom part escaped by botes ouer into their countries, the residue of them in this their sudden overthrow being either slaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Dykeney, for that he would not come into his enimies hands, slue himself. And thus ended this enterprize against the enimies of Dykeney: greatlie to the increase of Ewins fame amongst the Scottish nation.

After this he visited the west parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, infranchising the same with a sanctuary for the refuge of offenders. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reason of the great abundance of samons, herrings, and other fish which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be seene in that place where it stood, euen to this day. He likewise built an other citie in the east part of the realme nere to the water called Lochness, which he named Enuerneffe, after the name of the water. Whither in times past there resorted manie merchants of Germanie, with such merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there stood in need of, exchanging the same with them for marterne skins, and other such fures, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well stored with diuers kinds of merchandize, so that this Ewin proued a most famous prince for his worthy exploits right fortunatellie atchieved both in peace and warre. And finally understan-

ding the death of his betie deere and intirelle beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Epiake, as well to giue order for the pacifieng of his sonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to do the more honor to his friend now deceased, by erecting some monument nere vnto his sepulchre. Comming therefore to Epiake, and setting an accord betwixt the yong men, he caused an image to be made in all points resembling the personage of Cadall, as nere as might be: which he placed in the midst of the market steed, commanding the same to be honozed with burning of incense and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies also, through inward sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so deere a friend, he began to wax sicke himselfe, and at length perceiving he should not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose hands with manie wholsome aduertisements how to vse himselfe in gouernement of his subiects, he wholie resigned the estate, the which after his decesse he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned seuentene yeares continuallie for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

After the decesse of Ewin, Ederus was, in manner before expressed, receiued for king by the whole assent of all the Scottishmen. Whose chiefe delight was altogether in hunting and keeping of hounds and greihounds, to chase and pursue wild beasts, and namelie the wolke the heardmans so, by meanes wherof his aduancement was much more acceptable amongst the nobles, who in those daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleasure and pastime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards the publike state of the realme being maintained by vpright iustice, and all transgressions through terror of due punishment politike lie repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Bredus of the Fles, nere of kin to Gillus that usurper and murderer, who with a power of Irishmen, and other of the wessterne Fles landed in Argile, wasting & spoiling the countrie with fire & sword, wherof Ederus being aduertised (who was at the same time in those parts hunting amongst the mounteins) gathered an armie with all speed, and hastening to the place where his enimies ships late at anchoz, he first burned the same, to take awaie all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

After this, he passed ouer into the wessterne Fles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Bredus, putting some to death, and causing other to sine at his pleasure, and depriuing some vtterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadoz sent from Castillane kings of the Britains, requiring him of aid against Julius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect vnderstanding) was appointed verie hostile to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the seigniozie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Ederus receiued these ambassadoz verie courteously: and forsomuch as their maisters request required counsell, he caused his lords which were then present, to assemble together the next daie, afore whome he willed that Androgeus, chiefe of the British ambassadoz, should declare the effect of his message,

Cadall de-
ceased.Ewin reli-
queth the estate.Ewins de-
cesse.

Ederus.

Bredus in-
uadeth the
Scots.Ederus bur-
neth his en-
imies ships.Castillane
king of the
Britains re-
quireth of the
Scottishmen
aid against
the Romans.Androgeus
chefe ambas-
sador of the
Britains de-
clareth the
effect of his
message.

The Scots
grant to aid
the Britains
against the
Romans.

Cadallane &
Douald with
ten thousand
Scotishmen
send to aid
the Britains.

1129 H.B.
60 H.B.

The Brit-
tains refuse
aid being of-
fered them.

Julius Cesar
inuateth this
land the se-
cond time.

The Brit-
tains are over-
throwne.

Julius Cesar
his message
to the Scots
and Picts.

The answer
of the Scots
and Picts un-
to Cesar his
ambassadors.

sage, which he did so eloquentlie, and uttering such sensible matter, how it stood the Scotchmen upon to aid the Britains against such common enemies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the aduise of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associates vnto Cethus king of the Picts, to moue him to do the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

Thus the British ambassadors hauing sped accord-
ding to their desires, repaired homewards: immed-
iatlie vpon whose departure, both the kings Ede-
rus & Cethus leuied their armies, & sent them forth
towards London, whereas then Cassibilane sojour-
ned. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men
vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernoz of Gallo-
way, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and
one Douald gouernoz of Argile. But what successe
followed of this first iourne which Cesar made into
Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of
England moze at length exprest. The yere that
Julius Cesar came to inuade Britaine, was the
fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of
the world 3912 complet, which is after Maister Ha-
rison's account 54 before the coming of our Sau-
our, and 692 after the building of Rome.

The Scotchmen and Picts hauing their part of
the spoile which the Romans at their departure left
behind them, were sent home to their countries with
great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the
Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure
of the Romans, that they beleued verelie they shuld
haue no moze to do with those enemies, or if they had
they thought themselves strong enough to repell
them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when
king Ederus was informed how the Romans pre-
pared to inuade them afresh, and had sent them word
thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no ac-
count of that offer, but answered that it was not
necessarie, for euerie light inuasion of forren eni-
mies, to seeke helpe at other mens hands, being of
puissance sufficient of themselves to resist the same
well enough.

But of this refusall of so friendlie an offer, it was
not long per the Britains soze repented them. For
shortlie after Julius Cesar with a farre greater po-
wer than that which he brought with him at the first
time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe:
and being at thre sundrie times fiercelie incountred
by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cas-
sibilane with his Britains to flight, slaying and ta-
king a great number of them. Amongst other of the
prisoners were thre of their chiefeest capteins, An-
drogeus, Cilentorixes, and Tenantius. By reason
of which overthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged,
that doubting further mischefe, he yelded himselfe
vnto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as
were appointed him, and for performance of cou-
nants, deliuered sufficient pledges.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent
his ambassadors vnto the kings of the Scotchmen
and Picts, requiring them to submit themselves as
Cassibilane had done, or else he had them loke for
open warres at the Romans hands, which they might
assure themselves they should in no wise be able to
sustaine, considering their mightie and huge pus-
sance, hauing the most part of the whole world at
their commandement already. Wherevnto aswell
the one king as the other made this or much what
the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose
their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution,
if they were put to the trial, should be euidentlie

prooued by the deed it selfe.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these
two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them
with a moze rough message, who not onlie by threats
but also by great reasons went about to perswade
them vnto submission. But they persisting in their
former opinion for defense of their liberties, and vt-
terlie refusing all manner of bondage, would incline
by no meanes to come in any bond of friendship
with the Romans. After the returne of these last
messengers, Cesar was fullie resolved to enter into
their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of
sword, wherevnto by treatie he might not induce
them: and had set forward on that iournie shortly
after indeed, if he had not bene called backe into
France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised
by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those
countries, where the Picards and Normans, with
other the inhabitants were about Chartres do now
dwell.

The common Scotch chronicles record, how Ju-
lius Cesar came as far as Balenar wood, and there
wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Pictish
kings vied most to sojourne. Herevnto the same
chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stone-
house of 24 cubits in heighth, & of 12 cubits in bredth,
of square helwen stones, right workmanlie framed,
which house they saie Cesar caused to be vied in stead
of a iudgement hall, and here placed it nere the ri-
uer of Caron, ouer against the forrenamed citie of
Camelon, as a witnessse that the Romans arrie
had bene so far forward within that countrie. Such
an house there remaineth to be seene euen vnto this
daie, and is called Julius hoff, that is Julius hall,
or Julius court. Howbeit, other moze agreeable to
the likelihoode of a truth, write that this house was
sometimes a temple builded to the honoz of Claud-
ius Cesar, and of the goddess Victoria, by the Romane
capteine Vespasian, at such time as he made wars
in that countrie, before his aduancement to the
empire.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same
time, in which he looked to be inuaded by Julius Ce-
sar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent
for them of the westernne Isles to reinforce his host, he
was now inforced to conuert it another waie, for
there was one Murketus, nephue vnto the aboue
remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of
Ireland to rob and spoile those Isles, being destitute
as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing
thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into
those parties for defense of his subiects: which Ca-
dallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this ex-
ploite, that setting vpon the enemies as they laie at
anchoz, he toke them in the night season, without
making any great defense, and after hanged them
vp along the thoz side within the Ile of Colwe:
Murket himselfe being honozed with an higher place
to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was
their chiefe head and leader in that vobage. The re-
mant of Ederus his reigne passed without anie o-
ther notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38
yeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23
yeare of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was
buried also at Dunstaffage with all due pompe & so-
lemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome
then was) erected and set vp about the place where
he was so intumulate.

After him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of
that name, nothing like in any princelie quali-
tie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise
infamed by all kind of vices. In the first yeres of
his reigne he was wholly drownd in lasciuious leche-
rie, abandoning himselfe altogether to lie weltering
amongst

Cesar sendeth
new messen-
gers vnto the
Scots and
Picts, but
they speake
much like to
the former.

Balenar or
Caledon wood
this cannot
be true, for
Cesar came
not near Scot-
land, as in the
historie of
England it
appareth.

Julius hoff

Murketus
nephue vnto
Gillus inua-
deth the wes-
terne Isles.

Murket is
hanged with
manie moze.
48 H.B.
26 H.B.
Ederus de-
parteth this
life.

Ewin.

A licentious
king.

fulchie

Corn is
sown and
taken in
substance.

Ewin is
denied to
be actual

Ewin is
strangled

32 H

Metel-
lus.

Imbalin
king of the
Britains

Metellus
becomes
friend to the
Romans.

amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer thoroughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murdered, onlie because he might the more freely without gainsaieng haue his vile trade of liuing with their wiues and cousins. Such delight he had also in his filthy and abominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawful for euery man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualities. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common unto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first deflower the bride after his marriage: which last ordinance took such effect, that of manie hundred yeeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authority of the king succeeded. Thowhe after this Ewins decess, taken awaie and reuoked.

such lawes

Ewin is put-
ted and for-
taken his
subiects.

Ewin com-
mitted to per-
petuall prison

Ewin is
strangled.

32 H.B.

Metella-
nus.

Kimballine
king of the
Britains.

Metellanus
becometh
friend to the
Romans.

But now to conclude touching the doings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatly abhorred his vile conditions & vices, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there took him prisoner: being destitute of all aid and succours: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarrell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Cadallan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclaimed gouernor of the realme. Thowhe it the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous young man, in hope to haue thanks of Cadallan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in stead of thanks he was recompented with death: for Cadallan detesting such a wicked deed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seventh yeere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, being the 9th yeere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

After Ewin succeeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Ederus a prince of most gentle behauiour. This Metellanus maintained his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie manner of wars, either forren or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessor had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such young gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Kimballine king of the Britains an ambassado: from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entering into the gouernment of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, with the whole world, through means of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

These ambassado: went also vnto Metellanus the B. of the Scottishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superiortie in the Romane emperor, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassado: with rich iewels to present his person withall. Thowth Metellanus being partly moued to haue a freendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperor, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which means he obtained an

amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

This a generall peace as then reigning throughout the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Iuda. Which most blessed and salutarious birth did come to passe in the 12 yeere of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scottis kingdome by Fergusus 324 yeeres, and after the creation of the world 3986, as Clarion in his chronologie both manifestlie concludeth. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeeres in continuall peace and quietnes, euermore ready to do the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finally, he passed out of this life in the 39 yeere of his reigne, which was the 5th after the birth of our Saviour; and 13 of Tibertus the emperor. Thowth he left no issue alme behynde him to succeed in the gouernment of the kingdome, yet those children which he had begotten, he lured in his life time, by meanes wherof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephew to king Metellanus by his sister Eupelia, was proclaimed king: as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie about all other the yeeres and high estates of the realme; and was not a little to do in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metellane.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the Britaine Isles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which done, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Carduon, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situate within the countrie cleped Carrick, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euene vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore flourishing in the more; he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilste these things were a doing in Scotland, Kimballine king of the Britains died, who for that he had bene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guderius succeeding, disdaind to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and intreated the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life, but such as saved themselves within castles & fortresses.

The emperor Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised herof, sent two capteins, Aulus Plautius, and Cneus Sertius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, vanquished Guderius in battell, so that he was constrained to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enemies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to pacifie with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassado: returns, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciarie to moue some conspracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guderius had not bene constrained to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, for the Walls could be resolved vpon anie determinat purpose.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Walls to raise their intended rebellion. Short-

The birth of
our Saviour
Christ.

10 H.B.
320 H.B.
3109 H.B.

Metellane
departeth
this world.

29 H.B.

14 H.B.

Caratake is
proclaimed k.
This Caratake
take all the
British and
English
waters take to be
a Britaine,
and inhabi-
ting within
that portion of
the Ile now
called Eng-
land.

Caratake.

Caratake
was borne in
Carrick.

Kimballine
king of the
Britains
died.

Guderius
the Britis
king rebelleth
against the
Romans.

Plautius &
Sertius
Plautius.

Guderius
sendeth to
Caratake for
aid.

France in
those daies
Gallia.

Guderius
slaine.

The emperor Claudius cometh into Brittain.

Claudius saileth into the Orkneys.

How Kirke-wale.

Claudius taketh the king of the Orkneys.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Orkneys. Dion Cassius.

Arviragus forsaketh his lawfull wife.

Moada imprisoned.

Moada is delivered out of prison, and conueied into Wales.

Arviragus giueth his enemies an overthrow.

lie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Brittain, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obedience, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance convenient, he set forward towards the Isles of Orkney, purposing to conuere the same, for that they had aided the Britains in these last warres against the Romans. But approaching nere to those Isles, he was in danger to haue bene cast awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he was entered the streit betwixt the Orkneys and Duncubie head in Cathness called Widdland strith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arrived, no bodie at home, all the people through feare, vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselves in caues and dens amongst the rocks and mountains.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into Domonia the chiefe of all the Orkneys, where discouering such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he besieged the king of those Isles named Canus, within a castell where he was withdrawn; and finally causing him to yield himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Brittain (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie. ¶ But whatsoever Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Orkneys, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he haied not past 16 daies in Brittain, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in deed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Brittain, and after go into Orkney and conuere the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth. But this discourse haue I made according to their owne histories, least I should seeme to defraud them of whatsoever glorie is to be gotten by errors, as the manner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the advantage oftentimes of writers scant worthy of credit.

But now againe to our purpose. Arviragus being established in the kingdome of Brittain, vpon some priuat displeasure forsooke his wife named Moada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scottishmen, and married Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britans disallowed; the more in deed, because he had faire issue already by Moada, as a son and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Plandius, thereby to breake all friendship and alliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers together. Neither did he onelie refuse Moada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conueied hir into Wales together with hir children.

With which dealing Arviragus being highly moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that adioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capteine Aulus Plandius assembling together with such of the Britains as toke part with Arviragus, set forward toward the enemies, and ioining with them in battell, did giue them the overthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that

the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lancashire, Dorsetshire, and Warburshire, were by in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Arviragus and Aulus Plandius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoever chanced. And to reenforce their power, Aulus Plandius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into France, to come with all speed to his aid.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselves, now being certified of all their enemies doings, thought best to make themselves so strong as was possible. And to the end that they might proceed in some orderlie maner, all the greatest lords and estates assembled together at Shrewsburie, in those daies called Coniunium, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Arviragus, who went about to bring them wholly vnder seruaile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans. They being thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance together, there rose a doubt whome they might chuse for their generall capteine, for that it was feared least there might growe some secret enuie amongst the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which mischief, by the graue admonition of one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requesting him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Arviragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie done to his sister queene Moada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit to the end, such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane blood) might inioy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the British lords which were confederat in this enterprize, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the iust causes of their warre, and the suertie which by victorie gotten might insue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and throughlie weighing the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, vnto what place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to prouide for themselves, as their enemies might haue no advantage at their hands. With this agreeable answer the British messengers returned to Shrewsburie to the confederats, who reioicing at the news, made prouision against the next spring to go against the Romans, in hope of god successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkist were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so nere their noses they were loth to see or heare of. So some therefore as the spring approached, all those three people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Dorsetshire, in purpose to encounter with their enemies in battell, wheresoener they found them.

Arviragus and Aulus Plandius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & coming towards them,

A commotion against Arviragus.

The Britains make themselves strong.

The Britains assemble themselves at Shrewsburie.

They confederat themselves together.

Caratake chosen to be capteine of the Britains.

Arviragus should disherit his own children which he had by Moada.

Caratake promised aid to the Britains.

The Picts ioine with Scots and Britains against the Romans.

for a while forbare to ioin in battell, through counsell of Plandius, who perceiuing the most part of the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers, taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by protracting time they would be come out of heart, through watching and euill harborough; in such sort that in the end they should be easie enough to deale with; and euen so it came to passe, for the Romans refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured to the fields on eij side abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or vittels, but they were still snatched vp, so that what through hunger, lacke of sleepe, and other diseases, manie of the Britains began to conueie themselves from the campe home to their houses, of whome some being taken by the enemies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and sore infeebled by such vnaccustomed trauell and diseases as they were inforced vnto in the campe. Whereupon Aruiragus and Aulus Plandius determined the next day to giue battell. And so in the morning they arraied their people, & marched forth betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederates, vnderstanding the enemies intent, was as readie to receiue battell as they were to offer it; whereupon there ensued right great and vnmerefull slaughter betwixt them on both parts, without sparing any at all, till such time as the night parted the fraie, with such losse on either side, that after they were once got in sunder, neither part had anie haile afterwards to ioin againe: so that in the morning there appeared none in the field but onelie the dead bodies, those that were left alieue as well on the one part as the other being fled and scattered into the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Plandius got them vnto London: and Caratake commanding his people home each man into his countrie, he himselfe withdrew first towards Powke, and after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortly after there came vnto him ambassadoes from Aulus Plandius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did aid the Britith rebels against the Romane empire, declaring that if he would not be conformable to make a wothie amends for so presumptuous an enterprise, he should be sure to haue the Romans his enemies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue it were much better for him to seeke their friendship, than to abide their enimitie.

Herevnto Caratake answered, that he had iust cause to doe that which he did, considering the injuries which his sister Gwoda with hir sonne Guidorius had and were like to receiue by their counsell and meanes; and therefore he was so little minded to make anie amends for that was done, that he thought it more reason that the Romans should clearelie auoid out of the whole possession of Britaine, either else they might assure themselves to haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts to be their perpetuall enemies, and that onelie for the chalenge of their ancient liberties and freedome. The Romane ambassadoes being returned with this answer, Plandius toke no small indignation thereat, for menacing to be reuenged of so high and contumelious words pronounced against the maiestie of the Romane empire.

About the same time Aruiragus, vpon trust conceived by ioining his power with the other confederate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the realme, and so to recover the intire estate, reuolting from them, fled into Shrewsburie, where, at the same time such Britith lords as were enemies to the Romans, were assembled againe in counsell, by whom Aruiragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye

maie be sure) of those lords, trusting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Genissa being at the same season great with child, toke such thought for this reuolting of hir husband, that travelling before hir time, she immediately died therewith. But Aulus Plandius, perceiuing now the roughlie how little trust there was to be put in the Britains, dispatched a messenger in all haile with letters vnto Claudius the emperor, who as then so iourned at Rome, signifieng vnto him in what danger the state of Britaine stood, if timelie prouision were not the sooner made.

Claudius weicng the matter by good aduise of counsell, ordeined by decree of the senate, that Vespasian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent hither with an armie, to tame the proud and loslie stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats the Scots & Picts. Vespasian herevpon departing from Rome, came into France, & increasing his legions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore his coming, he found euerie fortreffe so well furnished after the warlike order of the Romane vsage, and moreover all such companies of men of warre as kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he could not but much praise the great diligence and politike gouernement of Plandius.

Now when Vespasian had a little refreshed his men, and taken order how to proceed in the reducing of the Britains to their former obedience, he set forth toward Aruiragus & other the enemies, whom he vnderstood as then to be at Powke, making their assemblie, not generallie of all that were able to beare a club, as they did the yere before; but out of all parties a chosen number of piked men were sent for, as out of Denonshire & Coznewall there came 6000, south of Wales and the marches 12000, and the like number out of Kendall, Westmerland, and Cumberland. Out of Dorsetshire and other the parties of Britaine subiect vnto Aruiragus, there came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto Powke, euerie man bzinging his prouision with him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scotish men: and Illithara otherwise called Tharan, king of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

Vespasian being certified still from time to time of all the doings of his enemies, hasted with all speed towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides comming to the place where they were incamped within a marish ground not passing 12 miles from Powke, he fiercelie vpon a sudden fettesth vpon them within their campe, yer they thought he had bene nere them. But yet notwithstanding they manfully stood to their defense: insomuch that those in the right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue bene distressed, if Vespasian perceiuing the danger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, wherby the battell was newlie in that part restored. The captiues on either side did what they could to encourage their folkes to sticke to their tackle, without giuing ouer by anie meanes, considering what gain came by victorie, and what losse ensued by receiuing the overthrow.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like enraged lions, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire of reuenge, that euen when they were thrust through vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and desperate hardiness preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the dominion

Genissa the wife of Aruiragus dieth.

A messenger sent vnto Claudius the emperor from Plandius.

Vespasian cometh into Britaine.

The Britains gather an armie.

Acen.

The Scots & Picts come to aid the Britains. Illithara or Tharan king of Picts.

Vespasian assaileth the Britains in their campe.

The desperat hardinesse of the Britains and Scotish men.

Fortune fauoureth the Romans.

conuincion against Aruiragus.

The Britains make themselves wrong.

The Britains assemble themselves at Shrewsburie.

They conferre at themselves together.

The Britains were not through trauell.

The Romans give battell to the Britains.

Right part with the fray.

Caratake is often to be pteine of the Britains.

Aruiragus would discontinue his own lodzen which he had Gwoda.

Caratake remaineth home to Caridocum, Ambassadoes are sent vnto Caratake from Aulus Plandius.

Caratake misdeed aid the Britains.

Caratake his answer vnto the ambassadoes.

The Picts with the Scots and Britains at the Romans.

Aruiragus withdraweth.

The Brit-
tains receive
the ouerthrow

Caratake
escapeth.
Tharan king
of the Picts
is slaine.

Messengers
sent by Arui-
ragus vnto
Vespasian
with sub-
mission.

Arui-
ragus
cometh in
vnto Vespas-
ian.
Arui-
ragus is
restored again
to his former
dignitie.
The Brit-
tains are par-
doned, but yet
deliuer new
hostages.
Their lawes
abrogated.
New lawes.

Camelon be-
sieged by
Vespasian.

Camelon
surrendered.
The kings
regall orna-
ments taken.

Camelon peo-
pled with
Romans.

nion of the whole world, he wed hir selfe so fauoura-
ble vnto them in this battell, that in the end, though
the Britains with the confederats did what lay in
men to do for attaining of victorie, yet were they
beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a
few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight.

Arui-
ragus seeing the slaughter of his people,
would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his ser-
uants caried him by force out of the field; that he
might be reserued yet vnto some better fortune.
Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie,
but Tharan king of the Picts, not coueting to liue
after such losse of his people, threw away his armor
with all his kinglie ornaments, and sitting downe
vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there
slaine by such as followed in the chase. Arui-
ragus being conueied out of danger, and gotten into Forke,
considered how by reason of this great discomfiture,
it was vnpossible to resist the Romane puissance,
and therefore with consent of the residue of his no-
bles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an
herald vnto Vespasian, offering to submit himselfe in
most humble wise vnto anie reasonable conditions
of peace and agreement. Wherevpon Vespasian com-
manded that Arui-
ragus should in priuate apparell
come in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie
peace, except he had Arui-
ragus present, and there-
fore he sent vnto him his safe conduct to assure him
safetie both to come and go.

Arui-
ragus seeing no other remedie, came in vnto
Vespasian, according to his appointment, and vpon
his submission was pardoned of all his trespasses,
and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and
good townes also that were partakers in the rebel-
lion, were in semblable wise forgiven without fin-
ning or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all
the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better
assurance of their loyaltie in time to come, they deli-
uered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were
abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place
established. For the administration of the which, in
euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to
see god orders obserued according to the forme there-
of. By which meanes the Britith nation estones re-
turned vnto hir former obedience of the Romane
empire. All the winter following, Vespasian laie
at Forke, making his apprests against the next
spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So sone
therefore as the summer was come, Vespasian set-
teth forward with his armie, and entering into the
marshes of his enemies, he did put them in such feare
that the Picts were glad to yeld themselves vnto
him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which
were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through
strength of that towin to defend themselves from all
assaults. Vespasian being certified therof, came & be-
sieged them within the same citie, not minding to de-
part till he had them at his pleasure. This siege con-
tinued till they within, being in danger to famish
through want of vittels, surrendered themselves
with the towin into Vespasians hands. In this towin
were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne
& sword, with other ietwels belonging to the kings of
the Picts. The sword hauing the hilt of gold, & a pur-
ple scabbard very finely wrought & trimmed, Vespas-
ian vied to weare in all the warres wherein he after-
wards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what god
successe and lucke to follow therof. The Pictish lordes
which were within Camelon, were commanded to
deliuer pledges: and after licenced to depart with-
out anie other damage. Vespasian himselfe remai-
ning at Camelon, take order for the peopling of the
towne with Romans, granting them the vse of the
liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabi-

ting in Rome intoed. Also ouer against the towne
vpon the banke of the riuer of Caron, he builded a
temple in honor of the emperor Claudius, wherein
he set vp two images, the one representing Claudi-
us, and the other the goddess Victoria.

Whilest he was thus occupied, tidings came to
him, that Caratake king of the Scottishmen had as-
sembled in Galloway a great army of Scots, Picts
and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to
revenge the last ouerthrow. Wherevpon Vespasian
with all speed sent forth a strong power vnder the
leading of Aulus Plautius to incounter the eni-
mies. Plautius being approached within foure miles
of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as
though he minded not to passe further, till Vespasian
with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his
aid. Nevertheless, night was no sone come on,
but that he gaue generall commandement through
his host, that euerie man should make him readie to
depart at a certeine houre vnder the standards of
their captains in order of battell.

Then in the second watch of the night he set for-
ward, following certeine guides (which knew all the
straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to
the place where Caratake with his armie was lod-
ged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend
his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon
the whole campe, and though he found such resistance
that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from
the dawning of the day, till it was hie none, yet in
the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and
the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were
on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake esca-
ping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him
to the castell of Dunstaffage. Diuerse of the Bri-
tains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted them-
selues, were put in such dread through brute of this
ouerthrow, that immediatlie therevpon they came
in and yelded themselves vnto Vespasian. And in
semblable wise the people of Galloway bitterlie de-
pairing any longer to defend their countrie against
Plautius (who was now entred into their confines,
and had taken the citie of Carrike) offered to become
subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer
be brought vnto before that time.

These newes being certified vnto Vespasian by
a pursuant, he rode straightwaies vnto Carrike, &
there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the in-
habitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambas-
sadoes vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie
meanes to become friend vnto the Romane em-
pire, in acknowledging some maner of subiection
therevnto: but this deuise was to small purpose, for
Caratake was determined rather to end his life as
a free Scottishman in defense of libertie, than to be-
come thrall vnto anie foreine nation, in hope to
liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came
anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they
would surpe the whole dominion vnto themselves.
Whose mind when Vespasian vnderstood by his an-
swer made to the ambassadoes which were sent vnto
him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto
Dunstaffage where Caratake lay, but that he was
informed what dangerous passages he must march
through, all full of desert mounteins, bogs, and
quauetires, without anie prouision of vittels or
forage to bee found by all the way as the armie
should passe.

Leauing therefore this enterprize, he caused so ma-
nie vessels to be assembled, as could be prouided on
all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile
of Man, into the which there were gotten together a
great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped
the Romans hands. But this iourne also was bro-

Julius Hoff.
This was at
Colchester, as
the British &
English wri-
ters doe tell.

Caratake as-
sembled an
armie.

Plautius
sent forth with
an armie a-
gainst Ca-
ratake.

Plautius
settleth vpon
the Scottish
campe.

Caratake fly-
eth vnto
Dunstaffage.

The people of
Galloway
submit them-
selues to the
Romans.

Ambassadoes
sent vnto
Caratake.

Caratake bit-
terlie refuseth
to become a
subiect.

The Ile of
Man wight re-
bellyth.

Vespasian
appeareth the
rebels.

Vespasian
returneth to
Rome.

Plautius left
as gouernor.
Plautius
prepareth to
meet the
Scots.

The Romans
through politie
banished
the Scottish-
men.

Plautius tal-
leth sicke.

Diogenes
Scapula is
sent into
Britaine.

Julius Vespas-
ianus dyeth.

The blage as-
mongst the
Scots to
burne the
dead bodie,

The blage as-
mongst the
Scots to
burne the
dead bodie,

The Ile of
Wight re-
bellyth.

Vespasian
appeareth the
rebels.

Vespasian
returneth to
Rome.

Plautius left
as gouernor.
Plautius
prepareth to
mar the
Scots.

The Romans
through poli-
cie hangwith
the Scottish-
men.

Plautius fal-
lith sick.

Drusus
Scapula is
sent into
Britaine.

Julius Plau-
tius dyeth.

The blage a-
mongst the
Scots to
burne the
dead bodie.

Ambassadors
sent vnto
Caratake.

Caratake be-
terrie refu-
sely to be-
come a
subiect.

ken by another incident, for euen at the same time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of Wight, with the Kentishmen, and diuerse others the inhabitants vpon the south coast, were reuolted, and had slaine diuerse Romans, which lay in gar- sons in those parts. Vespasian therefore minding to cure this wound yer it should throughlie fester, ha- sted thither with all speed, and with little a doo pacifi- eng the rebels, caused the chiefe offenders to be pu- nished according to their deserts.

Shortlie after being sent for by the emperor Claudius, he returned vnto Rome with great glo- rie for his noble and high atchiued victories. Aulus Plautius was left in charge with the gouernement of Britaine after Vespasians departure: who bea- ring that Caratake had assembled a great armie of Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had not yet submitted themselves vnto the Romans, in purpose to recouer againe those countries which Vespasian had late lye conquered, he likewise prepa- red to meet them, so that both the armies encounte- ring together, there was fought a right terrible bat- tell with great slaughter on both parties, till finalle the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through skillfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were discomfited and chased into the bogs and marishes, the common refuge in those daies for the Scots, when by anie aduenture they chanced to be put to flight.

After this ouerthrow the warre was continued for two yers space, by rodes and incursions made one vpon another in the confines of Aile and Gal- loway. In which meane while Plautius fell sicke of the flux, which still continuing with him, brought him at length in such case, that he was not able to travell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote his letters vnto the emperor Clau- dius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and thereupon required that some sufficient personage might be sent to occupie his roome. Claudius hauing receiued his letters, and vnderstanding the effect of the same, sent one Drusus Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

About the time of whose arriual into Britaine, Aulus Plautius departed out of this world at Ca- melon, where he then sojourned. His bodie was bur- ned, and according to the vsage of the Romans in those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and bur- ied within the church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is said) Vespasian builded nere vnto Camelon, vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome taken vp amongst both Scots and Picts (as some thinke) to burne the bodie of the dead, and to burie the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuerse to- kens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findoe a village in Perne, five miles distant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which so soone as they were brought into the aire, fell to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne called Kenbacten in Parre, ten miles distant from Aberdine, about the same time were found by cer- teine ploymen two sepulchres made of cut and squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of worke- manship, bignesse and inscription like to the other two. Many the semblable monuments haue bene found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past: but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

But now to our purpose. Immediatelie vpon the comming of Drusus into Britaine, the people

of the west countries rebelled, procuring the no- therne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to do the like. They sent also vnto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarell against the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, considering it was like they should match well i- nough with this new Romane capteine Drusus Scapula, that vnderstood little of the maners and vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding, Drusus being informed of all these practises, and remembering what furtherance it were for a cap- teine in the begining to win a name by some praise- worthe enterpryse, he made first towards the we- sterne Britains, whome he thought to surpise yer they should assemble with the other rebels, and so meeting with them, he chased and toke a great num- ber of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

After this, he went against the people called Icen, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countrie now called Drfordshire, but other take them to be North- folke men, who being gathered together, were gotten into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch as they vse to vse pasture grounds, that no hostie men should breake in vpon them: yet this notwith- standing, Drusus assailed them within their strength, and in the end breaking downe the rampire, with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on eich side. But of this battell, and likewise of other enterpri- ses, which Drusus and other of the Romane lieute- nants atchiued here in Britaine, ye shall find more thereof in the historie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which verelie make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yere of our Lord 320, at the sonest. And as for the Silures and Brigants removed by Hector Boetius so farre northward, it is euidentlie proued by Hum- frey Llhoed, and others, that they inhabited coun- tries contained now within the limits of England. The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Drdonices where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Car- rike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the descrip- tion as in the historie of England aforesaid.

But now to retorne where we left: the brute of this late victorie quieted the busie minds of such o- ther of the Britains, as were readie to haue reuolt- ed. But they of Galloway would not at the first giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Cara- take continued in their rebellion, till Drusus came thither, and beate downe such as made resistance, whereby the other were soone pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Aile and Cantire, spoli- ling and wasting those countries, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which in- turie Caratake being not a litle kindled, he assem- bled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40 thousand men, that of his owne subiects and other such as came to his aid. For after he was entred in- to Aialand, there came vnto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be re- uenged on the Romans, either else to lose life and libertie both at once, for the task of bondage was so bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this sea- son, that they in maner were whole conspiried toge- ther to remoue that yoke of thraldome from their shoulders which so painefullie pinched them.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose forth a strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one side with the course of a deepe wordlesse riuer, and on the other sides it might not be approached vnto for the

The Bri-
tains yet est-
tomes rebell.
The Bri-
tains require
aid of Cara-
take.

The Bri-
tains of the
west part are
chased.

Icent.
Drfordshire
is assailed.
Some take
the Icent to
be the North-
folke men.

They of Gal-
loway are bea-
ten and paci-
fied.

Aile and Can-
tire wasted
and spoiled.
Caratake as-
sembleth an
armie.

The strength
of the place
where Car-
take was in-
camped.

C. J. Neapnesse

Of this matter ye may read more in England. Women in-sampled.

Women placed in order of battell. Caratake and his captains exhort their men to fight.

Moxius incourageth his Romans.

Caratake overthrowne by the Romans. His queene taken.

Caratake betrayed by his stepmother.

Caratake is sent to Rome.

He is shewen to the people in triumph.

Caratake departeth this life.

54
Strange lights seen.

steepnesse of the crags and such sending as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any waite to enter. All such women as were somewhat kept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to do valiantlie with shouting and hallowing unto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. Other such as were young and lustie, were appointed to keepe arate amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Caratake having thus ordered his field, and hearing that Moxius was come to give battell, exhorted his people to stick to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his captains and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiours, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for ever. On the other part Moxius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in arate after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whom they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certaine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Herewith vpon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Picts, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enemies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor unto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered unto Moxius. This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres. Moxius used him verie honorable, according to the degree of a king: finally he sent him vnto Rome, together with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His name was such throug all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

At his coming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with anie other atchiued enterprize against whatsoeuer the most puissant enemies of former time. The Emperour Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified his valiance, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oth received to be a true subiect vnto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning vnto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carrick, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeeres after his returne into Scotland, studying most cheeflie (during that time) how to preserve his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeares after the deceasse of his vncle Metellan, in the yeare of our Lord 54.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange lights seen in Albion, as fighting of horsemen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awaite, that no appearance of them could any where be perceiued. Also a sort of wolues in the night season set vpon such as

were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and caried awaite one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffered him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreover, at Carrick there was a child borne, perfect in all his lims sauing the head, which was like vnto a rauens. These unkeith signes and monsters put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interposed to the best.

10 After Caratakes decease, his yongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yeare after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbreid was a stout man of stomack, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the Westerne Isles, also in Koller & Cathnes. In the meane time the Picts hauing created there a now king called Conkist, gouernour of Spers and Louthian, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next townes and castles adjoining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the captains, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiours, lost their liues ther e.

30 Hostlie after also, the same Picts overthrowne a number of foragers, with such compantes of horsemen as came to defend them. Herewith Moxius being not a little moued, made ready his bands, and fiercelie incountred with the Picts, who defended themselves so vigorously, that the foie ward of the Romans was nere hard discomfited. Which danger Moxius perceiuing, speedilie came to relieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enemies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue bene slaine. The night coming vpon parted the fraie, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Picts with such other Britains as were come vnto them out of the Ile of Spau and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first joining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them vnto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streits of the mounteins, where they were also surprisid by such of the Picts as returned from the battell.

Moxius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and hostlie after sent a pursuant vnto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Picts, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to provide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Picts should be clemens receiued vpon their submission, if they were diuen to make sute for pardon, but vtterlie to be destroyed and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as sojourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Moxius departed this world, whether of his hurts (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) or throug sicknesse (as should rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it foeceth not. After whose

Corbreid.

The Picts more war against the Romans.

The Picts overthrow the Romane foragers.

Moxius is wounded.

The Romans trained forth into ambushes and so distressed.

Moxius slaines in a battle with the Picts.

The Romans are distressed by the Picts.

Moxius Diuine commeth into Britaine.

The Picts sent to the Scots for aid.

Cartimandua is sent with an armie into Galloway.

Moxius the husband of Cartimandua.

Moxius is slain.

Cartimandua is buried quick.

Julius
Caesar's
march
with
the
Picts.

The
Romans
are
dis-
comfited
by
the
Picts.

Julius
Didius
was
com-
mitted
into
Britaine.

The
Picts
sent
to
the
Scotts
for
aid.

Carinus
Pa-
cificus
entred
with
an
armie
into
Galloway.

Genusius
the
husband
of
Cartimandua.

Genusius
re-
solveth.

Cartimandua
is
buried
quickly.

whose decessie Paulus Valens had the chiefest charge, who bringing his armie forth to encounter the Picts that came to seek battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had a bidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400 horsemen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose fresh onset the Romans were discomfited and chased unto their campe, there being slaine about 2000 of them at that overthrow, and on the Picts side there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

About the same time there arrived in Britaine another Romane capitaine to be generall in place of Maximus now deceased, his name was Aulus Didius, with him came the two legions afore remembred. At his first comming over he mustered the old creches of the Romane souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the enemies so to increase upon them, to the great danger of losing all that (through sloth and faintnesse of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been wonne and conquered by high prowes and valiant conduct of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine with themselves to recover againe the honor which they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be brought to passe, if they would take unto them manfull stomachs, and obeie him and such other as had the governance and leading of them. The Picts being informed that this Aulus Didius was arrived with this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against them, they thought good to send unto Corbreid king of Scotland, to requite his aid against the Romans, reputed as common enemies to all such as loved libertie, and hated to live in servile bondage. For which respect Corbreid was the sooner moved to condescend unto the request of the Picts, and thereupon assembling an armie entred into Galloway. Whereof Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald unto him with all speed, commanding that he should depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned unto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuerfed againe unto the empire.

The herald had binneath done his message, when word came unto Corbreid how an armie of the Romans under the guiding of Caesius Pacificus was entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled and robbed on ech hand. These newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbreid upon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The host which Corbreid brought with him into Galloway, he bestowed in castles and fortresses abroad in the countrie for more safeguard, but he himselfe rode in all hast unto Epiake, to haue the aduise and aid of one Genusius that had married the forenamed Cartimandua that unkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Genusius was of counsell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraying of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through support of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end being wearied of the proud government of the Romans, he resolted from them unto Corbreid. Where with his wife being offended, found means to apprehend both him and his brethren with certeine of his kindfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

But now Corbreid at his comming thither, did not onlie set them at libertie, but also took & laied Cartimandua to be buried quickly. In the meane

while a certeine number of Scots distressed a few foragers of the Romans, but following the chase somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enemies and slaine. This mishance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Paulica was in purpose to haue assailed a certeine strong place, wherein a number of the Scottishmen were gotten, and had fortified the entrees, had not other newes altered his purpose, for hearing how another armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts, and were approached within three miles of him, he brought his host forth into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receive them. Whereof the Scottishmen hauing knowledge, hastened forth towards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onset, most fiercelie beginning the battell, which continued till sun-setting with great slaughter on both sides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue discomfited their enemies, had not those Scottishmen which were left in fortresses (as is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe instant to the aid of their fellows, by whose means the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts got vp into the mountains.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with these conditions; that the Romans should content themselves with that which they had in possession before the beginning of these last wars, and suffer Corbreid to enjoy all such countries as his brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts paying their former tribut for the finding of such garisons of Romans as late at Camelon, they should be no further charged with any other exactions. Moreover it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Picts from thenceforth should receiue or succour any rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should aid by any manner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had done manie notable displeasures to the Romans during the last warres. This peace continued a six yeares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of those six yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

After his decessie the emperor Nero, who succeeded Claudius, appointed one Vespasianus to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much desirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue warres with the Scottishmen; and at length hearing that certeine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Scotland, he did send a great power of Romans to make a rode into the next marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile, both of men and of goods. With which inturtes the Scots being moued, fought daillie in semblable sort to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre was renewed. But before any notable incounter chanced betwixt them, Vespasianus died. His last wordes were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that he might haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion unto the Romane empire, as if he might haue had so much time he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius succeeded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Corbreid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries done on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for so much as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that

The darke
night parted
the fraie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Aulus Didius
departeth
this life at
London.

Vespasianus
is made lieut-
enant of Brit-
taine.

Vespasianus
departeth this
life.

Paulinus
Suetonius.

Angleterre and
not Man
was thus in-
uaded by
Suetonius.

C.ij. it

Corbreid.

The Picts
more war-
against the
Romans.

The Picts
overthrow the
Romane for-
ragers.

Maximus is
wounded.

The Romans
trained forth
into ambu-
shes and so
distressed.

Maximus de-
eth.

it was not Span, but the Ile of Angleseic which the Britains name Môn, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficientlie after what fort Suetonius both attempted & atchieued this enterprise, which being brought to end, he was sent for into Gallia, to repress certain tumults raised among the people there. In whose absence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpose, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whilst Suetonius was busie in requiring the Ile of Angleseic, as in the English chronicle it likewise appeareth, with the strange sights and wonders which happened about the same time, whereupon the south-saiers (as Hector Boetius saith) declared that the Romans should receiue a great ouerthrow. Upon trust of whose words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereof, set upon such Romans as inhabited there, and slue a great manie of them per they were in doubt of a new rebellion. The residue which escaped, got them into an old church, where they were slaine ech mothers sonne.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Petilius Cerealis his men being slaine returned.

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Quene Moada desireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Charanach king of the Picts.

The Romans slaine.

Dutchmen arrive in Scotland.

Also Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of horsemen to their succours, was incountered by the Picts, & being put to flight, lost all his footmen, hardlie escaping himselfe with the horsemen to the campe. Shortly after he toke by his tents and returned towards Bent, where Catus the procurator or receiuer (as I may call him) of Britaine as then sojourned, who vnderstanding how the whole Ile was on ech side in an vprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while quene Moada sent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid against the Romans, who had so villie vsed hir and hir daughters, to the great dishonor of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of such iniuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the couctons dealing of the procurator Catus, being risen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

Corbreid being highlie displeased towards the Romans for the euill treating of his sister, determined either to see hir satisfied by worthy recompense, or else to be reuenged on them that had misblessed hir: and hereof gaue signification vnto Catus the procurator: that was as then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. Corbreid retaining but a scornfull answer from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering together a mightie armie of one & other, pursued the Romans and their associates, slaying downe a wonderfull number of them. He also burned and destroyed diuers towne, such as in keeping their allegiance to the Romans stood earnestlie to their defense, as Berwick and Carlisle with others. About the same season there arrived in the frith a number of Dutch ships, fraught with people of Perherne or Prouancia, a region in Germanie situate betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and assembling together vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came downe to the mouth of the Rhene, where making shift for vessels, they toke the seas to seeke them some new habitations; and thus arriving in Bialand, were ioyfullie receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries against the Romans. Amongst with the Picts they were much esteemed, for that they came forth of the same countrie from whence their ancestors were descended.

Their huge bodies and mightie limbs did greatly commend them in the sight of all men before whom they mustered, so that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march forth towards the enemies, they were highlie welcomed, and upon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iournie, in aid of quene Moada against the Romans. With this Moada was assembled a mightie host of the Britains, amongst whom were five thousand women, wholie bent to reuenge the villanies done to their persons by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpose were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the first that should giue the onset. Moada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great ioy and triumph.

Women come with the Picts in armour.

Women come with the Picts in armour.

The Romans are put to flight and ouerthrow.

Catus was wounded.

70000 Romans slaine; and 30000 Britains.

After taking aduise how to behaue themselves in their enterprise, they thought it good to make hast to fight with the procurator Catus, per anie new power of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met together in the field, where betwixt them was striken a right fierce and cruell battell; but in the end the horsemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on ech side; Catus himselfe being wounded, escaped verie hardlie by flight, and shortly after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchieued this victorie, pursued their enemies from place to place, so that there died by the sword, what in the battell and elsewhere in the chase, seuentie thousand Romans and other strangers, which serued amongst them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were slaine thirtie thousand.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things stood in Britaine, by reason of the same, came ouer with two legions of souldiers, and ten thousand of other Brigants as aiders to those legions. Moada the quene vnderstanding of his arrivall, assembled againe hir people, and sent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who together with the Prouancians came with all speed vnto hir. When they were thus assembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Prouancians on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched forth to incounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of sword, being earnestlie exhorted thereto by their gouernours on either side. So that ioining puillance against puillance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being slaine and borne downe on both sides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chased out of the field. There were slaine of them at the point of foure score thousand persons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Prouancians, together with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Moada the quene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enemies, slue hir selfe. Two of hir daughters were taken prisoners, and brought away, even as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

Moada assembled an armie against the Romans.

The Romans ouerthrow the Scots and Picts. The Prouancians all slaine. Moada slue hir selfe.

Marinus was made king.

The eldest of them within a few moneths after, was married vnto a noble Romane named Marinus, who had bestowed hir before time. He was also created king of Britaine by the emperours authoritie, that thereby the state of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He fled to lie most an enemie in the parties of Ren dale, and named a part thereof

wellmerland.

Humf. Lloid doubteth of this historie of the Picts.

Corbreid dead Anno Christi, 71. H. B.

Dardan.

Corbreid his three sonnes.

Dardan slain into all kind of vices.

His cousin Catus and others.

The common rebell.

Dardan is beheaded. 71. H. B. 6 of Vespasian. H. B.

Corbreid Gald.

Galdus other wife called Gulgacus, not a Scot but a Britaine as other thinke.

Westmerland. (where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) Westmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adjoining next unto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Moravians which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth unto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the rivers of Forne and Speie, called even unto this day Murray land.

Corbreid dead Anno Christi, 71. H. B. Corbreid being thus overthrowne, and having his power greatlie infeebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with civill warres, medled neither with the Scots nor Picts, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finally Corbreid departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongst his elders nere unto Dunstaffage, with manie obelisks set up about him.

Dardan. After Corbreid succeeded one Dardan, which for his huge stature was afterward surnamed the great. He was lineally descended frō Metellane, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme chose him to be their king, onlie for the good opinion they had conceived of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had atchieved under him manie worthie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the roime, considering the sonnes of Corbreid were not as yet come unto ripe yeares to enjoy the same. For the said Corbreid had three sons in all, Corbreid, Tulcan, and Bræke. The eldest had bene brought up with Moada, quene of the Britains, whereby he had learned the maners and vsages of the British nation, and thereupon was surnamed Gald; for so doe the Scottishmen vse even unto this day to name anie of their owne countrymen that hath learned the courtesie and maners of strange countries.

But to returne to Dardan, in the beginning of his reigne he governed the estate by good indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, removing from offices such as were by right bearers of themselves in the same, and advancing to their places bribers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, favoring onlie such as thorough flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was byond beyond all the terms of honestie in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his covetousnesse so great, that all was too little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death bluer honorable personages, such as he perceived to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessor Corbreid, but his traitorous practice being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for Corbreid Gald the eldest sonne of the former Corbreid, remaining as then in the Ile of Man (where he should haue bene murdered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating downe all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant Dardan into their hands, & bringing him forth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Saviour, being the first of the emperor Domitian, & the fourth compleat of his owne reigne over the Scottishmen.

Dardan slain into all kind of vices. Corbreid Gald being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succeed in the government of Scotland after Dardan, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Gaiacus, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first beginning of his reigne he punished such as had bene furtherers of his predecessors mis-

gouernement, and afterwards he passed over into the westerne Isles, where he appeared certaine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed unto the Isles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certaine offenders that would not be obedient unto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by Rosse, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certaine misdemeanors of the people there. To be short, he purged the whole realme of all such robbers, thieves, and other the like offenders against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessor Dardan, and hereunto he was mightilie aided by the Moravians, who pursued such offenders most earnestlie, and brought in unto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

By this meanes was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the yere next ensuing, being the third of Gald his reigne, he called a councell at Dunstaffage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Ewin, as before is partly specified: but he could not obtaine more, than that poore men from thenceforth should haue their wiues free unto themselves, without being abused from time to time indifferentlie by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whilest he was thus busied about the establishing of holisome orders & statutes for the welth of his subiects, word was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Romane captaine, being sent from West-pasian the emperor to haue the gouernement of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded shortly to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

With these newes Gald being somewhat afflicted, thought good to vnderstand the certaintie of the enimies doings, before he made anie stirre for the leuening of his people, and therefore appointed certaine light horsemen to ride forth, and to bring certaine newes of that which they might heare or see: who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Pictland, and had giuen the Picts already a great overthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald being thus certified of the Romans approach towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all speed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armor, being ready to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

It hath bene reported, that as he marched forth towards his enimies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was seene almost all a whole day, flying vp and downe over the Scottish armie, euen as though he had laboured hie selfe wearie. Also an armed man was seene flying round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like manner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with blood. These monstrous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie good successe, and some otherwise. Also the chiefeest captains amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weighing the great force of the Romane armie, being the greatest that euer had bene brought into their countrie before that day, counsellled that they shuld in no wise be fought withall, but rather to suffer them to weareie themselves, till bittels and other prouision should faile them, and

See more of him in England.

Said prince such such as disturb the quiet state of his subiects.

The Moravians help to apprehend thieves and offenders.

Gald labored to abrogate wicked lawes

Petilius Cerealis a Romane captaine sent by West-pasian into Britaine.

The Picts and Britons mistaken by the Scottish warriors.

The Picts overthrowne by the Romans. The Romans purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald determined to fight with the Romans.

Strange sights appere to the Scottish armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.

Thus then

Whether were men of goodlie stature.

Women come with the Queen in armour.

The Romans are put to flight and overthrowne.

Catus was wounded.

70000 Romans slain, and 30000 Britains.

Moada assembled an armie against the Romans.

The Romans overthrowne the Scots and Picts.

The Moravians all slain. Moada slew hie selfe.

Marinus was made king.

Corbreid Gald.

Galdus other wise called Gaiacus, not a Scot but a Britaine as I haue thine.

then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (with the puillance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should wax faint and decaie: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed vpon to giue battell, and so comming within sight of the enemies host, they made readie to encounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the cherefull exhortations of their king, and other their captains, their stomachs began to reuiue, so that they boldie set vpon the Romans, whereof insued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, hotwhe it in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Gald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

There were slaine of the Scotchmen (as their chronicles report) about twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchiued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Romane gouernor went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puillance against puillance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced effionies to haue receiued the overthrow.

Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scotch writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imploied chiefly against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is whole contrarie thereto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countrymen doe place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But nevertheless we haue here followed the course of the Scotch historie, in maner as it is written by the Scots themselves, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authoꝝ it shall seeme to them expedient.

In the meane time then, whilest Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Moadicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partly touched) gathered together a crew of souldiours within the Ile of Man, partly of the inhabitants, and partly of such Scotchmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these shee toke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past receiued at the Romans hands, she set vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, rosen and tallow, for the like purpose, the whole campe had bene in great danger: but these torches or fierbrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enemies, staied their har-

die forwardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselves in arrate, defended the entries of their campe, till the day was sprung, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enemies, they put them quite to flight.

But Moadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie she set fire on it, and slue such Romans as she found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, used such diligence, that laicng an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slauing the most part of hir company, she was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought aliuie vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, shee was presentlie slaine by the souldiours.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Marius, so that without speedie succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: wherevpon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and staie: and so remaining there till the next yere after, he fell sicke of the sir and died. Immediatlie wherevpon the emperor sent one Iulius Frontinus to succeed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiours, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the keeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Calidon, and as yet not vanquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and visiting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enemye had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilest the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Herunto the king of Picts much suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederats the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the advice of his peeres & councillors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruile bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Aile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Gald had assembled to defend his countrie, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sickness, he was at length constrained to withdraw himselfe into Argile, leaving his power behind him to resist the enemies attempts: but shortly after his departure from amongst them, they were sought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, three thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which overthrow those countiees submitted themselves to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Aile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter

The Scots agree to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are discomfited.

The citie called Epiake is won by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye shall find sufficientlie in the historie of England.

Moadicia renewed wars with the Romans.

The Romane campe assailed in the night by Moadicia.

Epiake taken & burned by Moadicia.

Moadicia is slaine.

The Britains rebel.

The Britains are appeased.

Petilius the Romane legat dieth.

Iulius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken for Scotchmen.

Frontinus purpoeth to pursue the conquest of the Silures who the Scots mistake for Galloway men.

Frontinus requirith to ioine in amitie with the Picts. The Pictish king refuseth to be in league with the Romans.

Gald resisteth the Romans.

By reason of sickness he withdraweth to Argile.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

Frontinus
being vexed
with sickness
returneth to
Rome.

Julius Agricola
is sent
into Britaine.
The Scots
of Annandale
beat downe
the Romans.
Agricola pre-
pareth to go
against the
Scots.
Karanach
king of the Picts
discomfited by
the Romans.

Karanach
fleeth beyond
the Firth.

The Scots
of Annandale
slaine by their
wives.

Here is a ma-
nifest error in
the Scotish
writers, sa-
ying that the
Scots of An-
glesey, Agri-
cola al-
tailed the Isle
of Anglesey
and not Agan
as Heor Boe-
cius maketh it.

The Isle of
Anglesey is
subdued by
Agricola.

Agricola su-
beth to bring
the Scots
into civillie.

ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of sleep, which vexed him in such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then governed the Roman empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right valiant personage, one Julius Agricola to succeed as lieutenant of Britaine in his room. About the time of whose arrivall there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Myle, Carricke, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported unto Agricola, he made his provision with all speed to go against them, and first entring into the borders of Midland, he reduced such as inhabited about the confines of Berwick to their former subjection, and after marching towards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the Picts incountried him by the waie, but being fiercely beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after having reinforced his power, he estones gaue battell againe to his enimies; but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie thereupon was Camelon wone by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be welolie fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recovered the most part of all the castles and fortresses of Midland. The forenamed Karanach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the water of Firth, for the more suertie of his owne person. Agricola having sped thus in Midland, marched south against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constrained to give backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wives they were murdered: each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation used to put awaie the thame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enimies.

Agricola understanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance unto him for the atchieving of other enterprises in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Ile of Man; but wanting vessels to convey his armie over, he found meanes that such as could swim, and knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the golfe, and so got on land, to the great wonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to have arrived upon their shore: but now despairing to resist such kind of warriors as endangered themselves to passe the seas in that manner of wise, they submitted themselves unto Agricola.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing certeine garisons to keepe divers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed over with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he sojourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his men of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Myle, Carricke, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onelie shew of his warlike armie, disposed in such politike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst advance themselves to incounter him, so that he spent that summers season in keeping such of the Scots as had bene aforesaid time subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countrie, exhorting them by gentle persuasions, to frame themselves to a still trade of living, as well in building of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Ro-

man manner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and above all things to set their children to schoole, to be brought up in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of humanitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer commen upon, Agricola invaded such countries as were yet undiscovered by the Romans, entring by the nether side of Calidon wood, even unto the dolorous mountaine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountaine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had bene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which undoubtedly was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mountaine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repaired, and a bridge to be made over the Forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie over into Fife: and the daie after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a castell thereby, standing upon an high mountaine cleped Benart, he environed the same with a strong siege, notwithstanding his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approach, got him forth abroad into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to have broken the bridge, which Agricola had made over the Forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the same, in his returne from thence he was incountried by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had lenied his siege, and was comming towards them, so that both the hosts meeting together in the fields, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Karanach chased unto the river of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water. By reason of this overthrow, Agricola brought in subjection those countries, which lie betwixt the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fife, Forthryke, and Ornedall, and sojourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most convenient for the keeping of the inhabitants in their covenanted obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whither resorted unto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of good chere; and to hope well of the recovery of his losses againe by some good fortune and meanes that might happen to come ver ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them lay, as well for counsell as aid of hand: and hereupon they took advise which waie to worke, in so much that at length it was by great deliberation thought good to seeke for succor at the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinentlie there were certeine messengers dispatched with all speed unto Bald the Scotish king, requiring him in that common troppardie to joine in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the utter subversion of the whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appeared by their proceedings, having already occupied and wrong-
fullie

Kalendat
wood.
Agricola
la cominth
to Sterling.

Agricola buildeth the castle
of Sterling
with the
bridge.

Mount
Benart.

Karanach as-
saileth Ster-
ling bridge,
which the Ro-
mans defend-
ed.

Karanach is
chased.
Fife with o-
ther countries
brought into
subjection of
the Romans.

Karanach
comforted by
his nobles.

The Picts
send for aid to
king Bald.

Gald promi-
seth to ioin
leagie with
the Picts
against the
Romans.

fullie surprisid a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scottish dominions, min-
ding still to go foreward in such vnrighteous con-
quests, if by timelie resistance they were not staied.
Gald vpon this request and motion of the Picts
gladlie consented to ioin his power with theirs, in
common defense of both the realmes (against such
common enimies as the Romans were esteemed)
hauing herevnto the assent of all his piers and che-
fest counsellors.

The Scots
sle the Ro-
man souldiers
heng in cer-
taine garisons
The riuier of
Clide, other-
wise called
Clude.
Agricola re-
pelling the
Scots, could
not yet win
the castell of
Dunbretton,
ancientlie
called Told-
cluch, or Al-
cluch.

Thus whilist the kings of the Scots and Picts
were concluding a league together for defense of
themselves and their countries, certeine Scots en-
tered into the confines of Bile, Carrike, and Coning-
hain, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certeine
garrisons of Romane souldiers sojourned, whome
they slue drowne right without all mercie, spoiling
the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge
hereof, went streightwaies thither with a power,
and pursuing them that had done those iniuries,
some he took amongst the hilles and mounteines,
whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond
the riuier of Clide, but the castell of Dunbretton he
could not by any meanes obtaine, though he assaid
to win it euen to the bittermost of his power. It
was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane:
All stone. The Scottishmen being thus driuen backe,
Agricola repaired such castels and fortresses as they
had ouerthrowne and beaten drowne.

In the yeare following, being the first after the
first comming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused
his ships to be brought about fro the Ile of Wight
into the water of Lochline in Argile, thereby to put
his enimies in vtter despaire of escaping his hands
either by water or land: and therevpon passing ouer
the riuier of Clide with his armie, and finding his
nauie there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennox, in
purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made
sundry skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was
certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon,
that the Picts were readie to rebell, by reason wher-
of he left off this enterprize against the Scots, and
drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his ar-
mie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till
his returne againe into those parties. At his com-
ming into Pictland, he appeased the rebels with small
aid, punishing the chiefe authorz according to their
demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water
of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, ta-
king order for the gouernment of those parties, in
due obedience of the Romane empire.

The summer following he appointed his nauie to
search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creeks
of Argile, and of the Ilands nere to the same. Whil-
est he by land passing ouer the water of Lenine,
went about to conquer townes and castels, though
halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough
waies, streit passages, high mounteines, craggie
rocks, thicke woods, deepe marishes, fens and mol-
ses, with the great riuers which with his armie he
must needs passe, if he minded to attein his pur-
pose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines
and trauell, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise
conduct of their wortheie generall and other the cap-
teins and so inuading the countrie took townes and
castels, of the which some they beat drowne and rased,
and some they fortified and stufed with garisons of
men of warre.

About the same time by commandement of king
Gald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the a-
ble men of Cantire, Lozne, Spurrey land, Luge-
marth, also those of the westerne Iles, & of all other
parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were
appointed to assemble and come together in Atholl, at

All the Scots
assemble.

a place not passing fise miles distant from the castell
of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the
comming of Karanach king of the Picts, to the end
that ioining together in one armie, they might work
some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fiftene
thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst
by the mounteine of Cranzbene, in times past cle-
ped Mons Crampius, there chanced a mutinie a-
mongest his people, so that falling together by the
eares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them
vnrmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine pre-
sentlie at vnwares, by one that knew not what he
was. By reason of which mischance that iourne was
broken, for the Picts being vtterlie amazed and dis-
comforted herewith, skaled and departed asunder.

Karanach k.
of the Picts
slaine by mis-
fortune of one
of his owne
subiects.

Gald with his Scots now being thus disappointed
of the Picts his chiefe aid, durst not leopord to trie
the chance of battell with the enimies, but determi-
ned with light skirmishes, and by withdrawing of
vittels out of their walke, to stop them from further
proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean
time to prouide against the next summer new aid
and succors to keepe the field, and so to encounter
with them, puissance against puissance, if they re-
mained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting
vpon this resolution, thought good to send some hono-
rable ambassage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto
mutuall agreement & concord amongst themselves,
whereby they might be able to resist the common rui-
ne of their countrie as then in present danger to be
oppressed by the Romans.

An ambassage
fro the Scots
to the Picts.

Those that were sent on this message, did so dili-
gentlie behaue themselves, in bringing their purpose
to passe, that the Picts in the end agreed to ioin in
friendlie amitie one with another, and to chose one
Garnard to their king to succed in the rowe of Ka-
ranach. They also confirmed the former league with
the Scots, and by their procurement sent messen-
gers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring
them of aid against the Romans the common eni-
mies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie,
wherefoeuer the same were inhabiting in anie part
on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent
ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for
the same intent, and from both those places there
was great aid promised, as fro them that esteemed
themselves halfe bound by a naturall respect, to suc-
cor such as were descended of the same ancestors
and countries that they were of, and now like to be
expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had
got possession in by iust title of conquest, and lest the
same vnto their posteritie to enioy for ever.

The Picts
brought to
agreement
amongst them-
selves.

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Danes and
Irishmen for
aid.

Whilist these things were thus in doing, Galdus
diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was
possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans.
Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather
through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or
other knowledge had, durst not put themselves in
danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that sum-
mer; and the winter following was so extreame, by
reason of frost, snow, and colbnele of aire, that they
were not able to enterprize anie exploit on neither
part: howbeit the summer was no soner come (be-
ing the seauenth after the comming of Agricola in-
to Britaine) but that they prepared to inuade one an-
other againe with all their forces.

The same of
Gald his pul-
sance putteth
the Romans
in feare.

Forth of Ireland there came (according as was
promised) a great power of men of warre, and ioin-
ed with an armie of Scottishmen in Atholl, being
there already assembled in great numbers out of
all the quarters of the Scottish dominions. Whither
came also Garnard king of the Picts with his pow-
er. All which forces being thus assembled together by
common agreement amongst them, Gald king of the

In aid of Ir-
ishmen come
to the succors
of the Scots.

Gald chosen
to be generall
against the
Romans.

the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with his host was entred into Kalendar wood, diuided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched forth towards the enimies in purpose to incounter them. Agricola being of this aduertised by spies, parted his people also into three wards, doubting to be inclosed within some comberfome place by reason of the great multitude of his enimies, that were esteemed to be in number aboue 50000 of one and other.

Cald setteth
upon one part
of his enimies
in the night.

Cald on the other side vnderstanding by spies this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night setteth upon one of those legions, which was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to sea the watch, was entred into the enimies lodgings, before they had any knowledge of his comming, so that the fight was right fierce & cruell euen among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterprize of the Scots, sent forth with all speed a certaine number of light horsemen and footmen to assaile them on the backs, & so to keepe them occupied, till he might come with all the residue of his people to the rescue. They that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterprize according to the deuise in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & stout charge vpon the Scots and Picts, greatlie to the reliefe of those that were by them assailed, and withall soe amazed and disordered by reason of the enimies sudden inuasion.

Agricola com-
meth to the
succors of his
men.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to appere, shewed to the Scots and Picts the plaine view of the whole Roman armie, appoaching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Wherevnto were the Scots and Picts put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This ouerthrow did to abath both the Scots and Picts, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but onelie did that they could to defend their towines and countrie, by making sundrie railes vpon their enimies, as occasion and oportunitie serued. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their vndaunted valiance, but that they were able to overcome whatsoeuer should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Ile of Albion, and so passing thorough Kalendar wood, and ouer the riuer of Amond, they pitched their field nere to the riuer of Taie, not far from the castell named Calidon or Kalendar.

The Ro-
mans passe
through Cal-
idon wood ouer
the riuer of
Amond.

The Picts, by reason that their enimies were lodged so nere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tuline, least the same enimies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Pictish kingdome. This citie stood vpon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire castles and towers, as may appeere euen vnto this daie by the old ruines therof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scottishmen in our time call the place Inchtuthill. All their wiues and children they remo- ued vnto the mounteins of Granzbene for their more suretie and safegard.

The Picts
burne the
citie of
Tuline.
The place
where Tu-
line stood is
called by the
inhabitants
at this daie
Inchtuthill.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come ouer to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish vp such numbers as were decayed in his armie. These slauing their capteine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike feats at the beginning, as the ma-

The Ger-
mans coming
to serue the
Romans re-
bell against
their captein
and leaders.

ner was, got certaine pinnelles which they happened vpon in the riuer of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arrived in Taie water, offering themselves to the Scots and Picts to serue against the Romans, whose malice they read for their offense committed if they should re- turne into their owne countries, which late about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Roman empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cleped Alipites, the which (as some suppose) inha- bited Cleueland and Solike.

10

Their offer was accepted most thankfullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongst the Purraies, because they were descended as it were of one nation. Whilst these things were thus a- doing, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. This Gildo with his nauie first arrived in the strith be- tweene Fife and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the riuer of Taie, where he landed all his people, for provision wherof he had good store both of vittels and armour. Gernard king of the Picts hearing of their arrivall there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and comming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, re- ceived him in most ioyfull wise, feasted and ban- queted him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie loue and friendship that could be deuised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were provided for abroad in the countrie in places most for their ease, to refresh themselves the better after their painefull iournie by the seas.

30

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundee the Sco- tish king Cald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, shewing himselfe most ioyfull and glad of his comming; yielding vnto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as serued best to the purpose, and received no lesse at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certaine daies together at Dundee, both the kings Cald & Gernard, together with this Gildo, went vnto the castell of Fofare, there to consult with their capteins and gouernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themselves in their en- terprize against the enimie. At length they resolved not to go forth into the field till the winter season were past, for doubt of the inconuenience that might insue, by reason of the extreme cold intemperance of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

50

In the meane time they took order for the furni- ture of all things necessarie for the wars, to haue the same in a perfect readines against the next spring, and till then they did appoint onelie to keepe frontier warre, that the Romans should not strait abroad to fetch in vittels and other provisions to their owne gains, and to the vinding of the poore inhabitants. Vpon this determination when the councill was broken by, Cald withdrew into Athall, to defend those parties; and Gernard with the Danish gene- ral Gildo, furnished all the castles and holds in An- gus, ouer against the riuer of Taie, to stop the passa- ges of the same, that the enimies should enter no further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that yeare, without any great exploit on either part at- tained.

60

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola appointed his nauie of ships to saile about the coasts of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent search of euerie creeke & haueu alongst by the same. The mariners, executing his commandement, failed

These Alipites first inha- bited the parties betwixt the moun- tains of Helten and the Rhene, now called Hochrug, fro whence they remoued into the nether countries. Danes, and Norwegians, come to aid the Scots and Picts. Gildo is kept off from lan- ding by the Romans. Gildo arri- ueth in Taie water. Cornelius Ta- cius maketh no mention of anie foraine aid to come to the succours of his enimies comprehending them all vnder the name of Britains. Gernard the king of Picts ioyfullie recei- ued Gildo. Cald com- meth into Dundee to welcome Gil- do. Cald, Ger- nard and Gil- do assemble a councill at Fofare, where they deuise how to proceed in their warre.

They deter- mine to rest all the winter, and make frontier warre onelie.

Agricola sen- deth forth his nauie of ships, to discouer the furthest point of Britaine northward.

The women bewailing thus the deith of their friends, might be removed out of the way. This done, they fell to take counsell what was best to doe in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morrow, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most meet for his safegard, saue onelie such as were appointed to attend Cald and Barnard into Atholl, whither they minded with all speed to go.

Thus leaving a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they dislodge and made awaie with all speed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discovered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had bene in the chase, but some of them vnadvisedly aduenturing too farre forward, were inclosed by their enemies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hills and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adjoining were discovered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enemies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched forth vnto Angus, where (forasmuch as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the country, he tooke pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most convenient.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argyle) what mishap had chanced to the same in Pictland strith. But herewith being not greatlie discouraged, he gaue order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie provisions and manned thoroughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This done, he appointed them likewise to attempt fortune, and to take their course againe to come round about by the Orkneys, and so by alongst by the east coast: which enterprise they luckilie accomplished, and in the water of Tait they burnt the Danish fleet lieng there in harbrough.

Here is to be noted, that before the fore-remembered overthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Granzebene, there happened manie sundrie vnkeith and strange fights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared a lieng in the aire certeine fire visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great pece of Calendar wood seemed in the night time as it had bene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like manner scene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both shapes, so filthie a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eyes. These prodigious things were diuerslie interpreted, according to the variable fantasie of man.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperor Domitian, he tooke such enuie thereat, that shortly after, vnder a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home vnto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellianus to succeed him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie hearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being cousin to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the soldiers, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus tooke a sort of the best soldiers away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, joined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiuing no great forwardnesse in their lea-

der, created Caius Silius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were verie earnest in hand with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enemies vnder the leading of Cald readie to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this discord amongst themselves, set forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enemies: howbeit in the end, because that Silius receiued a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelie.

This atchined victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprises, highlie reioiced the appalled harts of the Albions, hauing bene continuallie in maner new for the space of fiftie yeeres through aduerser fortune grievouslie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this overthrow, withdrew themselves wholie vnto Tuline, and shortly after for their more safegard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Cald hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delat, not suffering them to haue time to prouide for resistance. And hereupon comming to the castell of Calidon other- wise Calendar, they got ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same riuer, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffes forcing the banks on either side to a streinnesse.

The Romane capteins also not ignorant of the passage of the enemies, brought forth their armie, and made themselves readie to incounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Silius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds receiued in the last battell, they chose one Titus Celsus, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct letting vpon their enemies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Romane part in this incounter to the number of fixe thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obtained by the Scots, a great number of the Britains revolted from the Romane obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaieng & chasing awaie such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

This done, they sent vnto Cald king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioicing and gladnes for his victories, promising him further more such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enemies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreover, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifying vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scottishmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, inso much that if timely succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecoverable. Wherevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subjects, so far forth that he doubted greatlie the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likelihood; considering the slender prouision there through the misgouernment of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from rising

The Scots set vpon the Romans.

The Romans are distressed.

The Romans withdraw vnto Tuline. They retire backe ouer the water of Tay and breake the bridge after them.

The Scots get ouer the water of Tay nere to Calidon castell. The Scots effronies giue battell to the Romans.

The Romans are againe distressed.

The Britains hearing of the euill aduentures fallen to the Romans, revolted from their obedience.

The Romans send vnto Marius king of the Britains for aid.

Marius king of the Britains doubting rebellion of his subjects.

The Scottish men's Picts breake by their campe.

The Romans in pursuing vnadvisedly are distressed.

Agricola subdueth Angus and wintereth there.

Agricola is certified of the mischance of his nauie.

The Romane fleet sailleth round about the north point of Hibion.

Strange visions.

Ships scene in the aire. It rained frogs. A monstrous child borne.

Domitian the emperor enuie the prosperous successe of Agricola. Agricola is sent for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellianus appointed in his place which causeth the soldiers to make a mutinie. The Scots vpon occasion of discord amongst the Romans, come forth against them.

The Romans
submit them-
selves as van-
quished.

be whole in the fault; upon a naughtie intent to feale, and trouble the peace, which they had with such trauell and labour sought to restore, they punished the offendours, and set all things in good quiet, and so departed in sunder with great loue and friendship.

Galdus depar-
teth this life
at Epistake.

3. H.B.
5302. H.B.
130. H.B.

Galloway te-
meth the name
of Gald.

The conditi-
ons of peace
prescribed to
the Romans
by the Scots
and Picts.

Thus Galdus applying all his studie and diligence to aduance the common-wealth and quiet state of his countrie, liued manie yeres so highlie in the fauour of all his subiects, that the like hath bene but selome heard of: finally, to their great griefe and displeasure he ended his life, more deere to them than their owne at Epistake, in the 35 yere of his reigne, which was about the 15 yere of the empire of Adrian, the 4098 yere after the world's creation, and from the birth of our Sauour 131, and was buried with great lamentation in most pompous maner, and laid in a goodlie some which was raised with mightie huge stones, hauing a great number of obelisks set by round about it according to the maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie should euer indure, the countrie where he sought last with the Romans was called Galdia, after his name, which by addition of a few letters is now called Galloway, and before that time Brigantia, as the Scots do hold: but how that seemeth to agree with a truth, ye may read in the historie of England.

Lugthake

In ingrati-
ous son suc-
cedeth after
his worthy
father.

The inconti-
nencie of
Lugthake.

His small re-
gard to the
nobilitie.
Few shew
men of hale
condition.

Offendours
maintained.

Justice is
banished.

Lugthake
would haue
put to death
such as spake
against his
misgouern-
ment.
Lugthake is
murdered
with a num-
ber of his
men.

Agall ne-
phew to Gal-
dus is admit-
ted king and
subiect to
Agall's abu-
ses.

The Romans
griue by all
their holdes
and fortresses
which they
kept within
the Scottish
or Pictish do-
minions.

the
greatest
enemies
of
the
Romans
had
now
ended.

Such as
sought to trou-
ble the peace
were punished.

After this famous prince was thus departed hence, his sonne Lugthake succeeded in rule of the Scottish kingdome, no lesse abhorred of all men for his detestable and filthy vices, ioined with all kind of crueltie and couetousnesse, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went so farre past the bounds of all continencie in following his sensuall lusts, that hee forced and rauished not onelie aunt, nece, and sister, but even his owne daughters also. Such as were honorable personages, and met to gouerne in the common-wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the administration of things vnto vile persons, and such as could best deuise how to inuent quarrels against the rich, whereby they might be fleeced of all whatsoever they had: and oftentimes vpon some forged cause cruellie put to death. So little did he prouide to see offendours in anie wise corrected, that contrarie he maintained them in such sort therein, that iustice was quite banished, and nothing but spoile and rauine exercised.

Thus hee continued about two yeres, to the great ruine of the common-wealth. Finally, when he went about to put vnto death such as in an assemblie called at Dunsfage spake against the misordered gouernment of the realme, he was there murdered amongst the people, with a number of those also whome he vied to haue attendant on his person for safeguard of the same. His owne bodie was solemnelie buried by appointment of the nobles, hauing respect to his fathers benefites, but the carcases of his gard were cast out into the fields, there to bee deuoured of beasts and birds of rauine.

After Lugthake was thus dispatched, one Agall the nephew of Galdus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. His cheffest studie was to reforme the decayed state of his countrie, and first he caused such wicked cancellours of his predecessours and vncle Lugthake, as had escaped with life (when their maister was made a waie) to be put to death, according to their lust deservings. He restored also the due worshipping of the gods, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counsell of their former rulers. The Scottishmen in like maner conceiuing an assured hope of a good redresse in all their griefes and oppressions, by the means of such a well disposed prince,

began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, euen the like as they had done his grandfather Galdus. In the meane time came certeine ambassadoys from the Picts, vnto this Agall, requiring him of aid against the Romans and Britains, who by a sudden inuasion had done much hurt in Pictland, to the great distresse of the inhabitants.

At the same time they of Galloway certified him also by letters, that the same Romans had made a rode into their countrie, and led a waie a great bootie of goods and prisoners. Agall hauing a mind no lesse giuen to deeds of chualtrie, than to the studie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioiced that he had iust occasion giuen him to shew some proufe of his valiant inclination, and so hereupon sent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requiring to haue restitution and amends for the iniuries thus by them committed. The herald doing his message, receiued nothing but scoonefull wordes, and disdainfull menaces, whereby Agall being thoroughlie kindled with despite, assembled his power together forth of all the parties of his dominions, and coming with the same into Galloway, visited his grandfathers sepulchre, honoring it with great reuerence and solemne supplications, requiring as it were his aid against those enemies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by solemne oths and other accustomed meanes of ratification. This done, he drew into Annandale, where Antipanus as then king of the Picts abode his coming. There joining their powers together, they marched forth into Cumberland, and so forward into Westmerland, with fire and sword waiking and spoiling those countries, as then belonging to the Romans.

Lucius Antenus the Romane lieutenant, lieng at the same time at Dorke, being certified hereof by such as fled for feare out of those parties thus inuaded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of all the countries of Britaine, and hasted forth with the same towards his enemies; of whose approach Agall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his people to incourage them to fight manfullie against the Romans, perswading them effectually thereto by manie familiar examples brought in of the valiant enterprizes atchued by their elders, in the defense of their countrie and libertie of the same. In like maner Lucius Antenus for his part exhorted the Romans, and other his souldiers, to call to remembrance the victorious exploits of their predecessours, and how that as then they should fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battell more vpon a furious rage and violent madness, than with any discretion or aduised order, saing furthermore, that it laie now in their hands with no great adoe to recouer that which through the negligent sloth of Cneus Trebellius was before lost, whereby they should attaine great honor and famous renowne for euermore.

By this meanes the armies on both sides being kindled with desire of battell, in hope of victorie, they drew nere together, and began the fight right fiercelie at the first, with throwing and shooting of darts and arrowes so thicke that one might vnneth see another. The place was more for the aduantage of the Scots than of the Romans, because they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and parts, by reason of bogs and marishes, with such sideling banks on the sides that they could keepe none araine: yet all these impediments notwithstanding, this battell was fought so far forth to the bitterance, that in the end, after a wonderfull slaughter on both sides made, when their swords and other weapons were spent, they buckled together with short daggers.

At last

Finally

Agall is
beloued of his
subiects.
The Picts
desire aid of
the Scots
against the
Romans.

The Ro-
mans inuade
the Scottish
borders.

Agall re-
quireth resti-
tution of
spoils done
by the Ro-
mans.
Agall pre-
pareth to the
wars.
Agall visi-
teth his grand
fathers se-
pulchre.

The Picts
and Scots
ioine their
powers to-
gether and enter
into the lands
of their eni-
mies.

Lucius Ante-
nus lieutenant
of Brit-
taine.
Agall exhor-
teth his men
to be valiant-
lie.

The battell
beginneth be-
tweene the
Romans and
Pibions.

A cruell fight.

The Romans retire.

Lucius Antonius is wounded.
The Romans are put to flight.

Women as ready to the battell as the men.

Adrian the emperor prepareth to go into Brittain.
Adrian transported into Brittain.

Adrian cometh to Forke

He passeth over the river of Tyne.
Adrian findeth nothing abroad in the countrie of his enemies.

What manner of people he had to doe withall.

Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constrained to retire, which their generall Antonius perceiving, did what he could to staie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most busie in the forefront to exhort them herunto, he was wounded with an arrow, and thereupon departed out of the battell, which gave occasion to divers other of his companie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to saue themselves as well as they might, though some companies perceiving that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselves together and departed by another waie, which they toke at adventure, not knowing towards what parts they drew, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in manner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselves in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enemies were lodged so nere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they sent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yield. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yield themselves as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulness, they were slaine in the end euerie mothers sonne.

Lucius Antonius hauing thus receiued the overthrow, dispatched a post vnto Rome with all hast, signifieng vnto the emperor Adrian the whole manner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason thereof things stood in great danger here in Brittain, if speedie succors were not the soner sent, for the enemies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine proofe) who cared not for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Brittain. Causing therefore an armie to be leuied, he passed forth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and coming to Calice, he transported ouer into Brittain, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more busie than at this present, hauing of late waisted and spoiled the countrie euen to the river of Tyne. Herewith Adrian being sore offended, ioined the power which he had brought with him fro Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Brittain. This done, he removed to Forke, where sojournig certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards drew toward the borders, and coming to the river of Tyne, he passed over the same.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing seruing to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither corne, nor other prouision of vittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mounteins and marish grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he graeuously assailed them, and that in sundrie manner. In the end espiong the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in

such a vaine and fruitlesse trauell, and therefore returned vnto Tyne, there to restrain the Scots and Picts from inuading such of the Brittaines as were subject to the Romane empire, he caused a great trench to be cast querthwart the land from the mouth of Tyne to the river of Esk, and a wall to be made on the inner side of the same, of turfe and fods. The Scottish chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the emperor Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therefore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

Adrianus hauing thus dispatched in the north parts of Brittain, in his returne visited Wales with the marches of the same, setting an order amongst such as had moued a commotion against the magistrats in those parties, the authors whereof he punished according to their offenses, & so then he came to London, whither at the same time a great number of the Brittain nobilitie resorted to do him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part shewed them such friendlie interteinment, that they could not wish any better. After this he sailed into France, taking Lucius Antonius with him, because he could not abate with the aire of Brittain, in whose place he left one Aulus Aladrius lieutenant there, who disposed diuers garisons of souldiers in places nere vnto the fore-remembered wall, for defense of the inhabitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts. Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided those lands and countries (which they had latelie waisted on the further side of Tyne) in such sort betwixt them, that all that fouer laie towards the Irish sea, remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon the Almane seas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

After this Mogall liued manie yeares in good quiet without anie trouble of enemies. But being puffed vp in pride, by such notable victories as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace maister his owne vnrule appetites; but that drowned in the filthy lusses of the bodie, he spared neither maid, nor wolue, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to such vnquenchable couetousnesse, that nothing might suffice him, finding manie forged matters against the rich, thereby to bereue them both of life and substance. He was the first which ordeined that such as were banished or condemned for anie crime, should forfeit all their lands & goods without any consideration had either of wife or child, which is obserued at the full euen vnto these our daies, where before it was otherwise in that countrie. But these so notable vices in the prince could not long continue unpunished, for at last a conspiracie was practised against him, whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwise by relation of friends, the certentie is not knowne) in the dead of the night he armed himselfe, and with two of his seruants onelie fled to the next wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his household.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conspiratours pursued after him, who perceiving them to approach, sought waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such was his hap, that he fell amongst other that were as ready as the first to wreak their malice vpon him, and so by them he was immediatlie murdered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of the world, and after the birth of our sauour 169, Antoninus Pius then governing the Romane empire, and Statius surnamed Albus reigning amongst the Picts. His head being smitten off, was set vpon a poles end, and caried about in derision; but afterwards in respect of his linage it was buried

Adrian beginneth to make a wall for defence of the Brittaines against the Picts and Scots.
The Romans write to confirme the same.

Adrian cometh to London.

Adrian returneth toward Rome.
Aulus Aladrius lieutenant of Brittain.

The Scottish men & Picts diuide the countries beyond Tyne betwixt them.
Mogall through pride abuseth himselfe in sundrie kinds of vices.

A couetous and cruell ordinance.

A conspiracie attempted against Mogall.
Mogall fleeth out of his owne house.

Mogall is murdered.
148. H. B.

pled together with the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithstanding the commons thought it most unworthie of anie such honoz.

Conarus the sonne of Argagall succedeth his father.

Myall being thus dispatched, as ye haue heard, his sonne Conarus was admitted king, who (as is reported) was priue to the conspiracie deuised against his father, and as he came to the government by wicked means, so in the end he vied himselfe much what accordingly in the same; for after he had for a time dissembled his naughtie nature, he began at the last openlie to shew himselfe in his right colours, committing first of all the administration of publike affaires vnto men of base condition and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogether in banketting and coslie fare, not regarding the ancient temperance in feeding, vied amongst his worthie ancestors.

Conarus giue to excessive gluttonie.

In waisting therefore his kinglie reuenues vpon such riotous exerce, he was nothing abashed to require in an open assemblie of his nobles, a subside to be granted, towards the maintenance of such roiall chere, as he iudged to stand with his honoz to haue bailie in his house. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not sufficient to furnish the charges, he requested a generall contribution to be leued through the realme, of euerie person according to their abilities, for the maintenance of such superfluous expences as he daillie vied in excessive banketting. The lords maruelling to heare him moue anie such demand, and considering withall the occasion thereof, they asked respite to make their answer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they continued secretlie together, and in the end concluded, not onelie to denie his request, but also to depose him of all kinglie gouernement, sith his naughtie life required no lesse.

The lords conspire against Conarus.

The answer of the lords to the demand of Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe set downe in the councill-chamber, one of them in name of the residue toke vpon him to speake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme maruelled not a little how it should come to passe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to consume his treasure, should yet be enforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of his household; but the fault was knownen well enough to rest in such as he most unworthilie had preferred to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught did nothing but deuise means how to caule the king to spoile his naturall subjects of their goods and possessions, therewith to enrich themselves, but (saith he) as they shalbe prouided for well enough per long, and so aduanced as they shall not need to thirst for other mens liuinges, that is to wit, euen to a faire paire of gallowes, that to end their liues with shame, as a number of such other losengiers had often done before them: so it is conuenient that the king sith his skill is so small in the administration of his office, should be light vpon some one chamber or other, and such a one to haue the gouernance of the realme, as may be thought by common assent of the lords most meet to take it vpon him.

Conarus is taken and committed to close keeping.

Conarus his ministers are punished for their offences.

The king hearing this tale, started vp, & with a loud voice began to call them traitors, adding, that if they went about anie hurt to his person, they should deuelie abide the bargain. But notwithstanding these words, such as were appointed thereto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assigned, where they laid him vpon, mangre all his resistance. In like manner, all such as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to prison, where the most part of them, vpon examination taken of their offences, suffered death according to their iust demerits.

Then was the rule of the realme committed vnto one Argabus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour toke vpon him the publike regiment, vntill other aduise might be taken. This mans studie in the beginning was onelie to cleanse the countrie of all misdoers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finally in all his doings shewed himselfe a perfect patterne of an vpright iusticer. But with in a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prosperous successe changed his former mind to an euill disposition, whereby he ordered things after his owne selfewill more than by reason, without the aduise of his peeres. And further, to the manifest ruine of the common-wealth, he nourished ciuill discord and sedition amongst the nobles, supposing it to make for his welfare, so long as they were at odds. He also married a wicked ladie, the better to strengthen himselfe by this his forren alliance.

Argabus is chosen to gouerne the realme.

Argabus an vpright iusticer.

Prosperitie changeth conations.

Herevpon the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding that mischief might insue by these manifold and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a parliament to be called, where, in presence of the whole assemblie, they laid vnto his charge, how that (though his misgouernement and presumption, not onelie in coupling himselfe in mariage with a wiife of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme, without consent of the nobles or commons of the same) he had deserued grieuous punishment; his trespasses being so much the greater, in that considering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he answered not their expectation, nor performed the trust and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

Argabus is rebuked.

Argabus confesseth his fault.

Argabus is permitted to continue in his office.

Argabus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not able to laie anie likelie excuse, fell vpon his knees, & partly confessing his fault with teares gushing from his eies, besought them of pardon, whole submitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion. The lords being moued with this humble submission of Argabus, vpon promise he should redresse all his former misdemeanours, were contented that he should continue still in the administration. But such as had bene his chiefeest counsellors were committed to ward. After this sharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argabus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduise of his peeres; and some after, amongst other things, he took order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferiour officers, as bailiffes, boroughmaisters, constables, and such other should extend. But especially he travelled most diligentlie for the punishing of thieues and robbers, of whome none escaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreover, he ordeined by statute, that no man exercising anie publike office, should take of anie drinke that might make him drunken. He also banished all such persons as vied with dressing of delicat meats, and (as I may call them) deintie dishes, or banketting there, to allure mens appetites from the old rude fare accustomed amongst their elders, who sought not to follow their delicious appetites, but onlie prouided to susteine nature, which is satisfied with a little, & that void of coslie furniture. Argabus thus being occupied in reforming the state of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and such as were vpright liuers of themselves, indured still to proceed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being consumed with long imprisonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigne.

Argabus amendeth his former misgouernance, and ruleth himselfe by better aduise.

A notable statute.

Five cockers banished.

Conarus departed out of this world.

162. H.R.

Ethodius.
Ethodius the
nephue of
Argadus
chosen king.

Argadus is
created lord
president of
the counsell.

Cinill discord
amongest the
lords of the
Iles.
Argadus is
sent forth to
apprehend the
rebels.

The Iland
rebels are pu-
nished.

The Romans
inuaide the
Pictish and
Scottish bor-
ders.

Ethodius re-
quireth restitu-
tion of his
subjects goods
taken away
by the Ro-
mans.

Victorines
answereth E-
thodius re-
quest.

Ethodius ex-
horteth the
king of the
Picts to
make warre
against the
Romans.

After whose deccasse, the nobles and other e-
states of the realme assembling themselves to-
gether, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Argadus
by his sister, to reigne ouer them. But Argadus
being highlie rewarded with lands and liuings for
his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the aduance-
ment of the publike weale, during the time of his go-
uernement, was thereto sone after created as it
were lord president of the counsell, thereby to be chief-
est in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ru-
ling of all publike affaires & causes. Shortly after
Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those
daies was) went ouer into the wesserne Iles, there
to take order for the administration of iustice, where
immediatlie vpon his arriual, it was shewed him,
that not passing two or thre daies before, there had
bene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles or
clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was
stirred amongst their seruants, being a compante
of naughtie and turulie fellows, to the great dis-
quiet of the inhabitants. Herevpon was Argadus
sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appease
that businesse, and to bring in the offendours, that
they might receiue reward according to their demer-
its. Argadus forthwith hastened towards the place
where he vnderstood the rebels to be remaining, and
apprehending the whole number of them, some by
force, and some vpon their humble submission, he
returned backe with them to the king, who causing
the matter to be thoughtlie heard, such as were the
chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished
by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure.
The Iland people being thus appeased, the king
returned into Albion, where as then lieng at En-
uerlochthe, a towne (as is said) in Loughababer,
word came vnto him that the Romans had broken
downe the wall builded by the emperor Adrian,
and made a great rode into the Scottish and Pictish
borders, where meeting with the inhabitants assem-
bled together in defense of their countrie (after a
soze conflict) the victorie remained with the Ro-
mans; by reason whereof they led a great botie of
cattell and other goods away with them to the places
where they sojourned.

Ethodius being moued herewith, sent forthwith
an herald vnto Victorine the Romane lieutenant,
requiring that his subjects might haue restitution of
their goods wrongfullie taken from thym, or else to
looke for warres within fiftene daies after. Victo-
rine answered herevnto, that the Scots and Picts
had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall,
and to build a towne vpon the same, fortifying it
with a number of men of warre, who running da-
lie into the Pictish confines, fetched prizes thence
from amongst the Romane subjects, and though
he had sent diuers times to the Scottish and Pictish
wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue a-
nie towarde answer, so that he was constrained to
begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had
done already.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answer,
wrote streightwaies to the K. of the Picts, exhor-
ting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subjects
had latelie receiued at the hands of the Romans, to
inuaide the wall on that side where it diuided his
countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon
the enemies by the same, and for his part he promi-
sed shortly after to come, and to iointe with him in
such a necessarie enterprize against the common eni-
mies of both their countreies. The Pictish king gi-
uing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promi-
sed with all speed to set forward according to the ad-
uise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner ha-
uing knowledge of the whole intention of the two

kings, with all speed made preparation also for the
warre, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in v-
pon them, did much hurt abroad in the countreies
next adjoining. Which when the Romans perceived,
they passed by the enemies campe in the night sea-
son, and entred into the Pictish borders, wasting
and spoiling all afore them.

When the two kings vnderstood this, they hastened
forth towards them, and were no sone come with-
in sight of them, but that they made ech towards o-
ther, and so incounting together, there was fought
a soze battell with doubtfull victorie, for the right
wings on either side vanquished the left, the breasts
of both the battels keeping their ground, the one not
once thinking backe from the other till night scue-
red them in sunder, but not without such slaughter
made on both sides, that being once parted, they
made no great hast to iointe againe together; for as
well the one part as the other being thus discomfited,
drew incontinentlie homeward without abiding
for the morning. Neither did they attempt anie fur-
ther exploit of all that yeare following.

In which meane time Victorine sent letters to
Rome vnto the emperor Marcus Antonius Aure-
lius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifying
vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine; fur-
ther declaring, that if conuenient succors were not
sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious
rage of the enemies, by reason of the small trust he
perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no
lesse readie vpon occasion to make warres in reco-
uerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were
to inuade vpon them. The emperor vpon receipt
of these letters, thought in his mind that Victo-
rine was not so valiant a captaine as the case requi-
red, and that therevpon the Scots and Picts became
the more emboldened to resist, therefore he sent for
him home, appointing one Agricola Calpurnius to
succeed in his come, who was (as some haue left in
writing) the nephue of Julius Agricola, the most
famous captaine of the Romans that euer came in-
to Britaine.

This Calpurnius comming into Britaine with
an armie, ioined to the same the power which he
found there, as well of the Britains, as of other ser-
uing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which done, he
repaired toward the riuier of Tyne, where being ar-
riued, he marched forth into the borders of his eni-
mies, finding all the countrie round about him so
clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a
house left standing, nor a graine of come, nor one hed
of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding
all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland,
and entring into Pictland, wasted all that was be-
fore him with fire and sword. And for so much as
winter came vpon him, when he had done his will
in that behalfe, he returned vnto York, where he
sojourned vntill the spring.

When summer was once come, hauing made his
prouision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word
came vnto him that the Welshmen were reuolted,
and began to raise warre against the Romans, so
that taking order for the repairing of the wall made
by Adrian, which the enemies in diuers places had
broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of
men of warre for defense of the same against all in-
uasions that might be attempted, he turned the res-
idue of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom
in the end, though not without much adoe, he reduced
to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard
also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were by
in armour against such Romans as ruled there,
sundry noble men of the maine Ile taking their
part, but they also were at length brought againe
to

The Scots
men and the
Picts inuaide
the British
borders.

The Romans
incountred by
the Scottish
men and
Picts.

Right parted
the battell.

Victorine
sendeth let-
ters to Rome.

Victorine is
sent for to re-
turne vnto
Rome, and
one Calpurni-
us sent into
Britaine to
succeed in his
rome.

Calpurnius
entred into
the borders of
his enemies.

Calpurnius
returneth to
York.

The Welsh-
men rebell as
gainst the Ro-
mans.

The Welsh-
men brought
to their former
obedience.
The inhabi-
tants of the
Ile of Wight
reuolted fro
the Romans,
are constrain-
ed to be obedi-
ent.

The new
Agricola
full to the
Scottish
and Picts

Calpurni-
us diueth
some ti-
me of
tame.
Calpurni-
us returne
to Rome
Publius
rebel
sent as
next in
Britaine

Publius
rebel
given to
tousne

He is
the P

The
and P
new ti
again
Rome

Calpurni-
us
fight
gainst
the
owne
and c
of the

well
and
spoil
Scott
and
The
com
again
belli
Calp
Pict
thei

to their former subiection, and the authors of that rebellion punished by death.

In the meane time the Scots and Picts determined not to attempt anie further exploit against the Romans, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the lieutenant Calphurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchieved conquests of his grandfather Julius Agricola, of whose victorious exploits, besides that which ye haue before heard, the English historie also doth make a long rehearfall. Calphurnius being thus at quiet on that side, intended wholie to reforme all misorders amongst the Britains, which being brought to indifferent good passe, he was sent for home againe vnto Rome by the emperor Antonius Commodus, the sonne and successor of the fore-remembered Marcus Aurelius sending one Publius Trebellius into Britaine, there to supplie his charge.

This Trebellius comming into Britaine, at the first bled himselfe verie vpightlie in his office, shewing all honor and loue towards the Britains, subiects to the Romane empire, and namelie to Lucius, who reigned as king of the land, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romane empire. But after that he had once woone him a peece of credit amongst them, he changed his manners, or rather discovered his naturall inclination, so wholie giuen to couetousnesse, that his onelie studie was set which way to fill his bags, not caring how vntuallie he forged accusations against the rich, so that either by death or banishment their goods might be confiscat, and so come to his hands. By this wicked gouernement, the Britains began so fore to hate him, that had it not bene for the loue of their king the foresaid Lucius (who holpe to appease them) there had bene some rebellion practised against him in the south part. For the Scots and Picts hauing knowledge of this misliking in the Britains towards the Romane lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them also to be doing, to the end they might reuenge their former iniuries; and herupon leueng an armie, they came to the oft remembred wall, and ouerthrowing the same in diuers places, they entred into the British confines with great spoile and crueltie. Trebellius being hereof informed, hastened forth with all the power he could make, to resist their inuasions; but finding the enemies readie in the field, and incountring them sooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the first ioining abandoned of the most part of his whole armie, which consisted of Britains and Frenchmen, then called Galles, so that the residue being beaten downe, he was glad to saue himselfe as well as he might, by setting the spurs to his horse and galloping away.

After this, gathering together his people againe as they fled from the discomfiture, he retired backe with them vnto Forke, hauing lost in this bickering a great number of his best souldiours, and men of warre: for the Scots and Picts, missing no small number of their friends in that battell, were not satisfied with those whome they had likewise slaine in the fight, but also fell vpon their prisoners which they had taken, and slue them also in reuenge of their fellowes whome they had lost. Afterwards they harried the countries of Westmerland and Kendall in most cruell wise, Trebellius not being so hardie to fight with them againe for doubt of some traie that might be practised by the Britains. Neither was his suspicion groundeed vpon the credit of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediatlie after, the commons of the countrie rose against the Romans, in purpose to haue driuen them all out of the land.

Their capteine was one Caldozus a Pict bozne.

There were also diuerse of the British nobilitie amongst them not knowne, for they were disguised in strange apparell, counterfetting themselves to be of the vulgar sort. The furie of these people was great, but yet in the end the politike order of the Romans vanquished them, holbreit not without great slaughter on both sides. Caldozus escaping the hands of his enemies, fled into his native countrie of Irdland, not a little reioicing that he had procured such slaughter amongst the Romans and Britains, both being enemies to him and his countrie. Such prisoners also of the Britains as fell into the hands of the Romans, were hanged by vpon sundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season took down those dead bodies, and hanged vp as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiuing thus what danger he stood in on euerie part, wrote vnto the emperor Commodus, that without some reformation were had, the Romans were not like to keepe fast anie long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperor doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Pertinax an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat, should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, took vpon him the office: and first letting a staie among the Britains, by right prudent and well aduised gouernement, he afterwards made a iourneie against the Scots and Picts, drining them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constrained them to remaine within their owne confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperor Commodus being murdered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

About the same time the state of the Scottish commonwealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Isles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselves together, and conning ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countrie in pitious wise. For redesse whereof, Argadus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius lay in campe nere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the inuasion of the enemies on that side, if happilie they should attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Iland-men hearing of Argadus his approach, drew themselves together to receiue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countrie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argadus was comming that waies forth to fight with his enemies, they laid themselves secretlie in ambush by the waie where he should passe, and then he was passed by them, they brake forth vpon his rereward suddenlie, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impression at the first brunt, that though he did what in him laie to bring them againe into arae of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enemies. Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hastened forth towards Argile, to reuenge

J. ij.

The same commons are vanquished. Caldozus reioiceth at the slaughter as well of the one part as of the other.

The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans.

Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Picts.

Pertinax is chosen emperor.

Argile infected by the Ilandmen.

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intrep Argadus.

Argadus is slaine.

The Britons men and the Picts inuade the British borders.

The Romans incountring by the Scottish men and Picts.

Right parted the battell.

Historie sendeth letters to Rome.

Historie is sent for to returne vnto Rome, and one Calphurnius sent into Britaine to succeed in his roome.

Calphurnius entred into the borders of his enemies.

Calphurnius returneth to Rome.

The western men rebell against the Romans.

The western men brought to their former obedience. The inhabitants of the Ile of Wight revolting from the Romans, are constrained againe to be obedient.

The name of Agricola dyed full to the Scottishmen and Picts.

Calphurnius directeth to reforme the state of Britaine.

Calphurnius returneth vnto Rome. Publius Trebellius sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Publius Trebellius giueth to couetousnesse.

He is hated of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts reuenge the warre against the Romans.

Trebellius fighteth against his enemies, is taken of his owne men, and chased out of the field.

Westmerland and Kendall spoiled by the Scottishmen and Picts.

The British commons rise against Trebellius, one Caldozus a Pict being their capteine.

the death of his ballant capteine Argabus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his coming, made towards the sea, and would gladlie haue bene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wills, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warilie by closing them vp among the hills and mounteins, that finally constrained through famine, they submitted themselves vpon these conditions, that their head capteine with two hundred others of the chieftest, should yeld themselves simple to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

The Flandmen yeld themselves.

Execution.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capteine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and peeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had already yelded by their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finally they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Flandmen being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scottisshmen or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongst his subiects.

Ethodius visiteth his countries, to see iustice maintained.

He giueth him selfe to hunting, & causeth the lawes for the maintenance of game to be well kept & looked vnto.

And for that he would not spend his time in idleness, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he took order that all such ordinances as had bene deuised by his elders, should strictly be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroye anie hares with nets, greys or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formes by anie meanes: nor after that they had bene once coursed and escaped, to followe the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anie hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, forrests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and couerts, nere vnto the townes & houses.

He ordeined moreover therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anie hind-caluies, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroyed, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilst he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being boorne in one of the west Isles, he was murdered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murderere being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to do that deed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was ready to receiue what kind of death they would adudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not bee so painfull, but that I shall reioice even in the verie instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finally by commandement of the magistrates he was drayned in peeces with wild hollies in most violent wile.

Septimus Severus H.B.

Ethodius reigned 33 yeeres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the empero. He was buried at Dun-

staffage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interment of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine receiued the faith with a great part of his people, being the yeere after the birth of our Sauioz, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the Britissh 177.

Britaine receiued the christian faith in the yeere 187.

Satrabel.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahell or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succede by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet because he was verie young in yeeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Satrahell was subtle of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from attaining at anie time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt he anie thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subiects, whose lands and goods he onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By means thereof such mischefe ensued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition daile rose amongst the people, that pitte it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he understood well enough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within doores saue his life anie long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yeeres.

Satrabel seeketh to destroy such as were in fauor with his predecessor.

Discord arise among the people through the kings misgovernment.

Satrabel strangled to death by his owne seruants.

397 H.B. Donald.

In this place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and above all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper among his subiects. Neither bare he with offenders, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholsome ordinances of the realme he caused to be duly punished: finally he took such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subiects as it had bene from a wild and sauage rudnesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiuing that a kings authoritie among the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the Britissh nation to inioy that title.

Donald strueth to reduce his subiects vnto all ciuilitie. Lucius king of Britaine dieth.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioin with them in league against their ancient enemies the Romans, whose enduoz (as he knew) had cuer bene from time to time, how to bring the whole Island vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitants of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them wholie out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countrees.

The Britains rebell and chose one Fulgentius to their captein who leueth for and vnto the Britisshmen.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendlie, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such date and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whom in semblable

Donald promiseth to aid Fulgentius.

The Brit-
tains come
to Romans
wall, and pull
it downe
to let in the
Scots.
The Scottish
men & Picts
come to the
aid of the
Britains.

The Scots
and Picts
made the
Britains.
The Scots
help the Bri-
tains to spoile
their owne
countrie.

Trebellius
certifieth the
emperor of the
date of Bri-
taine.

Fulgentius
incurageth
the Britains
to like unto
their begun
enterprize.

Seuerus
leteth forth
towards his
enimies.

Seuerus
cometh to
York.

Seuerus is
incountered by
his enimies.

semblable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being constrained with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host together, resorted unto the wall of Adrian, which they overthrow in diuers places; that their friends might haue the more free access and entrie vnto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, hope to throw down that wall, and to fill vp the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

This done, joining their powers together, they passed forth towards Yorke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue besieged him therein: but hauing knowledge how he was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & harrying of the countrie abroad on euery side, constraining the most part of the people to come in and yeeld themselves vnder their obedience. Thus they continued in passing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter enforced them to breake vp their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countries, till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperor Seuerus of all his trouble and rebellion in Britaine: wherupon he with all speed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere. At his comming into Britaine, he lacked no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, sent ambassadozs vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to auite, wherupon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to stick to their necessities begun enterprize, for recovery of their long wished libertie, which he doubted not, but by banquishing the emperor at that present they should assuredly attaine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their hearts vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dint of sword, like scholers and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie company, considering the enimies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that consent in one opinion, the cheefest meane for the obtaining of victorie must needs be wanting among them.

The Britains moued herewith, promised him to live and die in the quarrell. Wherupon he toke aduise with them, which waie to mainteine themselves against Seuerus, of whose comming they were already certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the British ambassadozs from him, set incontinentlie forward towards Yorke, leaving his youngest sonne Geta in the south parts to haue the gouernance of the same in his absence. His eldest sonne Antoninus he toke with him in his iourne against his enimies. At his comming to Yorke, he did sacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethnisch custome, & also toke aduise with his captains how to proceed in his enterprize against his enimies.

This done, he marcheth forth with his armie towards them, who being already issued with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, in so much that those of the one side came no farther in sight of the other, but that they battel forth to ioin together in battell, wherof ensued great slaughter betwixt them, though the British part (notwithstanding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure against the great multitude and vallewskill of the Romane souldiers, so that in the end

they were opened perforce and put to flight with the losse of thirtie thousand, what of Britains, Scottishmen and Picts.

Fulgentius himselfe, seeing the discomfiture and huge slaughter made of his people, had runne in amongst the thickest preale of his enimies, had not those that were about him led him awaie by force, and so at length he got him amongst the troops of the Scottishmen and Picts, and together with them passed ouer Tine, and so into the borders of his friends where he got together such souldiers as he could, that had escaped from the battell, and retained them with wages so well as he might, in hope vpon occasion to imploie them effsones against his enimies. The Scots also sent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the British nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Seuerus punished most greivously, but the commons he used more gentle, as it were making excuse for them being procured thereto by their captains. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to draw vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next spring. He himselfe wintered at Yorke.

In the next summer there was little done worthe to be spoken of, but that there were certeine skirmishes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occasion serued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their aduantage. But so much as the Scots had no aid sent them forth of Ireland, they were not minded to leaue againe in a foughen field, supposing it sufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, considering the puissance that was ready bent against them. At length Seuerus fell sick at Yorke, and his son Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, caused the wall afore mentioned, diuiding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repaired. This wall was built (as is before recited) first by Adrian the emperor, to stae the Scottishmen from inuading the lands appertaining to the subieas of the Romane empire, & after overthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in sozt as before is partly mentioned. Antoninus caused it to be fortified with bastilions, one placed so nere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the sound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the first descending of the enimies approach.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not so lone as his son Antoninus wished, in hope after him to attaine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a leage with the Scottishmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other such British rebels as were fled with him into Idoland, he receiued sufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then late, shortly after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the historie of England is appereth. But now to retorne vnto Donald the Scottish king, pe shall vnderstand, that being deliuered of forren trouble, he studied cheefly how to preferre his people in god peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauour Christ the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being latelie afore conuerthed vnto the true faith from his wicked paganisme and heathenish idolatrie.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the daies of the afore said emperor Seuerus, he sent a messenger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zepherinus saith Harston being he is in number, as they saie, after saint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was faine minded to receiue the christian religion, and woulde to forsake the superstitious fetters of the heathenish gods,

Fulgentius is put to flight and his armie discomfired.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Idoland.

Seuerus wintereth at Yorke.

Seuerus sickneth. The wall is repaired.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be emperor concludeth a peace with the enimies.

Donald studious to mainteine his subieas in peace and concord.

Donald conuerthed vnto christian he lieth in the daies of the emperor Victor.

gods, and therefore instantlie required him to send ouer into Scotland some godlie learned men, to instruct him in the right beleife. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increafe the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all speed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most meet for that purpose, who at their arrivall there, did their endeavour in such diligent sort, that not onelie the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and clerelie forsooke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our sauiour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 330, as W. Harison in his chonologie doth manifestlie confirme.

The Scottish men received the faith in the yeare of our sauiour 203. 1399. H.B. 533 H.B.

Whereouer this Donald was the first as the Scottish chonicles alledge, that caused siluer and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he deuised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots used no coine, but either exchanged or bartered ware for ware, either else occupied with British and Romaine monie, as diuers marble chests full of the same which haue bene found of late yerres in sundrie parts of Scotland doe verie well witnesse. Finallie K. Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the manner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

Donald departed out of this world. 216 H.B.

Ethodius.

The gouernance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

After him succeeded Ethodius the second, and sonne of the former Ethodius, which prince proued so verie a foole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed vnto certeine noble men, who being diuided into sundrie quarters of the realme, toke verie good order for the due gouernment of the parties so to them limited, and used themselves verie byghtlie in all their doings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Seruerus before his death had giuen such order for the gouernement of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the cheefest of all the British nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though doltish, yet naturallie giuen to vniuenchable couetousnesse, was slaine by those that were appointed to the gard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

Ethodius being giuen to couetousnesse is slaine by his owne seruants.

Athirco.

When was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exercising himselfe in all laudable pastimes conuenient for his estate, and herewith he was so free and liberal towards all men, that he won him wonderfull much praise and loue amongst his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him together with his age, but contrarielie decayed, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yerres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, imbracing auarice; for courtesie and amiable countenance, he used sterne and loslie looks: for commendable exercises, he gaue himselfe wholly to filthy pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as he was anie other of the lowest and meanest degree.

Athirco changed in condition from good to bad.

Athirco regarded not his nobles.

The villanous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mans daughters.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that countrie) named Patholocus, had two faire yong gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satisfie his lust vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so con-

sent, deliuered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and seruants. The father vnderstanding this villanie done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he required their assistance. They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of such an iniurie done to their blood, promised in reuenge therof to spend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in sunder, they prepared themselves to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in so necessarie an enterpryse, as to rid the countrie of such a catife wretch, respecting nothing but the satisfieng of his filthy carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

The kindred and friends of the gentlewomen conspire against Athirco.

When they were once got together in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunstaffe, where they vnderstood that the king as then did sojourne, a great multitude of people still resorting vnto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approach, called together his power, supposing at the first to haue beaten downe his enemies; but when he had throughly weighed the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of godd wills in his people, he prouide stole away from them, and would haue passed ouer into Fla, one of the western Isles, to haue procured some succor there, but being imbarcked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driuen backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enemies hands, he chose rather to sea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremitie after he had reigned the space of 12 yerres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Coridian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doozus the brother of Athirco vnderstanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggars weed for doubt of death, and went into Wicland with three of his nephues, sonnes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindocke, Carance, and Donald.

Athirco doubting to be forsaken of his owne men if it came to the trial of battell conueied himselfe from among them. Athirco slayeth himselfe.

40

Howbeit, Patholocus hauing knowledge whether he was fled, sent forth certeine of his seruants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verie streiallie, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischance. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doozus, slue the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their maister, they made him verie full of the newes, although indeed they came not nere to Doozus. Then Patholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by disuading them to chose any of Athircos blood to reigne ouer them (for doubt least they should seeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Patholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by anie common consent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (hauing deserued nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdom, save onlie in respect of the fathers offenses) might haue inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some nere kindman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeares to beare the rule himselfe.

242 H.B. Doozus the brother of Athirco conueied himselfe out of the weep

Patholocus seeketh the life of Doozus.

60

But Patholocus being once proclaimed king by the multitude, and Athircos blood attainted of treason,

Patholocus is chosen to be king.

Natholocus.

Patholocus
goeth vnto
Dunstaffage
to be in thron-
e.

Patholocus
seeketh to pro-
cure lone of
the nobilitie
through
bribery.

Fortune fa-
uoring Pa-
tholocus for a
time began to
change.
Doozus with-
eth vnto
certeine Sco-
tish lords to
moue them
to rebellion.

Patholocus
putteth such
to death as he
suspecteth to
fauour Do-
ozus.

Patholocus
sendeth vnto
a witch to
know the con-
clusion of his
enimies
attempts.

The witches
answere.

What hap-
pened by giuing
credit to the
wordes of a
witch.

Patholo-
cus
chosen to
king.

treason, and so published, according to the custome he toke the othes of those that were present, and then repaired vnto Dunstaffage, there to be inuested according to the maner. This done, he called such aside as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he exhorted them to be faithfull, promising to be their assured good lord and maister, and for an earnest thereof, he gaue vnto diuerse of them verie great rewards. Generallie vnto all men he shewed himselfe verie gentle and tractable, thereby to win their loues, for the better establishment of his newe attained estate: and hereto he imploied such riches as the former kings had heaped together amongst the nobles, studieng by all meanes to auoid all seditious quarrels and secret discords amongst them.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeine yeeres, at length fortune began to shew a change of countenance after his old accustomed guise. For Doozus the brother of Athirco (whome, as ye haue heard, Patholocus supposed to haue bene dead) wrote certeine letters, signifieng his owne estate with the welfare of his nephues the children of Athirco vnto certeine Scottish lords, whom he knew to fauour his cause. Which letters he deliuered vnto a Whittish woman, appointing hir how and to whome she should deliuer the same, but the woman apperhended by the waite, and brought vnto Patholocus, he caused hir secretlie to be sacked and thowne into a riuer. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles as the direction of the forsaide letters had giuen him occasion to haue in some suspicion, he committed them first to prison, and at length caused them to be secretlie strangled.

Which wicked deed being once notified abroad, so moued the hearts of their friends and allies, that they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering them togither, they raised open and cruell warres against him. Patholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himselfe priuilie into Murray land, there to get togither an armie to resist his enemies, and for that he was desirous also to hinder stand somwhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one of his trustie seruants, being a gentleman of that countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwise called Jona) esteemed verie skillfull in forshewing of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune should hap of this warre, which was already begun.

The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared in the end how it should come shortly to passe, that the king should be murdered, not by his open enemies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust. The messenger demanding by whose hands that should be: Cuen by thine, saith she, as it shall be well knownen within these few daies. The gentleman hearing these wordes, railed against hir verie bitterly, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he trusted to see hir burnt before he should commit so villanous a deed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to signifie what answere he had receiued; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should declare the truth as it was told him, the king might haplie conceiue some great suspicion, that it should follow by his means as she had declared, and thereupon put him to death first; and for feare on the other side, that if he keepe it secret, it might happen to be reuealed by some other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himselfe to worke the surest way, and so comming to the king, he was led aside by him into his priuie chamber, where all other being commanded to auoid, he declared how he had spied; and then falling shortly

with vpon Patholocus, with his dagger he slue him outright, and threw his bodie into a priuie; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horse which he had there readie, he fled with all speed vnto the campe of the conspirators, and was the first that brought newes vnto them of this act thus by him atchiued. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 180, & in the eleuenth yeare after the first entring of Patholocus into the estate.

After Patholocus was thus dispatched, the peeres assembled togither to ordeine one for gouernement of the realme, where in the end it was amongst them concluded, that the sonnes of Athirco should be sent for into Wialand, and Findocke receiued for king. The Moravian that slue Patholocus was appointed to fetch them, who (according to his commission) comming into Wialand, conueied them right honorable into Argile, where Findocke being already chosen king, was placed on the stone of marble, with all the ceremonies in that case appertaining.

This Findocke was in the flower of his age, of his person most beautifull, cleane made, & of a goodlie stature; wherewith were ioined most excellent gifts of the mind, not so much desirous to seeme as to be vertuous in deed. He was courteous, meeke, & full of affabilitie, studieng alwaies to win friendship and loue, rather by gentlenesse, than by feare and menacing wordes. The leagues with the Britains, Scots and Romans he firmelie obserued. But as peace with foraine enemies breedeth oftentimes ciuill discord at home, so came it then to passe with him at this present: for one Donald of the Isles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Rosse and Murray land, fetching from thence a great spoile and buttie, not without great slaughter of such as inforced themselves for to resist him. The occasion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Patholocus. But Findocke vnderstanding his doings, prepared an armie with ships, and sailed ouer with the same into the Ile of Jla, where in countring with Donald and other his enemies, he vanquished and chased them egerlie, without returning once backe, till either the sword or the sea had made an end of them all.

Donald himselfe taking a bote, in hope to haue escaped, the prease was such at his entring into the same, that before they could get it off from the shore, it sunke by means of the overlading, and so he and all they that were on board were drowned there withall. The king hauing atchiued this victorie, returned into Albanie; but the Jland-men not fullie quieted with this slaughter of their fellows, sent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certeine Berns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the sonne of the former Donald, made starts into and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie sheld turnes in the same, per they could be suppressed. But Findocke being some informed of these tidings, went ouer againe into the Isles, and such of his enemies as he found, he caused to be hanged, to giue other example what to looke for when they should rebell, but Donald escaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceiuing himselfe not able to worke such feats as he hoped to haue done, he sent a messenger vnto the king, offering to yeld himselfe, and to become his true subiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being answered that he should not be receiued, vntlesse he would come vnto Dunstaffage with other of his chiefest complices, and to stand fullie at the kings mercie; he refused thus to doe, deuising an other meane

Patholocus
murdered.

252 H.B.

The lords of the realme assemble togither to chuse a new king.

The sonnes of Athirco are sent for, and the eldest of them named Findocke chosen to reigne.

Findocke. Findocke his noble qualities and vertuous disposition.

Findocke obserueth the leagues confirmed of former times with his neighbors. Whole of the out Isles intrude the countreies of Rosse and Murray land. Findocke maketh a iourne into the Isles, to subdue the rebels.

Donald is drowned.

The Jland-men with aid of the Irish Berns, make often inuasions into Argile, and other of the Scottish countreies.

Findocke goeth againe to subdue the rebels of the Isles.

Donald offereth to yeld himselfe vpon certeine conditions, but is not receiued.

Donald deni-
seth how to
murther king
Findocke by
two naughtie
persons.

Findocke is
slaine.

The murthe-
rers confesse
by whose pro-
curement they
did the deed.
A pretie in-
duction (if not
forged) to the
hystorie that
afterwards fol-
loweth of
Carautius or
Carantius as
the Scots
write him.

Donald.

Donald of the
Fles inua-
deth Scot-
land.

meane how to be reneged.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to seile themselves to haue fled from him, where also he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king, and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be, and in the end to espie a time to rid him out of the way. These craftie mates working according to Donalds wicked instructions, at length with much adoe they got credit, and after credit they got place so nere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the kings brother (whome they made priuie also vnto their intent) that finding all things correspondent vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which the Islanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue verie good eare, whilest the other smote him to the heart with a iaveline, & so leaving the iron sticking in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous companion and fellow. Those that were nere, seeing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to see if they might relieue him as then struggling with the pangs of death; others followed the murderers, and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receiue their meed according to that which they had iustlie deserued; being also examined, they confessed how they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald of the Fles, but also by Carantius the kings owne brother, who of set purpose being out of the way at that present, and hauing knowledge that he was accused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence (after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the emperours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Dioclesianus, he became a right famous and a verie skillfull capteine.

But if this report be true that Carautius (of whom Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, which if they had done, no doubt they would haue spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might happilte vpon the consideration aforesaid counterfeit himselfe to be borne of some base kindred, and so for a time to dissemble that he was, yet afterwards that he attained vnto so high degree of honour, as to usurpe the imperiall robes of purple, and to possesse the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but that to aduance his credit and authoritie roiall, he would haue set forth to the uttermost the nobilitie of his birth, if he had bene come of anie, and that so apparentlie to the world, that aswell his enemies as friends should both haue knownen and spoken of it.

Findocke being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of his reigne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunstafage, his brother Donald, the third son to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdom, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, prepared to go into the Fles against Donald that common enimie of Scotland. But this Donald himselfe deliuered the king of a great peece of that trauell: for so soone as he heard that the murther by him contriued was executed, he assembled a mightie power of the Island-men, and transporting with them ouer into Koffe, proclaimed himselfe king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as denied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised of that attempt of his aduersarie, speedilie marcheth forth with such power as he had already assembled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other

appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Thus comming into Murray land, he pitched downe his tents, purposing there to abide the coming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of the Fles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole intention, thought it best to assaile him within his campe, before all his power should come vnto him, and being thus resolved, he set forward in the night time, and was vpon his enemies, before that his comming towards them was once signified in their campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersaries to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, setteth them in arrate, and exhorteth them with many pithie wordes to receiue their enemies with manlie stomachs. But the Island-men encouraged also by their capteine, gaue the onfet so roundlie, that the Scottishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but were enforced even at the first to ioine at hand-blowes, which were bestowed in such furious sort, that in the end the Scots being oppressed with multitude, were constrained to giue backe, some sauing themselves by flight, and some standing at defense till they were beaten downe and killed in the place. There were slaine on the kings part three thousand men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongst whom were thirtie personages of honorable estate, together with the king himselfe being wounded so sore, that he died within three daies after the battell, rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as some haue written) in the same yeare that he began his reigne. Donald of the Fles hauing thus got the victorie, took vpon him as king, accordinglie as he had caused himselfe at the first to be proclaimed.

But because he came to the estate thus by blood, he continued still in doubt and feare of new conspiracies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrongfull usurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them present death, if anie of their friends and allies attempted anie stirre against him. Moreouer he nourished priuie factions amongst the nobilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would be the more feeble in anie publike exploit that was to be moued against him; finally, if anie mischief happened amongst them, he caused the matter thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard that he alwaies enriched his owne cofers with the forfeitures and penalties which he took vpon amongst them. He seldome times went abroad, and when he stirred forth anie whither, he had his gaird about him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout of treason. He aduanced diuers of base condition to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so in sundrie sorts with his misdeedfull crueltie, that manie there were which dread him, and but a few that loued him, so that in the end being in a manner run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was murdered one night at Ennerlochthe (whither he was come to haue passed ouer into the Fles) by certeine that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of his reigne.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after the deed done, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting nere hand in the countrie, he declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting them to aid him, in reneging the injuries done not onelie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but also to the whole state of the Scottish common welth, by the naughtie suggestion of diuers of the kings complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their maiesties death, but were all quiet in their beds, as men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was

Donald of the
Fles suddenly
setteth vpon
the enemies.

Crath-
linc
made his

The Scots
ouertaken.

Donald departeth
this
world.

Donald of the
Fles taketh
vpon him as
king.

Donald.

A guiltie con-
science.

The
and fr
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Fles
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of Cr

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Donald of the
Fles is mur-
thered.
Anno Christi.
273. H.B.

Crathlint
chiefe conspir-
ator to the
murthering
of Donald.

Crathlint pro-
cureth the no-
bles of the
countrie to
oppress the
seruants of
king Donald.

Crath-
linc
seru-
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brie
Don-
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Ch
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Dio
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now happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioysing greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the verie dawning of the day, coming upon the kings household meane, they slew aboute two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the residue escaping forth of the house, and thinking to save themselves, were beaten downe in the countrie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadly and mortall hatred unto the late king, that they not onelie reioysed much at his death, but thought themselves sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that was belong unto him.

Crathlint

Crathlint is made king.

After this, Crathlint being certaine the knowen to be the sonne of king Findocke, by such evident tokens as were shewed by him that brought him vp, was (partlie in respect of his full title, and partlie for consideration of his good service in deliuering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by consent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king, he perswaded the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a tree by the roots, least anie of them hapilie remaining aliue, should find meanes afterwards to disturbe the common wealth. The people consented lightlie hereunto, as they that beside the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now suddenlie in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for his wit and other qualities of the mind, but also by reason of his comelie personage and passing beaute, setting forth all his doings greatlie to his high praise and commendation.

The kinsmen and friends of Donald of the Isles are persecuted.

The politike gouernment of Crathlint.

Crathlint goeth to hunt in the mountains of Granzbene, ancientlie called Grampcus mons. An ambassage from the Picts. The Picts require the league to be renewed.

Crathlint pzo miserly to observe the ancient amitie betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts. The present sent by Crathlint unto the king of the Picts. Diuers Pictish lords come to Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him. A pzo of the Scottish dogs.

The issue therefore with other the kinsmen and allies of Donald were sought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or sex, were cruelly put to death. Which done, Crathlint appointed forth iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the lawes executed, and the countreies gouerned in god and quiet order, euerie man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These he chose out of the most ancient peeres and barons of his realme. The younger sort he reserved to attend upon his person.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mountains of Granzbene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beasts, whither came unto him ambassadors from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their maiester had conceived for the slaughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blood againe unto the estate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scottishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadors most iollie, giving them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maiester for this signification of his good will shewed by their coming, and herewith promised, that during his life he would gladlie obserue the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreover, when the said ambassadors should depart, he took unto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their maiester certaine hoxles, with hounds and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

And shortly after the returne of these ambassadors into their countrie, diuerse young gentlemen of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they should depart home wards, perceiuing that the Scottish dogs did farre excell theirs, both in fairnesse, swiftnesse, hardinesse, and also in long standing vp and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bit-

ches of the best kinds for vnto be giuen them by the Scottish lords, and yet not so contented, they stole one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more esteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The maiester of the leash being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end, chanced to strike the maiester of the leash through with their borespeares that he died presentlie, whereupon a noise and erie being raised in the countrie by his seruants, diuerse of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned; and falling upon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there ensued a shrewd bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died threescore gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them understanding (till all was done) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred slaine.

The kinsmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were wonderfullie moued with the iniurie committed, insomuch that without commandement of king or capteine, they assembled in great numbers together, and entring into the Pictish confines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the manner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came forth together into the field, and encountering with the Scots, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, without capteine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died about three thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus upon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still ready to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Acutha, being the 7 in number that reigned after Iergule.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderstand with what crueltie the one sought to destroye the other. No pittie might moue their cruell harts to spare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: such was their inordinate and like desire which they had to shed each others blood. At last Thelargus king of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiuing what mischief was happened through the follie of a few wilfull persons, appointed certeine of his counsell to go as ambassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some means to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to insue to both nations. They according to their instructions coming to the place where Crathlint as then sojourned, had much adoe to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they shewed such humble perswasions grounded upon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for three months space, which was but forlie obserued, for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the breasts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandement nor punishment might staie them from the inuading of one anothers confines, mauger their princes and all their fore restraints.

In this meane time was the estate of the Roman empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Carausius: he would not be acknowledge at his coming to Rome of what linage he was descended, and so he was reputed to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthie service in the warres, he attained vnto great

The Picts stole one of the kings best greihounds.

The Scots & Picts fight for a greihound.

What mischief ensued upon so light an occasion as the striking of a dog. This chanced about the yere of Christ 188, as lo. Manoteth.

The Scots rob the Pictish borders. The Scots & Picts encounter in battell.

The Scots discomfited by the Picts. What continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Picts, & how broken about a small matter as begun about a dog.

Cruell wars Thelargus king of the Picts being an aged man, desireth to haue peace, and thereupon sendeth his ambassadors vnto Crathlint.

A truce granted.

Carantius named by Eutropius Carausius, troubleth the estate of Britaine.

The willie
pradise of
Carantius.

Carantius
seereth to come
to make an-
swer to such
matters as he
was charged
with.
Carantius
revolting co-
merth into
Westmerland,
& causeth the
people there
to take his
part against
the Romans.

Carantius
sendeth mes-
sengers unto
king Crath-
lint, in excu-
sing his fault
for his brother
Findockes
death.
Carantius
requereth to
be aided a-
gainst the
Romans.

Crathlint re-
ioiceth to hear
that Caranti-
us was alive.

Crathlint re-
solueth to aid
Carantius, &
certifieth him
of the same.

The king of
the Picts also
promiseth to
aid Caran-
tius.

Crathlint
king of the
Scots and
Carantius
come to talke
together.

Crathlint and
the king of the
Picts come to
a communica-
tion by Caran-
tius his
means, who
transleth to
set them at one

great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to haue the soueraine regard ouer the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirats of the Sarons and other Germans, that soze molested the same in those daies. But for that he used to suffer those rousers to take spoiles and prizes, to the end he might in their returne take the same from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vse, without restoring that which was due to the owners, or sending anie portion thereof to the Roman emperor, he was complained upon, and sent for; but for that he doubted to come to his answer, as one which knew himselfe guiltie, he furnished his naue with men, vittels and ordinance, and with the same tooke his course about the west parts of Britaine, and landed in Westmerland, where he easilie procured the people there to submit themselves to be vnder his rule and obeisance, and promised to deliver them from the greivous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

Thus hauing begun the foundation of that which he purposed to atchieue, for his further aduancement therein, he sent ambassadoes vnto his nephew king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and also excusing the trespasses furnished against him, for being of counsell touching the murder of his brother Findocke, father to the same Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all mistrust of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him against the Romans, he doubted not but that he should in short time vtterlie expell them out of all Britaine, and enioy all those prouinces within the same (which as then they possessed) vnto his owne vse, and this he said should be more honor and gaine both to the Scottishmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friendship, and ioine with them in aid against their common enemies, than to seeke to deströie one another, as he latelie vnderstood they had done for a dog.

Crathlint hearing the words of these ambassadoes, reioiced not a little, that his vnckle Carantius was not onelie aliue, but also had through his valiance atchieued so high renowne as to be accounted one of the worthiest warriors amongst all the Romane captiues. And herevpon with good aduise he determined to aid him in that his enterprise for the conquest of Britaine to the bittermost of his power. Adding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not onlie send him aid of men, but also come with them himselfe: and hereof he assured the ambassadoes both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with such an answer vnto their maister Carantius, he reioiced not a little, to vnderstand how well they had sped, and so much the more, for that he receiued about the same time the like answer from the king of Picts.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Elke, where after he had purged himselfe with manie words of excuse, touching the murder of his brother Findocke, there was an assured friendship concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the conclusion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers together, in aid of Carantius against the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Carantius likewise was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to doe what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his presence therevnto stood so much in stead, that chieflie through his persuasion grounded vpon great reasons and weightie considerations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in such maner and forme, and with such conditions, as should be thought re-

quisite by the aduise and discret order of eight ancient persons: saue to be chosen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight persons taking the matter in hand, did so aduisedlie giue order for the auoiding of all causes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them satisfied with their arbitrement and direction, so that a sofull peace was confirmed, and all variance vtterlie quenched.

In this meane time Quintus Bassianus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding how Carantius was thus revolted, and had not onelie caused them of Westmerland to rebell, but also slaine and chased the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little disquieted, and determined with all speed to go against him, and to reuenge these injuries. Within a few daies after, hauing his armie readie, he entered into Westmerland: but hearing that his enemies were already come to Poike, and had twone, the citie by surrender, he turned his force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he vnderstood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie strong place, fenced about with marshes.

But Carantius vnderstanding all the maner of his enemies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without anie great haste, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched straight toward the place where Bassianus was incamped, so that anon after the spring of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, and perceiuing he should haue battell, maketh readie for the same, giuing the best exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but so much as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing auailed: for they desirous to see the vtter ruine of all the Romane power, euen at the verie point when the battels should haue ioined, withdrew themselves apart without anie stroke striken, and got them by into the next mounteins, to see what would ensue. The residue of the Romane armie, seeing themselves thus forsaken of their fellows, and their sides left bare and open for the enemy to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reason of the marshy ground compassing them in on each side, seruing well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Romans, and other of their part were overtaken and slaine. Amongst whom Bassianus himselfe was one, and Hircius the emperors procurator an other.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yielded themselves vnto Carantius, and sware to be his true liege men and subiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yeres and threescore, to remaine with him in hostage: but the spoile of the field he diuided amongst his people equallie, so that as well the Scottishmen and Picts, as also his owne souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victorie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of Britaine, vsurping the gouernment therof wholie to himselfe, and retaining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the safeguard of his person, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enemies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassadoes, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning vnto them as a portion of the conquest, the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Poike, to enioy as their owne proper patrimonie for

Peace confir-
med againe
betwixt the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Quintus
Bassianus
entrencheth
into
Westmerland,
but hearing
that his eni-
mies were at
Poike he tur-
neth thither-
wards.

The Brit-
tains betray
the Romans.

The Romans
are discouered.

The slaugh-
ter of the
Romans.

The Brit-
tains yield
themselves
vnto Caran-
tius.

Carantius or
Carantius, as
Eutropius na-
meth him,
vsurpeth the
kingdome of
Britaine.

Carantius
hauing got the
victorie, diui-
deth the gaine
in assigning to
his confederates
their due
portions.

The perse-
cution of the
christians by
Dioclesian.

Constantine
persecuted
the christi-
ans.

Janie of
Britaine
to the Sea
to auoid per-
secution.
Crathlint
drieth the
temples of
false gods
in Man.

The first
shops for
Scottish
Sodoren
ecclesia,
Crathlint
parteth
this wo-

Finco
mark

Imphit

The ch-
of S
other
led Sod
ecclesia

Culdei

What
Finco
began
reigne.

for ever more. Finallie the said Carantius was slaine by his companion Aleus, as in the English historie ye may find more at large.

The persec-
ution of the
christians by
Dioclesian.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered from troubles against the Romans, deuised sundrie good ordinaunces for the quiet state of the Scottish common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie obserued betwixt him and the Picts. Also in his daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which the emperor Dioclesian commanded to be executed in most furions wise, so that there were few partes of the world (where anie christians were knowne to inhabit) that tasted not of that his cruell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Britaine also, as well as in other places, there was no small quantitie of innocent blood shed, with most vnnmercifull murder committed, to the great triumph of Christs crosse, that glorious ensigne of our religion.

Constantius
persecuteth
the christians.

Manie of the
Britains flee
to the Scots
to avoid per-
secution.
Crathlint de-
stroyeth the
temples of the
false gods
in Spain.

The first bi-
shops see in
Scotland.
Sodorensis
ecclesia.
Crathlint de-
parteth out of
this world.

Finco-
marke.

Amphibalus.

The church
of S. Shauor,
otherwise cal-
led Sodorensis
ecclesia.

Culdei.

what yere
Fincomarke
began his
reigne.

In which time Constantius Chlorus father to Constantine the great, was resident in Britaine, who aduising the Scots to be a people wholie giuen to pillage and slaughter, as they were in deed, determined with himselfe to haue brought them to subiection. But per he could atchieue any notable enterpryse, he died, leaving behind him the same of a right gentle and worthy prince, sauing that in one point he sore stained his honor, for that he was one of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke vnder Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faithfull amongst the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots and Picts to avoid his persecution. Whome Crathlint receiued for his part most louinglie, and assigned vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, destitute of all such temples of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides, which had continued there since the beginning; and vtterlie abolished all the superstitious rites and customs of the same Druides, with their whole order and brotherhood. He erected a temple there, which he dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our sauour, wherein the christians might celebrate their diuine seruice, according to their profession. This church being richlie indownd, was the first bishops see amongst the Scots, and thereupon was taken for the mother church of the realme. It is now called the church of saint Saniour. Finallie Crathlint departed out of this life, after he had reigned 24 yeres, being much praised aswell for his politike gouernment, as for his great and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduancement of the true christian religion.

Fincomarke that was his vnckles sonne, succeeded him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone of marble, to the great reioysing of all the estates, who wished him a prosperous reigne, and long to continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Britaine borne, who fleeing from the persecution then raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crathlint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint Saniours church in Man: this Amphibalus did be- rie much good amongst the Scots and Britains in setting forth the word of life, and rooting out of their hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie. There were other also of right famous memorie about the same time, that ceased not in preaching, and instructing the people in the right beleefe, as Godocus, Priscus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the Scottish tongue Culdei, that is to vnderstand, Cultores Dei, or as you would say in English, the worshippers of God.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke, yelsh all vnderstand, that he began his reigne in the

yeere (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our Sauiour 325, after the creation of the world 4292, and from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdome 652, and in the 20 yeere of Constantine the emperor. It chanced that Otacius king of the Britains was vanquished by Traherus a Romane capteine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him as a friend. And furthermore though he were requi- red by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet Fincomarke refused so to do, choosing rather to suffer all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall trust of safegard,

Herewith Traherus being not a little moued, assembled his power, and entred into Westmerland, the which countrie had remained in the Scottish mens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the least 60 thousand persons together in one armie, as 30 thousand of his owne countriemen, 20 thousand Picts, & ten thousand of such Britains as followed after Otacius. Fincomarke being thus furnished, hastened forth to encounter with his enemies, before they should haue time to do any notable damage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnderstand the cause why he thus inuaded his countrie, but receiuing fro him an vntoward answer, he brought forth his people into the field in order readie to giue battell, and so joining with the enimie, there was fought a right sore and cruell conflict, which continued for a time with vnnmercifull murder and slaughter on both parts.

Finallie, when the Romans were at a point to haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in such feare with the sight of a number of husbands men, who had got together their cattell and were dying the same awaie, that supposing they had bene some new succors comming to aid their enemies, they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leaving the victorie to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots side were slaine (as their chronicles report) sixtene thousand men, and on the Romane part about fiftene thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto Yorke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Otacius pursued after him, he forsooke that citie, and got him into places of more suertie, so that when the enemies came thither, the citizens yielded themselves, and receiued Otacius as their prince, offering from thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernment. The newes of these atchieued victories being bruted throughout the realme, caused a great number of the nobles to come in vnto Otacius, who receiued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought so by their support, that he was shortly after restored to the gouernance of the whole realme, and established therein according to his owne wish.

This done Fincomarke returned into his countrie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell sustained in that iournie. There was also promise made and confirmed by solempne oath, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such other parts as were assigned to his predecessor king Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of their joining together in league against the Romans, should for ever remaine vnto Fincomarke, & to his successors the Scottish kings, without any claime or title to be made to the same by any of the Britains:

322. H.B.
5490. H.B.
655. H.B.
First of Con-
stantine. H.B.
Otacius is
vanquished, &
fleeth into
Scotland.

Traherus
inuadeth west
merland.

Fincomarke
raiseth his
power.

Fincomarke
vincth in bat-
telle with
Traherus.

The Ro-
mans flee.

The number
is slaine.

Yorke is yel-
ded vnto
Otacius.

Otacius
obtaineth the
rule of Bri-
taine.

Westmerland
assigned to the
Scottishmen.

A counsell
kept at Forke.

Octavius
coueteth to
inlarge his
dominion.

The Bri-
tains invade
Westmerland.

Craberus
returneth
into Britain.
Octavius is
vanquished by
Craberus.

Craberus by
a conspiracie
is murdered.
Octavius is
reconciled
with Fin-
comarke.

Octavius
entreteth into
amicie with
the Britishe
king.

Octavius be-
commeth
tributarie
vnto the Ro-
man emperor.
17 of Clodius
& Calpurnius
emperors. H.B.
Fincomarke
deceased.
358. H.B.

Eugenius &
Ethodius
sons to Fin-
comarke.

Romacus,
Fethelmacus
and Angustia-
nus sonnes to
three feuerall
brethren pre-
tend a right
to the estate.

Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortly after that Octavius had once chased all the Romans forth of the Britishe confines, and that Craberus was fled ouer into France, there was a counsell called at Forke, where it was not onely ordeined, that from thenceforth there should neuer any stranger be suffered to reigne ouer the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, euen vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling forth the inhabitants of foren nations.

Such an immoderate lust of inlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octavius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits receiued, might staie him from seeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him vnto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For hereupon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scottisshmens hands: but being incoun-tered with a power of Scottisshmen & Picts, they were sharpelie repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Craberus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Octavius, he vanquished his armie, and constrained him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Forwaite, there to saue his life, because that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Craberus againe in possession of Britaine as lieutenant to Constantine the emperor: but shortly after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Octavius murdered, and then Octavius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scottishe king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countries of Westmerland and Cumberlond, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. He likewise sent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans should to invade his countrie, as shortly after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castles and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quieted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scottisshmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate aboue 47 yeeres. This was in the yeere of our redemption 172. His Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yeeres of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yonger than his brother by one yeere, so that neither of them might succede their father, by reason they were not of yeeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Hereupon a counsell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephues to king Crathlint, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them should gouerne the land: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, and Angustianus. Romacus had a Pictishe ladie of the bloud roiall of that nation to his mother, and for that his

father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was yonger in yeeres than either Fethelmacus or Angustianus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such voices as he had vnto Angustianus, therewith Romacus being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroyed them both: but his practise being discovered, caused manie to withdraue their good wils from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more encouraged: and thereupon the counsell brake by, either part deniying how to strengthen themselves against the others practises. But for much as Angustianus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacus was constrained in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being nere of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angustianus therefore vnderstanding what danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got together an armie of such as fauoured his cause, and incountring with him in battell was put flight, and forced to flee into the westerne Isles with his coufine Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Angustianus being thus chased out of the reime, Romacus was receiued by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed maner of tyrants, committing thus to the gouernment of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so soone as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore such as had borne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauour in his daies, those did Romacus call vnto him, and afterwarde vsed their counsell aboue all other mens, aduancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Againe, those which had bene in fauour with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his doings, there was gathered no light suspition, that he would likewise per long find meanes to dispatch Ethodius and Eugenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, whereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome it selfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, conuicted themselves into Westmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Man, where they remained looking for a daie.

Then began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauourers of Angustianus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with such his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired together by secret meanes how to deliuer their countrie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more speedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yet he had any vnderstanding of their enterprisse, so that whereas he (being vnprouided of resistance) assailed by slight towards Pictland to haue escaped their hands, it preuailed him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former passed life had verie well deserved, in the fourth yeere of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioysing. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counsell with him in all his cruell practises.

After which execution done, they sent for Angustianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king,

Romacus
seeketh meanes
to restore his
countrie.

Angustianus
sought by right
dealing pur-
cheth the
more friend-
ship.

Romacus
vanquisheth
Angustianus.

Octavius
king of the
Picts maketh
warres
vpon the
Scots.

Romacus
Romacus is
receiued for
king.

The Picts
discomfited
Scots.

Romacus
gouerneth
tyrannicallie.
Ethodius &
Eugenius the
sonnes of
Fincomarke
are conuicted
into the Ile
of Man.

Octavius
frowns of
revenge.

The Scottis
lords conspire
against Ro-
macus.

Romacus
apprehended
and put to
death.

Octavius
nabeth the
Scottishe
king.

Angustianus
proclaimed
king.

Angustianus
sought for

king, as well by consent of the lords, as favour of the commons. About the same time, because the Britains had slain the Roman lieutenant, the emperor Constantine sent one Maximus thither to chastise the rebels, with whom the same Maximus in countering in battell, gave them a great overthrow. And within three daies after Octavius king of the Britains, through græfe, age, and long sicknesse, being consumed to the last point, departed this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Octavius, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certaine yeeres unknowne with Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were oftentimes discomfited in battell by Maximus, and soze by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subjection.

Maximus
king of the
Britons maketh
loze warres
upon the
Scots.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Augustinus king of Scots was soze disquieted by Pectanus king of Picts, who enforced himselfe to revenge the death of his consine Komacus, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scottish confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by spoiling of goods, murdering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increased by the aid of certaine Scottish men, which had borne good will vnto Komacus, he pleased soze vpon Augustinus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or anie agreement could be heard, though Augustinus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his enimie in the field, where (after soze fight and much slaughter) the victorie remained with Augustinus and Pectanus with his Picts were chased and forced to saue themselves by flight.

The Picts
discomfited by
Scots.

Pectanus de-
sires of re-
venge.

Pectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a councell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries receiued by the Scots, whereof he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceived against his enimies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) set forward the matter in such earnest wise that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all speed an armie should be leuied, and led forth into the Scottish borders. Pectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to invade the Scots anew, caused men of warre to be taken by through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choicest men that might be got; the which being once assembled, he staied not long but set forward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, spoiling and destroying all afoze him at his owne will and pleasure.

Pectanus in-
uaderh the
Scottish con-
finis.

Augustinus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through setting on of the Romans should take to soine with the Picts, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Pectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pictish and Scottish estates, in putting the same in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enimies the Romans and the Britains. Whereupon therefore he wrote vnto Pectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such dangers and inconueniencies as might insue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe,

Augustinus
writeth to
peace

how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace together as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Maximus the Roman legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

But Pectanus in no wise would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, so that Augustinus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable wordes, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Pectanus likewise encouraged his folkes to doe valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forward, letting their arrowes flie frelie one at an other, untill at length comming to handblowes they strooke on frehlie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtful. At length Augustinus perceiuing his people to be put to the worst, rushed forth into the thickest of the prease amongst his enimies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with prease, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people missing him, & not vnderstanding what was become of him, supposed that he had bene fled, and therefore fell also to running away; but the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had anie cause to reioise, for the captiues on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right penfise and sorrowfull, giuing manie a soze curse vnto such as had bene the procurers and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time bene confoined in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this bloodie battell, aswell the Scots as Picts sat still for a season, not attempting anie enterprise of importance the one against the other.

Augustinus reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his consine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he assembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to spoile & slea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts also being kindled herewith, gathered their power together, and incourting with the Scots, there was a soze battell fought betwixt them; but the Scots first putting the wings of their enimies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to saue themselves. So that among other, their king named Pectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Pectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within three daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuer of Tait, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrie of Fife.

The Picts, perceiuing themselves not to be strong enough to match with their enimies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with skirmishes and light incourterings (if it were possible) to keepe them off from the winning of anie of their fenced townes, castles or strong holds. And to be the more able to mainteine themselves in this their purposed

G. y. inten-

Pectanus re-
fuseth all of-
fers of peace.

Augustinus
and Pectanus
ioine in battell
with their ar-
mies.

Augustinus
is slaine.

The Scots
are discomfited.

Pectanus is
also slaine.

Fethel-
macus.

The Scots
discomfite the
Picts.

In other
Pectanus
king of the
Picts dieth of
hurts recei-
ued in the
fight with the
Scots.

Heirgust is
chosin king
of the Picts.

He pretended
treason.

Fethelmacus
is murdered
in his bed.

In the fift
yeare of the
emperour
Constantinus.

369. H.B.

Saint Kente
cometh into
Fife, then a
part of Pict-
land, and now
of Scotland.

The Scots
send into the
Iles of Man,
for Finco-
marke his
sonnes.

Eugenius.

Eugenius is
inuested king.

The practise
of Maximus
to destroy the
Scots.

intention, they did chose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtil nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust deuising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intolerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two sic fellows Picts by nation, to counterfeit themselves for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus toke great pleasure, they were appointed to make sute to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might espie their time, they should slea him, by one kind of meane or other.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bying him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason whereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Picts, the same musician (hauing plaied in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him asleep) did let in those two Pictish traitors, who forthwith slea him euen as he laie so sleeping: but the king growning grieuoullie at the death stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber doore perceiving that was happened, followed after the murderers, where they sought to defend themselves with hurling downe stones, vpon them that came vp towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the deed, with the whole manner of the same, they were draluen in peeces with wild horses: the musician also being apprehended and consu'd of the treason, suffered semblable the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

In this season (as in times past hath bene belated) certeine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought south of Achala, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Greekish monke named Regulus Albatus, commonlie called S. Kente, a man in those daies highly esteemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed; at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruill, that is, the church of S. Kente, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, standing in the abbie churchyard, where the chanons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scottish chronicles, we will proceed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scottish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remaned, during the daies of the thre last remembered kings, Romacus, Angustianus, and Fethelmacus.

This Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inuested king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Maximus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations, thereby not onelie to enlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had bene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to assaie if he might ioine in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destruy-

ed the other: for he considered it would be an hard peece of worke to haue to do with them both at one instant. Wherevpon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Pictish nation, but also to all such people as loved rest and quietnesse, as might easilie be perceived by their continuall practise and vsage, neuer seeking to disturbe their neighbors with robbes & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them bitterlie destroyed and extirped.

Heirgust right iollfull of these newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almighty God, that had moued the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people; & therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon anie reasonable conditions which he should deuise, not onelie requiring aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Maximus hauing receiued this answer, he found means also to come to a communication with Heirgust nere to Forke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie aduoged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Picts. And further therewith were certeine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Maximus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scottish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Pictish nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the heads of the Picts, the authors of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to do, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Eugenius for answer herevnto, declared that since he entred into the gouernment of the Scottish estate, he had done nothing that might be thought prejudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects: and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures done on either part, according as should be thought to stand with equitie and reason. Neither did he see what cause the Romans should haue to make warres for the Picts against those that had done them no displeasure: but if it were so that he must needs haue wars, he would do what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scottish nation, trusting chieslie in the succours of almighty God, who vsed to fauour the cause of the iust and innocent, against such as sought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occasion giuen. Maximus receiuing this answer from Eugenius, assembled with all speed a strong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Westmerland, he spoiled that countrie most miserably, taking diuers castles and strong holds by force, the which he furnished with garrisons of his people, and then passing into Anandale, burned and harried the same; from thence he entred into Galloway, committing no kind of tyrannie that might be theiue against the inhabitants, so that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, so great an armie had not bene seene in those parties.

Eugenius notwithstanding, gathering his power together, determined to trie the fortune of battell,

He sendeth
vnto Heirgust
king of the
Picts.

Heirgust his
answere vnto
Maximus
his message.

Maximus
and Heirgust
ioine in friend-
ship, and the
Scots pro-
claimed eni-
mies to them
both.

An herald
sent from
Maximus
vnto Euge-
nius.

The answer
of Eugenius
vnto the he-
rald.

Maximus
raileth a
mightie ar-
mie.
He inuadeth
the Scottish
regions.

Cruell war.

Eugenius
gathering his
and

power fight
with his
enemies, and
was discomfited.

The Romans
following to
the chase, re-
ceived damage.

Eugenius
brought up
his army.

A rebellion in
Kent.

The Scots
brought the
Scots.

Maximus
brought
grace.

Maximus
brought in-
nately the
Scots.

Eugenius
prepared an
army to de-
fend his coun-
try.

women bled
to the warres.

The number
of the Scottish
armie.

The approach
of Maximus
towards the
Scots.

and so joining with his enemies were unto the wa-
ter of Cree, his people were quicklie put to flight,
and chased, by reason that they were much inferior
in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase,
happened to light amongst them of Argyle, which
had not bene at the battell, but were coming to-
wards it, and now fiercelie incounting with such
as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire
backe with some losse, whereupon the other Scots al-
so (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset,
so that if night had not come on the sooner, there had
bene a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine
in that bickering than they themselves did thinke
of. Whereupon the Romans, doubting what their en-
emies intended to doe, they fortified their campe that
night verie strongly; but Eugenius understanding
that a multitude of his folks were slaine in the bat-
tell, so that the verie streame of the water of Cree
was stopped up with dead carcases, he thought best
(with the aduise of the pæres) to licence his people to
depart to their homes, and not to fight with his
enemies aune more for that time.

Which being done, he himselfe repaired the same
night unto Carrike, where he remained for a sea-
son, making provision for defense of his realme the
best he could deuise. Maximus hauing knowledge
in the morning how the Scots were quite gone
their waies, he determined to haue followed them;
but being certified of a rebellion amongst the
Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and re-
turned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leauing
in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such
holds as he had got in that vantage. The yeare fol-
lowing, Maximus was so buſied in the south parts
of Britaine, that he could not attend vnto the
warres against the Scots, otherwise than in main-
teining such garrisons as he had placed in their
countries, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings
happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and
the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their
owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but
also to invade and destroye Picland, so that they har-
ried the countrie of Fife, with part of Dentseth and
Sterling shire, burning & waſting towneſes, caſtles,
and houses most cruelle.

Whereof Maximus being certified, made ſem-
blance as though he were ſore grieved therewith,
but inwardlie he could haue reioiced at nothing
more than to heare of the injuries done by the Scots
vnto the Picts, ſuppoſing it to make chieſlie for his
purpose; and hereupon preparing an armie againſt
the next ſummer, when he had diſpoſed all things in
a quiet order amongſt the Britains, he ſet forth
with the ſame towards Galloway, where being ar-
riued, there was no kind of crueltie ſpared againſt
the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time
underſtanding the coming of his enemies, muſ-
tered his people, and appointed the aſſembly to be
made in the countrie of Aile, which way he heard
that his enemies would trauell. Whither came alſo
not onlie all the able men of the Scottiſh dominions,
but likewiſe a great number of luſtie & ſtrong wo-
men apt to beare armour according to the old ac-
cuſtomed giſe of their nation, ſo that there were
numbered in this armie ſittie thouſand perſons right
fierce and hardie, deſirous either to vanquiſh the
enemie with dint of ſword, or elſe to die preſentlie in
the place.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus in-
camped in Aile, marched towards them, and lod-
ged the ſame night not far off from the riuer of
Munda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Euge-
nius, that Maximus was come within ſiue miles of
him, with a greater armie than he had at his laſt in-

countrie with him in Galloway. The aduertife-
ments cauſed no ſmall ſtir to be raiſed in the campe,
ſome being ſtricken with preſent feare; where other
contrariwiſe moued with high indignation, deſired
nothing ſo much as to ioin in battell with the Ro-
mans, whoſe cruell tyrannie they much deteſted.
Eugenius himſelfe ſhewed no countenance of feare
at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable
wordes, he brought them ſtreight in order of battell,
divided into three wardes, committing one of them
to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the ſecond
to Decalus the gouernour of Argile, & reſeruing the
third to himſelfe. This done, he made vnto them a
piſtyle oration, declaring how neceſſarie it was for
them to plaie the men, conſidering that in victorie
conſiſted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being
vanquiſhed, their countrie was endangered to be
brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the
onelie marke which the Romans ſhot at, was to ex-
preſſe the libertie of the whole Iſland, and to reduce
the ſame into the forme of a province, to be gover-
ned at the will of the victors, to the bread of all
their old ancient lawes & long continued cuſtoms.

With theſe and manie other like reaſons he went
about to encourage the minds of his ſubiects, in ſuch
wiſe, that in manner the moſt part of them determi-
ned rather to die with honour, than to liue in ſuch mi-
ſerie as they feared would inſue, if the victorie ſhould
reſt vpon the Romans ſide. And as they were in
ſuch talke together, ſuddenlie commeth in one of
their ſcouts with newes, that Maximus with his ar-
mie was euen at hand. This was in the morning,
anon after the ſunne was up, where he was not lo-
ked for till the evening following, inſomuch that the
ſame his ſudden arrivall, chancing ſo farre contra-
rie to their former expectations, troubled all their
heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that
hereby they were conſtrained to change the order of
their battels to haue the ſunne on their backs, as
they had provided at the firſt it ſhould haue bene, if
the enemies had not come untill the after none. Yet
notwithſtanding, they had no ſooner changed their
place, and gotten themſelves into arrae of battell
againe, but that with great violence they preſſed
forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which
Maximus perceiuing, made all the ſped he could to
ſet his men in order of battell, that he might receiue
his enemies coming thus to incounter him. So
both ſides being fullie bent to battell, and approached
within danger of ſhot, they let ſee the ſame moſt e-
gerlie, albeit that through haſting ſoorth to ioin at
hand, ſtrokes, there was little hurt done with bowes
or darts.

The Scots crying vpon the name of their wor-
thie and famous anceſſor king Gald, did late about
them, moſt fiercelie, after they came once to the ioi-
ning: and likewiſe the Romans, being encouraged
with the cherefull wordes of the lieutenant Maxi-
mus, boldlie incountered them, ſo that it was doub-
full at the firſt whether part ſhould haue the worſe
end of the ſtaffe. But ſhortlie there followed variable
ſucceſſe, for on the one part, they of Keſſe and Mar,
being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that
wing of the enemies where the Picts were, fought
ſo egerlie and with ſuch fierce wilis, that they caſt
put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great
number of them as they would haue paſſed the wa-
ter of Dune, but ſtreightwaies after falling to the
ſpoile, they were ſlaine downe right by a legion of
ſuch Romans as were ſent by Maximus vnto the
ſuccours of the Picts.

On the other ſide, in the leſt wing thoſe of Argile,
Cantire, Aile, and Coningham, who were matched
with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after
long

Engenius
conſidereth
his people.

The ſudden
arrivall of
Maximus.

The Scots
giue the onset.

The battell
joine.

Doubtfull
fight.

Ethodius
overthroweth
the Picts.

The Scots
having van-
quiſhed the
Picts, are
ſlaine by the
Romans.

long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glozie for ever, so that by this meanes the maine battell of the Scottis men, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Maximus perceiuing, he caused the same to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must needs be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius chosling rather to die in the place, than either to saue his life by flight, or by rendering himself into his enemies hands to liue in miserie, &c. was there slaine, together with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather speedilie with honoz, than longer to liue with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdome, in the third yere after his first entering to the rule, hauing inioied few good daies in rest during the said time.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to keepe the cartage and truste of the field, seeing their lords and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to sleepe some number of their enemies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by anye valiant activitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driven backe, they were finally slaine & beaten downe. Whereouer, the Romans that pursued in chase after their enemies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their childezen and kinnsfolks, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they slue vpon such Romans as they met with; but being easilie banquished, and refusing to sleepe, they were also slaine and cut in peces in a most miserable manner.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enemies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolesull growings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murder and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Maximus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equallye diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed manner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeons to see to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corpes of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemne and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Roman princes.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pittifull wise, and in manner halfe dead, was also taken vp by commandement of the same Maximus, and surgeons charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus achieved, Maximus surueteth the countries of Hile, Carrike, and Coningham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to inioy both goods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegiance, without anye further molestation. Theirgust

king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to see the utter destruction of all the Scottis race. Wherevnto Maximus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to banquish by benefites, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare such as submitted themselves, and in no wise to spot the honour or maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuaade him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue anye abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished anye quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namelie of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the prophetes spake) they were begotten and bozne. Finally when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bring that to passe by wicked meed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not doe by other meanes. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in such cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scottis men, should by a certaine daie auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Brittain, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer vp their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The Scots perceiuing themselves not able to make anye resistance, obeyed this commandement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Isles, and some of them got ouer also into Norwaye, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got intertainment amongst the Romans souldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensignes. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to see all the Scottis linage confined, that they would not consent that a certaine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Maximus, that they might be permitted to abide in their native countrie all the residue of their liues, though in seruile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in graues with their slaine husbands.

Whereouer, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a grome from the towne of hir husband, where she had remained euersith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Brittain, and descended by linage from the princes of Wales; Maximus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certaine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of Pictissh riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne ease, for they did not onelie sleepe hir grome, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being informed, caused them that had done so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserued. The queene herselfe being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honorable intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so nere as it was possible.

Heirgust delereth the utter destruction of the Sc. is.

The Picts offend Maximus

Cartandis lamenteth in her estate.

The earnest sute of the Picts to haue the Scottis men banished and expelled out of the countrie.

where words faile, gifts preuaile.

The proclamation for the auoiding of all Scottis men forth of the whole Island of Brittain.

The Scots plagued for their beaustie crueltie.

The merie of the builded banthe Scottis monks

The cruell dealing of the Picts.

The time the Scots were confined 5547. 379.

The 710. The 710. year of the life of the Scots. H. Stran. ditions. How? weapons in the a

Cartandis queene of Scots.

It rain birds.

Ethodius fined in Denma

The Picts
offended with
Maximus.

Cartandis
lamenteth his
infortunate
state.

But the Picts being offended herewith, and speciallie for putting to death of their men, sundrie of their nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to make a soze complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the defects of their nation had not bene such toward the Romane empire, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans sake, being both an enimie and a prisoner, therefore they required that the might be confined into Britaine, and according to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all his goods. Here Cartandis being present hir selfe, began to make pittifull lamentation, bewailing hir most unhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched case and present miserable fortune, she should now be forced to turne againe into hir countrie: wishing rather than she should be enforced so to do, that she might offer vp hir life as a sacrifice in the place of hir husbands buriall: and therefore holding vp hir hands vnto Maximus in most pittifull wise, she besought him instantlie, that it might please him, either to suffer hir to passe the residue of hir life after such sort as she thought best agreed with hir widowlike estate, or else to take the same from hir presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

Where was not a man other than the Picts, that saw and heard hir at that instant, but lamented hir woofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the Picts was disallowed, & Cartandis hauing liuing assigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was licenced to depart into what place she thought expedient, there to liue as she thought best without let or disturbance. The same time the Scottish bishops and priests, being banished as well as the other sort of the Scottish people, a number of their monks got them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, where they erected a monastierie for their owne habitation, the worthinesse whereof hath bene right famous, euen vnto these our daies, as that which was afterward indowd with manie faire reuenues by diuers of the Scottish kings, who had their burials there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as shall be hereafter exprest.

The yere in which the Scottishmen were thus banquished by the Romans and Picts, and finally confined out of their seats, was from the creation of the world 4319, after the birth of our saviour 352, from the beginning of the Scottish kingdome 679, and the third yere of Magnentius. The same yere before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Maximus, manie strange sights were scene in the furthest part of Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens hearts. In the night season in the aire were scene fierie swords and other weapons mouing in a long ranke, after comming together on a heape, and being changed into an huge flame as it had been a firebrand, it then vanished awaie. The waters of the riuer of Dune ran with blood, the banks of the same riuer flashed oft times as they had bene all on a fire. There were scene also a number of small birds fall out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of rauens that deuoured by the same.

Certeine witches and soothsayers, declaring that these things betokened the destruction of the Scottish kingdome, were commanded by the priests to hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their tales proued most true. But to returne to our historie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cured (as is said) by commandement of Maximus, was yet banished amongst the residue, and constrained to take an oth, that he should immediatlie repaire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approach nether vnto the coasts of Albion, for doubt of some

new attempt that might be made by the Scots thorough his meanes, thereby to returne into their countrie againe, & to recover their former state. But this staied not them of the westernne Isles, but that assembling themselves together, and choosing one Gillo to their capitaine, they passed ouer into Argile, where in the end they were incountried by such Picts as were set there to defend that countrie, and slaine each others soure. Their vessels were also taken and brought into sundrie hauens of the countrie, to serue for defense of the coasts vpon any new enterprise which the Scots should chance to make: but the other Scots, perceiuing they were not able to furnish forth a new armie in the Isles by any aid they might purchase there, sailed ouer into Ireland, where presenting themselves vnto the king of that region, they declared vnto him from point to point all their infortunate chances and lamentable calamities, which were happened vnto them of late through the tyrannicall puissance of the Romans, and malicious enuie of the Picts, in such sort as nothing could be more miserable than their present estate, considering the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the finall banishment of the inhabitants from their houses and lands, which had bene in possession of them and their elders, by the space almost of seuen hundred yeres.

The Irish king with his nobles moued with pittie to heare and vnderstand so dolefull calamities to haue chanced vnto that nation, whose god or had hap could not but touch them verie nere, considering they were descended both of one progenie, comforted these Scottishmen to the best of their power, and in the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand men, and to furnish them forth with ships, vittels, and munitions to passe into Albanie for recouerie of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines, and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite for such an enterprise, they took the sea, and landing in Cantire, chanced to meet with Heirbarthane brother to Heirguist king of the Picts, accompanied with a great number of Picts and Britains assembled to defend the countrie, but being sharpelie assailed of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie put to flight, & such as were overtaken died on the sword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants that were planted on their parts.

This victorie thus atchieued, there were that gaue counsell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to take such booties of goods and prisoners as they had got in the countrie, and to returne therewith into Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, supposing it best to followe the victorie, and either to recover againe their ancient seats, or else to die in the valiant attempt thereof. Which aduise was followed as the best, though it proued otherwise: for before they could come to any conclusion of that enterprise, the Romans, Picts, and Britains gathered themselves together, and gaue battell againe to the Scottish and Irish companie, wherein they overthrew them, to their vtter ruine and destruction.

The newes of this infortunate incounter being brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought it best with all speed to send ambassadors vnto Maximus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent at the first were soze blamed and checked by Maximus, for that they had aided the Scottishmen in the last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certeine conditions, whereof the most principall article was, that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succor any enimie to the Romane empire. This Maximus, hauing got a quiet peace on each side, vied all meanes possible

Gillo chosen
capitaine of the
banished
Scots in the
western Isles
comming into
Argile is ban-
quished by
the Picts.

The Scots
repaire into
Ireland.

The king of
Ireland with
his nobles
lament the
Scottishmens
case.
The Irish-
men conclude
to aid the
Scottishmen.

The Scots
and Irishmen
land in Can-
tire.
The Picts
incounter
with the
Scots and
Irishmen and
are discom-
fited.

The Scots
and Irishmen
are over-
throwne.

The king of
Ireland see-
keth for peace.
Maximus
granteth
peace to the
Irishmen.
Maximus
seeketh by his
bountious
liberallitie to
win the peo-
ples fauour.

The monastie
rie of Iona
builded by
banished
Scottish
monks.

The time that
the Scots
were thus
confined.
5547. H.B.
379. H.B.
710. H.B.

The second
yere of Ju-
lian the Apo-
stata. H.B.
Strange
visions.
Swords and
weapons seen
in the aire.

It raineth
birds.

Ethodius con-
fined into
Denmarke.

possible how to procure the loue of his souldiours and men of warre, shewing himselfe not onelie gentle, courteous and mecke towards them, but also so liberal and free, that his bounteous gifts passed all vnderstanding: insomuch that (as is reported by writers) he bestowed in one daie nere hand as much in rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yalded to the empire in a whole yere.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he vsed not onelie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but also towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himselfe so nere vnto their maners & fashions, that at his comming into Pic-
land, he laid awaie his Romane apparell, and araid himselfe in garments after the Pictish guise. By this maner of meanes therfore he wan him such loue and fauor, as well amongst his souldiours, as also amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common consent they chose him for emperor, in the 383 yere after Christ, professing generallie, that they would owe onelie their obessance vnto him as to their supreme gouernor. ¶ Here the Scottish chronicles somewhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Marimus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre, than by anie meanes which he of himselfe vsed to attaine vnto the same. Where the said chronicles neuertheless shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his owne seeking, procuring certeine persons to worke for him as instruments to frame other to this his purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space of fife yeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradi-
ction: which had not chanced vnto anie one man before his time, since the Ile was first inhabited. At length desirous of more empire, he passed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France and Italie, with such other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how prosperoullie he sped in the beginning, and how at length he was slaine at Aquila in Italie, ye shall find in the historie of England a great deale more at large.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Romane empire, Maximus the sonne of Maximus late king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled into the Ile of Gaule, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did so much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but shortly after he was constrained to agree with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so that the Britains should paie their wonted tribute, and liue vnder such lawes as by the emperor should be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Maximus should be reputed during his life for king. Immedi-
atlie hereupon two lieutenants were sent from Theodosius, of whom the one named Martius sojourned at London, and the other called Victorine at York. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practice, abolishing the old British lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined sore therat, and vsed most an end their owne lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane estate. Whereof Victorine, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue straight commandement vnto Heirgust the Pictish king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be vsed anie longer amongst his subiects, vpon paine that might insue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie of the Romane empire.

Heirgust now perceiuing into what thraldome

and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured against his neighbours the Scottishmen, as a man sore repenting his passed follie, and seeing no readie meane present how to reforme the same, being aged and sore broken with continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretlie into his priue chamber, where immediatlie he slue himselfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile estate, into the which he saw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne, Victorine commanded that the Picts should not choose anie other from thenceforth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obeie anie other magistrates but onlie such as should be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commission of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he acknowledged, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Heirgust and Marimus, that after the decease of the same Heirgust, all his dominions should be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a province. Whobet the Picts nothing regarded the words of Victorine, but by common agreement did chose one Durlus the second sonne of Heirgust to be their king.

Whereupon Victorine being informed of their doings, raised a power, and made such speed towards them, that he was gotten so nere vnto the citie of Camelon, yer they had anie knowledge of his approach, that Durlus with oier of the nobles, being as then within the same, could not haue space to escape their waies, but being forthwith besieged with in it, at length they were taken by force of assalt, and the citie sacked, to the great enriching of the Romane armie, and utter bndwing of the poore inhabitants. Durlus with other the chieffest prisoners were first had vnto London, & from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the senat. The residue of the nobles that were taken there, suffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie pearle vnto the emperors procurator, the fourth part of all their reuenues growing of their corne and cattell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with diuerse base seruices, as to labo in mettall mines, to dig stoness forth of the quarries, and to make brikke to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleased him to command it.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was (as he said) to teach them to know themselves. For they were become so loatie, since the departure of the Scottishmen out of the Ile, that if they were not restrained in time by authoritie of the Romane puissance, the whole British nation were like to be shortly disquieted by their wilfull meanes and insolent presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Victorine, to charge the Picts in maner as is before specified; but to their further greivance he deuised an other waie, whereby to bring them in the end vnto utter destruction, which was this: he constrained them together with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remoue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this side the same water, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late appertained to the Scots, and were assigned to them by Marimus to possesse, after that the Scots were expelled.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Victorine to the Britains, as subiects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be cast along by the same, from Abirconne, through the territorie of Glasgow vnto Alcluth, or Aldcluth, now called Dunbretton, so running from the

Heirgust slue himselfe.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Durlus is chosen king of the Picts.

Durlus is besieged of the Romans.

Durlus is brought prisoner to London.

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their base seruices.

The Picts are commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

A wall made to diuide the Britains from the Picts.

Marimus is chosen emperor in Britaine.

Marimus ruled the estate of Britaine 17 yeres.

The emperor Gratian is slaine by Marimus.

The Picts forbidden to create a king.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Heirgust slue himselfe.

Durlus is chosen king of the Picts.

Durlus is besieged of the Romans.

Durlus is brought prisoner to London.

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their base seruices.

The Picts are commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

A wall made to diuide the Britains from the Picts.

The Picts are commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

The Picts
forbidden to
pass over be-
yond that wall

The Scots
lived in other
countries.

Ethodius
brother unto
Eugenius,
late king of
Scotland.

Ethas the
son of Etho-
dus begot
Fergus.

The Gotthes
make an expe-
dition against
the empire of
Rome.

Fergus was
sent to aid the
Gotthes.

Rome sacked.

Fergus was
captaine un-
der Alarick
and Athaulf
kings of the
Gotthes.
Fergus with
him returned
again into
Scotland.

S. Ninian.

the east sea to the west. Hereof proclamation was made, that if any of the Pictish nation did enter, pise to passe this wall, and to enter into the British confines without licence of the magistrats, he should die for it. Whilist the Picts through their owne fault are thus brought into most miserable subiection of the Romans, the Scottishmen (as is said) being banished the land, lived in other countries by shifting out the time so well as they might, some continuing with their wives and children, got a people living with their hands, exercising some science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and served under sundrie worthie capitaine here and there, as occasion served.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commanded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was iustly received of the king there; who also gave him an office, therewith to mainteine his degree, so that he lived there certaine yeeres in right honorable estate, and begot of his wife whome he brought thither with him forth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceasse had issue by his wife called Mocha (a ladie of high parentage amongst the nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rorichus, second person of the realme) a sonne named Fergus, whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scottish nation againe to their former estate and kingdom. In his young yeeres he was appointed to serve under Alarick the Gotthick king in that famous voyage which he took in hand against the Romane empire. For such was the hate as then of all the northerne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane name, that by generall agreement they conspired together to the utter ruine and finall destruction thereof. And so ech of them sent forth a power in aid of the said Alarick, chosen by common consent as generall of the whole enterprise.

Fergus being set forth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of such Scottishmen as were withdrawne into those parties, went with the better will, for that beside the common quarrell, he bare a private grudge towards the Romans for the bling of his ancestors so cruelly in expelling them out of their owne homes and native countrie. This Fergus was present with the Gotthes at the winning of Rome, in the sacking thereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is reported) a certaine chest full of booke, the which some hold opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne Isles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Colmekill, within a librarie there builded for the same intent. Which booke (as is to be supposed) were certaine histories or monuments of old antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hector Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought over to him to Aberdeen) that it could not be understood of what matter they intreated.

It is written moreover of Fergus, that he continued with Alarick in all his enterprises, so long as he lived, and afterwards served under his successor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable estimation, as few were found comparable unto him in those daies. At length requiring a safe conduct to returne into Denmarke, he was licensed to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompense of his good and faithfull service shewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarick. About the same season, the bishops see of Candida casa, otherwise called Duhitterne, was first instituted by one Ninian a preacher, that took great paines (as the report hath gone) to instruct the Picts and Britains in the christian faith. He was afterwards re-

puted a saint, and the place of his burfall had in such veneration, that manie used to resort thither for devotion sake, as the manner in times past was when pilgrimage-goings were used.

But now to returne there we left touching the Picts, and to shew the maner how the Scots returned againe into Albanie; ye shall understand, that the Picts being brought into servile bondage (as before we have partly declared) and doubting daily of worse to ensue, they sent secret messengers unto such Scots as remained in exile in the westerne Isles, in Forwaie, and in other parts of the world, promising them, if they would give the attempt for recoverie of their ancient dwelling places in Albanie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them laie, being ready to spend their lives to revenge the injuries which they daily sustained at the Romans hands, whose continuall practise ever was, how to oppresse the ancient liberties of all such nations as came under their subiection. The experience whereof they now felt to their unsufferable grievance, looking for nothing else but hostile to be expelled out of their countrie, and driven to go seek them other places to inhabit in strange countries after the manner of outlaws, as it had chanced already to the Scots by commandement of Maximus, as before is expressed.

Fergus, unto whom amongst other this message was chiefly directed, rejoiced greatly of the newes, and first conferring with the king of Denmarke, of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his advise he sent letters abroad forthwith into Forwaie, Denie, the westerne Isles, and into Ireland, unto such of the Scottishmen as dwelt in those places, to understand their minds herein. And being certified that they were universallie agreed, not onely to trie their chance for recoverie of their former state and kingdom; but also had chosen him to be governor and generall capitaine in that enterprise; he prepared partly at his owne costs, and partly at the charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his friends and allies there, a great multitude both of men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe over into Albanie to recover his grandfathers estate, which as it was thought might now be the more easilie brought to passe, sith the Picts would aid him thereto, upon an earnest desire which they had to revenge their owne injuries received at the Romans hands, and to deliver themselves from such thralldome as they daily felt themselves oppressed with, doubting withall hostile to be quite expelled out of their whole countrie, as they had bene forced to forgo a great and the better part thereof already.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of the British blood, by consent of the Romane legat Martius (both of them going against their allegiance) usurped the governance of Britaine by his owne private authoritie; but shortly after, they two falling at variance together, the one of them slue the other. And then the soldiers not staid till they understood the pleasure of Honorius the emperor, chose one Constantine to succeed in the place of Martius, who passing over into France, was slaine there by Constantius one of the capitaine of the said Honorius. Victorie the other of the Romane legats hearing of the death both of Martius and Constantine, removed from Forke unto London, the better to provide for the safe keeping of the land to the emperor Honorius his use; for that he doubted sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the countrie was as then unprouided of men of warre, the most part of them being transported over into France with the so named Constantine, and not againe returned.

The Picts
sent into for-
ren countries
to call home
the Scots.

Fergus sent
unto the
Scots dispe-
sed.

Fergus pre-
pared himselfe
to warre.

Gratian usur-
ped the gover-
nance of Brit-
taine.

Martius
slaine.

Constantine
succeedeth
Martius.
Constantine
is slaine.
The lieuten-
ant of the
north com-
meth to Lon-
don.

The

The Picts
send expedite
vnto Fer-
guse.

Ferguse arri-
ued with his
ships in Mur-
rey firth.

The Picts
toisultie re-
ceiue Ferguse.

The Picts
craue pardon
excusing
themselves.

Ferguse.

The Picts
punished for
their vni-
truthes.

The ancient
league renewe
againe be-
twixt the
Scots and
Picts.

The Scots
restored to
their coun-
tries.

Ferguse.

Ferguse is
conueied into
Argile, and
there inuested
king.

The Picts informed of these things, sent word with all speed vnto Ferguse, requiring him to make haste, sith if he should haue wished for a conuenient time, a better could not be deuised; considering the present state of things as well in Britaine, as in other parts of the Romane empire, the people euerie where being ready to moue rebellion. Ferguse vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another vnto him from the Picts, he hastied to depart with all diligence; and when all things were ready, he took the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arrived in safety within the firth of Murrey land with all his vessels and people; where taking land, & word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Denie, and into the westerne Isles, all such of the Scottish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wives, children, and whole families in most speedie wise vnto him, as though the countrie had bene already recovered out of the enemies hands, without all doubts of further perill or business.

The Picts also reioysing greatly at the newes of his coming, repaired vnto him, and shewed him all the honoz that might be deuised, beseeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and displeasures by them brought and contriued in times past against the Scottish nation, sith now they were ready for the aduancement thereof to spend their liues against such as were enemies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Vetrugus had consented with the Romans to banish the Scottish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the faire words and sweete promises of the Romans, saw not the mischief which they brought vpon their owne heads and their posterities. Wherefore they desired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scottish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

Ferguse by consent of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, euen according to the tenor of the ancient agreement, and to loine his power with theirs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and liberties, so that they would be contented to surrender by into the Scottish mens hands, all such townes and countries, from the which they had bene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scottishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment enough for the same already, being reduced into most seruite & miserable bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vnttruthes, vsed and shewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and allies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Ferguse his words, so that within few daies after, their king (whome they had lately chosen since the time that the Scottishmen were thus returned) came vnto Ferguse, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had bene obserued on the behalfe of the Scottish and Pictish nations, with such solemn othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisite and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scottishmen againe, out of the which they had bene expelled by the Romane power.

And Ferguse then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and commons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclaimed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had bene driuen forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our sauour 424, in the yeare after the death of Ho-

nosius the emperor, and from the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such castles also and fortresses as the Picts held within any of those countries, which belonged vnto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessities, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for current coine, I would not stick to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots settled themselves to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certaine seats in the same till then: but that coming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Isles, where they before inhabited, they used to make often inuasions into this land, greatly molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persuade my selfe, nor wish others to beleeue, that there was any such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories doe make mention; as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willingly seeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peradventure are otherwise persuaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may contecture (and not moued thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are aouched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Isles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scottish writers, but euen amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Calo, and some other happlie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they mere Britains, and had little to do with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Isles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

But now to returne where we left. After that Vitorine the Romane legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred doings of the Scottishmen and Picts, he caused an armie to be leued with all speed, and hastied forth with the same vnto Forke, where being arrived, he attempted by an herald at armes to persuade the Picts to forsake their confederacie lately concluded with the Scots: but perceiving he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so there, vpon setting forthward, he passed forth till he came nere Camelon, where he incamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Ferguse being aduertised hercof, & hauing in like maner already assembled a mightie huge host both of Scottishmen and Picts, came therewith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all speed in the night season, in purpose to haue set on his enemies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Vitorine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being ready to receive the Scots vpon their first approach, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Carron (nere vnto the which

422. H.B.
396. Io. Ma.
The 18 yeare
of the emper-
our Honorius.
H.B.
755. H.B.

when the
Scots first
got certene
seats here in
this Ile of
Britaine as
some thinke,

The
Carro
neth
blowd.

The
b
seuer
reason
comp:

The li
nant
thing
hold
neth
isnt.

The
Picts
by the
campe.

Whole
ned to
Picts.

The
kins
b
appoint
of
make

The
men
&
inter
making
that

Crime
wife
cal
Graham
his

Ferguse
rich
a
of

Diver
opinion
ching
the
ginal
begin
ing of

The river of
Carron run-
neth with
bloud.

The battell
waiered by
reason of a
cramp.

The lieuten-
ant furni-
shing diuerse
holdes, retur-
neth into
Aber.

The Scots &
Picts break-
up their
camps.

Athole assign-
ed to the
Picts.

The Brit-
tains by the
appointment
of Victorine
make a wall.

The Scottish
men & Picts
interrupt the
making of
that wall.

Graine, other
wife called
Graham, and
his lineage.

Fergus mar-
ried a daugh-
ter of Graine.

Diuerſitie of
opinions con-
cerning the ori-
ginal begin-
ning of the
Scotia.

which their battels ioined) was well nere filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into a ruddie hue, that it seemed as though it had run altogether with bloud.

In the end (whilst as yet it was doubtful to whether side the victorie would incline) there came such a sudden shower of raine, mixed with such great abundance of hailestones, that neither part was able to haue sight of other, so that by reason of the violent rage of that huge storme and tempest, either side was faine to withdraw from the other. There were slaine in this battell such great numbers of men, as well on the one side as the other, that they had small lust to ioine in battell againe for certaine yeeres after. For the Roman lieutenant vnderstanding what losse of people he had sustained, without attempting anie further exploit, appointed certaine of his companies to lie in garrison within sundrie fortresses in Pictland, & with the residue he returned into Bent. In like sort the Scots with their confederates the Picts, perceiving themselves not able as then to make anie further attempt against their enemies, brake vp their armie, and deuised onelie how they might defend that which they had already in possession.

And so much as the Pictish nation was increased vnto a greater multitude of people, than those countries which they then held were able to find with sufficient sustentance (considering that a great portion of their ancient seats the Britains and Romans kept from them) it was agreed by the Scots that they should inioy the countrie of Athole, with other lands bordering nere vnto the same, lieng without the compasse of the mountaine of Grangeben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increased there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire castles and towres in those parties, to the great beautifying of that countrie. In which meane while, Victorine the Romane lieutenant commanded the Britains to make haſt with the wall (whereof ye haue heard) made of turfe, and sustained with certaine posses of timber passing ouerthwart the borders betwixt them and their enemies, beginning (as ye haue heard) at Abercorne, and so stretching forth by Glasco, and Kirkpatrick, euen vnto Abcluch, now Dunbarton, 80 miles more northward than the other wall, which the emperour Adrian caused (as is said) to be made.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed, they assembled themselves together, & vnder the leading of a noble man called Graine, they set vpon the Britains, as they were busie in working about the same, and slue not onelie a great number of labourers and souldiers, which were set to labour and defend the worke, but also entering into the British borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of cattell and other riches, which they found dispersed abroad in the countrie. This Graine (who as I said was chiefe in this enterprize) was brother vnto the Scottish quene, the wife of king Fergus, he was borne in Denmarke (as some hold opinion) in the time of the Scottishmens banishment, and had a Scottishman to his father descended of a noble house, and a Danish ladie to his mother. He himselfe also married a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whom Fergus by the persuation of the king of Denmarke tooke to wife, and had issue by hir (afore his coming into Scotland) three sonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, and Constantius, of whom hereafter in their place mention shall be made, as occasion serueth. Wher there be, that affirme how this Graine was a Britaine borne, & that through hate which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell gouernement, he fled south of his native countrie,

and continued euer after amongst the Scots, as first in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer ready to do what displeasures he could deuise against the Romans & other their friends or subiects. Of this Graine those Scots, which vnto this day beare that surname, are said to be descended.

But now to the purpose. Ye shall vnderstand, that after that it was knowne in forein countries, how the Scots had got for againe within those regions in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had possessed, there came daillie diuerse companies of that nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Italie (where during the time of their banishment they had serued vnder sundrie capitaines) vnto Fergus to aid him, in recouerie of their countrie and ancient seats, out of the which they had bene most cruellie expelled. So that Fergus now seeing his power thus not a little augmented by their coming, entereth into the borders of Kile, Carike, and Coningham, spoiling and harrieng those countries on euerie side: but shortly thereupon commeth the armie of the Romans, with whom the Scots incourte- ring in battell, receiued no lesse damage than they minded to haue done vnto their aduersaries. Wherupon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew backe into Argile, where Fergus wintered for that part of the yeere which yet remained.

When summer was come, he was counselled to haue effones offered battell vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Galloway: and rather to trie the bittermost point of fortunes chance against him, than to susteine such displeasures and iniuries at the Romans hands, as by them were daillie done vnto him and his people. But there were other that gaue other aduise, alleging how the danger was great to leaue againe in battell with the Romans, being men of such skill & practise in the seats of wars, considering what losse had chanced in the two former battels. Againe, there was great likelihood, that if he could be contented to forbear for a time, and seeke to defend the borders of his countrie, so well as he might without giuing battell, it must needs come to passe that shortly the Romane empire should be brought vnto such ruinous decate, by reason of the multitude of enemies, which as then invaded the same on each side, that in the end Victorine doubting his owne suertie, would conueie himselfe with his men of warre out of the countrie, and then should it be an easie matter for the Scots and Picts to recouer againe all such countries as ancientlie belonged to their elders, and wholie to restore the estates of their common wealths vnto their former dignities.

This aduise was followed as the best and most likeli, so that making sundrie roads into the borders of their enemies countries so to keepe them still occupied, Fergus and the Scots refused bitterlie to come to anie foughten field with them. Shortly after also it chanced, that Victorine was accused vnto the emperour Honorius of some secret practise against his maiestie, as to be about to vsurpe the crowne of Britaine, wherevnto he was compelled in deed by the souldiers (whose hearts he had wonne through his bountious liberalitie sundrie waies declared towards them) and vnderstanding at this present, that he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of the said information made against him, they did moue him with such earnest persuations to take vpon him the imperiall dignitie, promising euen to liue and die with him in defense thereof, as well against Honorius, as all other, that in the end he consented vnto their desires, and so was proclaimed emperour, and clothed in purple, being thereto all the other imperiall ornaments, as if he had bene emperour indeed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus

The Scottish men returne into their countrie.

Fergus tri-
adeth the
confines of
the Britains.

The Scots
put to the
worke.

Victorine in-
uadeth Gal-
loway.

Fergus is
dissuaded to
fight with the
Romans.

The Romane
empire inua-
ded by barba-
rous nations.

Victorine ac-
cused vnto
Honorius.

Victorine en-
treateth vpon him
the name and
authoritie of
emperour in
Britaine.

Heracianus
is sent against
Altozine.

Altozine is
delivered into
the hands of
Heracianus.
Heracianus
is sent into
Affrike.

Placidus
lieutenant of
Britaine.

The warre
renewed by the
Scots.

The Scots
and Picts in-
vade the bor-
ders of their
enemies.

Placidus ga-
thereth a
power.
He encount-
ereth with his
enemies.

Placidus re-
couereth the
overthrow.
He fleeth to
York.

Placidus see-
meth to have
peace.

A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots,
Picts, and
Romans.

Fergus dis-
beth the land
in parts.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Altozine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supreme gouernour, began to feare the sequel of the matter, and afterwarde requiring pardon for their offenses, they took Altozine, and delivered him prisoner vnto the same Heracianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recovered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortly after sent for Heracianus, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Roman empire.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Roman armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergus their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Dursus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioin with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting thereto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enemies, ouerrunning the most part of Aile, Carrike, and Cunningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, destroying all before them, which way sooner they passed. Then turning into Idland, they subdue the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forward towards them, with whom encountering in battell, after long fight, his hostmen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to bryake their arraie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and full victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto Yorke, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their couragious intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie moued with this overthrow, but also weeling with himselfe after what sort the Roman empire was afflicted, with the inuasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such meanes as he made, shortly after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioyn and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recovered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselves with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottishmen and Picts induoured themselves to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Fergus made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdom, and assigned the same forth vnto his subiects the Scottishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enemies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the

parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Cornana a part of Scotland, lieng in the further end of all the countrie, took a new name of one Cathus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting forth into the sea called Bessle: so that being compound together, that countrie was cleped Cathnesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse took that name, being afore named Lugia.

That part of the countrie ancientlie called Thezalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthquhane, of the tribute used to be paid there for sheepe, of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Buthane in the old Scottish tong signified tribute: and Buth, a flocke of sheepe. The other part of Thezalia, lieng into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the riuer named Bog, which runneth through the middest of it. Louchquhaber took the name of a great meare or water, into the which the riuer of Duhaber falleth, and passeth through the same; notable by reason of the great plentie of samons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey land. And some names remaine a little changed by length of time, as Argile, for Argathile; Spar, for Sparthea; and such like.

Fergus also repaired such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restored againe churchmen vnto their former liuings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chappels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbey within the Ile of Iona, now Colmekill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be used about the same. Moreover, in the time of peace hee was not negligent in prouiding for the defense of his realme. Such castles as were decayed and overthrowne by the enemies in the warre time, he repaired; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their liuing now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Roman empire daily falling into decaye, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scottishmen and Picts took occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroy all such of the British nation as went about to destroy them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. And an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villanous manner. The Roman souldiers, after the decesse of Placidus, ordeined one Cassius to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scottishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Daculus sometime king of the Britans, in hope to attaine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seeke to aide the Scottish king Fergus, whose sister he had in marriage. Cassius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent forth a messenger at armes vnto king Fergus, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraue his power forth of the prouinces, which

The names
of diuers pla-
ces in Scot-
land changed.
Cathnesse,
whereof it is
so named.

Rosse.

Buthquhane.

The signifi-
cation of the
name of Buth-
quhane.
Bogdale.

Louchquha-
ber.

Athole, Murrey
land.

Argile, for Ar-
gathile; and
Spar, for Spar-
thea.

Fergus re-
paired his
churches, and
prouided liuings
for religious
persons.
The first founda-
tion of the
abbey within
the Ile of Iona
now
Colmekill.

Fergus re-
paired his
castles.

Placidus the
lieutenant of
Britaine dieth.

The Scots &
Picts renew
the warre.

The crueltie
of the Scots
and Picts.

Cassius ordeined
lieutenant of
Britaine.
Dionethus,
sonne of Daculus,
as some books
haue.

Cassius ser-
ued vnto
Fergus.

The
of his
gale.

Cath-
nesse.

Dion-
ethus
the
sonne
of
Daculus.

The
some
time.

The
gale.

The
follow
chale
rathie.

Dion-
ethus
king
of
taint.

Etius
nant
of
Roman
France
Gallia.

Marin
sent
out
Britai-

Marin
causeth
Britai-
ne
to
go
ag-
the
Scot-

were subiect vnto the same Romans, without proceeding anie further in that vnlatifull attempt, either else he should be sure to feele the puissant force of those people readie bent against him, by whom his elders had bene driven out of their countries, and banished quite forth of all their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

But here vnto was answer made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceased by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there was no cause why he should looke for anie; vntill the whole pprinces; both of Westmerland and Cumberland, were restored againe into the hands of the Scottishmen and Brits, according as of reason they ought to be. The like answer also was made by Durnus king of the Brits, vnto whom Cassius had sent a like message. Wherevnto the said Cassius being not a little moued, assembleth an armie; and with all speed marcheth forth toward his enimies: but before his entering into Westmerland, where they were as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welshmen (for his lands late in Wales) was alreadye ioined with the Scots.

Which newes soze appalled the hearts of the Britains; but yet being encouraged with comfortable wordes of their capteins to proceed, forward they go together with the Romans, and within three daies after, they came within sight of their enimies, being ranged in battell readie to receiue them, so that straightwaies buckeling together, there was a right fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till finallye the multitude of the Scottish archers and kernes so compassed in the battells of the Romans on each side, and speciallie on the backs, that in the end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Cassius (who was slaine there amongst them) those of the middle ward being discomfited, brake their array and fled. Whereupon the residue likewise followed: the Scots, Brits, and Welshmen pursuing so egerlie without all order, that there was no small number of them distressed by the Romans, the which in their giuing backe, kept themselves close together, readie to defend themselves, and to beat downe such of there enimies as followed more rashlie than warlike in the chase, not once regarding to keepe any order of battell; but yet by other companies that pursued more orderlie together for their most aduantage, there was great slaughter made, both of Romans and Britains.

After this victorie thus atchieued, Dionethus was proclaimed king of Britaine, and soze warres continued in the land by the pursuit of the Welshmen, Scots, & Brits, to the great hazard of the prouince, and likewise expelling of all the Romans quite out of the same. About this time also there remained in France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperor Valentinianus, who vnderstanding all these things by letters and messengers sent from the capteins which yet remained aliue in Britaine, appointed one Maximianus being of kin to the emperor, to passe with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid and succor the Romans, and such Britains there, as still continued in their allegiance which they had promised vnto the Romane empire.

This Maximianus at his arriual in the Island was most ioyfullie receiued by the soldiors and subiects of the foresaid empire. All the lords and nobles of the countrie restored also vnto him, the which felues most glad of his comming, & promising with what aid sooner they were able to make, to go with him against their enimies. Whereupon, procuring them to assemble their powers, and to ioin the same with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he passed through the countrie vnto York, and so from

thence marched forth towards the Scots, being alreadye assembled in campe to defend the countrie of Westmerland against him. There were both the kings of Scots and Brits, Fergus and Durnus, with Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Britains; who had brought with him, beside the Welshmen, a great number of those Britains that inhabited in the countries now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onelie amongst all other the Britains acknowledged him for king.

When both the armies were come nere together, they camped for that night the one in sight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themselves to battell. Fergus first making an earnest oration vnto his people, to encourage them the more boldlie to giue the onfet, declared amongst other things how the right was on their sides, which alwaies ought to minister hope of god successe in them that enterpryse anie thing in defense thereof; where contrarie all such as attempted to disquiet other by iniurie and wrong doing, could not but looke for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents and purposes. Neither were other of his capteins negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting their bands, they used most comfortable wordes, and in disposing them in good order of battell, they shewed most readie and earnest diligence.

On the other side, Maximianus with his capteins and officers of bands were as busie on their side to array their battells most for their aduantage, as they saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being readie to fight, the onfet was giuen, and that in most furious wise, the Romans being at the first soze annoyed with arrowes and darts, which due so thicke from ech side, that their sight was in manner taken from them, the skie seeming as it had been couered ouer with a pentile. So that Maximianus perceiving this disaduantage, he caused a fresh legion of his soldiors to aduance forward to the succour of their fellows; by reason whereof the battell was forthwith most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the Romans soze preasing vpon their enimies, so that in the end passing quite through their battells, they caused a great disorder and feare amongst those Scots and other their confederats, which were placed in the hindermost ranks. But yet casting themselves in a ring, they made great & stout resistance for a space, and at length a great number euen of the most valiant personages of the whole host, closed themselves together, and with maine force assaied to haue broken through the thickest prease of their enimies, but being inuironed about on ech part, they were there slaine ech mothers foune. Whilist the Romans drew together to resist on that side, other of the Scottishmen, Brits, Britains, & Welshmen, found a waie to get forth through their enimies on the other side, and so being gotten past them, made a waie as fast as their feet might beare them: but a great number being notwithstanding ouertaken, were slaine and beaten downe right pitifullie.

Fergus the Scottish king, and Durnus king of the Brits were slaine in this mortall battell together, with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus being soze wounded escaped to the sea side, and there getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. This ouerthrow soze dismated both the Scottish and British nations, who looked for nothing more than present expulsion out of their countries, for Maximianus pursuing the victorie, burst into Galloway, most cruellie waisting and spoiling the same. And when he had made an end there, he entred into Anandale, and into the British confines, destroying all before him with fire and sword. Camelon was besieged, taken by force, and miserablie put to sacke and spoile, with

The Scots and Brits assembled against the Romans.

The armies prepare to battell.

Fergus exhorteth his people to do valiantlie. Right minister hope of god successe.

The onfet is giuen.

Maximianus perceiving the disaduantage, provideth to remedie the same.

The Scots disordered.

The two kings Fergus and Durnus are slaine. Dionethus escapeth.

Maximianus pursueth the victorie.

Camelon taken by force.

W. J. Diuerse

The Scots and Picts withdraw beyond the wall of Abircoyne.

dinerse other notable towne and places, as well belonging to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there anie end of these cruell dwings, till both the Scots & Picts for their refuge were generallie constrained to withdraw themselves beyond the wall of Abircoyne, which (as before is said) a few yerres passed was begun by the Britains, and stretched from Abircoyne aforesaid, overthwart the land unto Alcluth now Dunbarton.

Marinianus having thus driven his enemies beyond this wall, caused them to make assurance by their oath of covenant, neuer to passe the same againe by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or Romans. There were that counselled Marinianus either utterlie to haue destroyed both the Scots and Picts, either els to haue driven them out of the whole Ile. But he being satisfied with that which was already done, thought good to returne unto Rome, and there to winter, that in the beginning of the next spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dionethus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in aiding the enemies of the empire. But when the time came that he should haue set forthward on that tourne, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond the seas, into what ruinous decaye the empire was fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that changing his purpose, he minded to surpe the crowne of Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to haue the more fauor of the Britith nation without anie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he toke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, being the elder of those two, which he onelie had with, out issue male, by the sister of king Fergus. She that was thus copled in marriage with Marinianus was called Dithila, & the other daughter named Ursula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pretended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of Marinianus. Then was Dionethus made second person of the realme, aswell in degree of honor, as in publike gouernment.

Marinianus taketh upon him the absolute gouernance of Britaine, with the imperiall title. He marrieth Dithila the daughter of Dionethus. Dionethus reputed for second person of the realme.

Eugenius. Eugenius created king of Scots.

410. H.B.
760. H.B.

The bodie of Fergus is buried in the abbey of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill.

Marinianus granteth peace to the Scottishmen.

And whilst these things were thus a doing in Britaine, the Scottish lords had created Eugenius the sonne of Fergus, king of their realme, as due to him by rightfull succession from his father, who had gouerned the same by the space of 16 yerres per he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne (as we find) in the yere of our Lord 440, after the first beginning of the Scottish kingdome 767. His fathers corps, which at the first was secretlie buried, as occasion suffered, whilst the Romans were yet in the countrie, he caused to be taken up, and conueied ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, where, with all solemne pompe and ceremonies it was intumulated, according to the ordinance which he himselfe had deuised in his life time, within the abbey there.

In like manner Marinianus, to the intent to establish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of Britaine, and to deliuer his subiects the Britains, which bordered vpon the Scottish dominions, from all trouble of warres, was contented to make peace with the Scots vpon light sute made vnto him for the same. After this also, he being once fullie established in the estate of Britaine, coueted also to attaine to the type in gouernment of the whole empire, and therefore assembling all the forces of the Britith youth, sailed into Gallia, causing himselfe to be proclaimed emperor, and so surped that title; as in the English and Italian historie you maie find more largelie exprest. He left behind him in Britaine his father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernor there, with one legion of Romane soldiors. After this did

Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, send for such Romans as Marinianus had left in Britaine, who reuolting from their othes of allegiance giuen vnto the same Marinianus, obeyed Etius, as one that supplied the roome of their rightfull lord and master the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise was Britaine dispurued of all manner of able men for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts toke good occasion to invade the Britith borders, not sparing as did yet continue in obedience to Marinianus.

They first drove those Britains out of all the countrees, which had bene taken from them by the same Marinianus, and by other of the Romans and Britains, as Wiltshire, Wile, Carrike, and Coningham, Galloway, the Marches, and Northumberland. This done, they entered into Cumberland, Westmerland, and Mendall, not ceassing till they had spoiled and defaced all those countrees, with the most part of all Northeshire, in such cruell wise, that they made all those quarters barren both of corne and cattell, which waie soeuer they passed. The Britains perceiving into what danger they were brought, if some good redresse were not found in time, sent ouer with all speed vnto Rome for succor to be had at the emperor Valentinians hands, for Marinianus was otherwise occupied. Valentinian desirous to deliuer the Britains from such cruell enemies as the Scots & Picts shewed themselves to be, least through their meanes all the whole Ile should revolt from the obedience of the Romans, appointed one Gallio bozne in Raennas, and as then sojournig about Paris in France, with a legion of soldiors to passe ouer into Britaine, to drive backe the Scots and Picts from further molesting the subiects of the empire.

The Scots and Picts, vpon knowledge had of this Gallios arriuall, drew backe into their countrees, not minding to fight with the Romans, whose force they doubted, and not without cause, hauing had in times past so manie overthrowes and slaughters at their hands. But Gallio pursued them even vnto the water of Forth, where in sundrie skirmishes he slue no small number of them: and for that he knew he should be sent for shortly to returne againe into France, to helpe to resist such barbarous nations as warred in the same, for the better defense of the Britains against their enemies the Scots and Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in quiet after he was once gone) he caused the wall to be newlie made by betwixt Abircoyne & the mouth of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane prouince from all sudden inuasions of the enemies. This wall was earst made of turffe, but now repaired with stone, and strengthened with great pilles of wood, dyen in betwixt in places most needfull. It was also 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in certaine turrets cast forth vpon this wall. Gallio appointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the enemies approach towards the same, warning might be giuen by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day, vnto such of the Britains as dwelled nere vpon those borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine of death for being found in the contrarie) that euerie man vpon such knowledge had, should resort immediately to the place appointed, with such armour and weapon as for him was requist.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the succerie of the Britains, and deliuered them at that present from the cruell hands of their enemies, he returned into France with the armie that he brought with him, according to the commandement which he had from Etius the emperours lieutenant there. His departure out of Britaine was no sooner knowne of the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine force

The Scots and Picts invaded the Britains.

The provinces succored of the Scottishmen.

The Britains require aid of Valentinian the emperor.

Gallio Raennas is sent ouer into Britaine.

The Scots and Picts refuse to give battell to the Romans.

Gallio pursueth the Scots and Picts.

Gallio causeth the wall of Abircoyne to be repaired.

The manner of the building of that wall.

The ordination of Gallio for watch to be kept of the wall.

Gallio returneth into France.

The Scots and Picts termined the Britains.

The Britains returned to the wall of Abircoyne.

The Scots and Picts returned to the wall of Abircoyne.

The Scots and Picts returned to the wall of Abircoyne.

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The Scots and Picts returned to the wall of Abircoyne.

The Scots and Picts returned to the wall of Abircoyne.

force they determined to set upon the Britains againe. So that assembling their powers together, the kings of both those nations exhorted their men to do valiantly. Eugenius the king of the Scotts men incourageth them through hope of high rewards and spoile. The Britissh king likewise for his part promisseth the lieutenantship of Cornelon (an office of most honor amongst them) unto him that first should passe the wall of Abircoyne. Whereupon the Britains being aduertised of their enemies intentions according to the ordinance before appointed, drew in defensible wise unto that part of the wall, where they understood the Scots and Picts were intended to assault.

At length when the Scottissh and Pictissh kings were come to the wall, and had their people ready to giue the approach, they themselves stood apart some what out of danger of shot: and such bands as were appointed to assault, advanced forth of the maine battels vnder the leading of that Graime, the which as ye haue heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains when they had first made the same wall by commitment of Vitorine the Romane lieutenant. Whether shewed he lesse proofe of his valiance at this time than he had don before. For though the Britains made earnest resistance, so far as their power would extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was undermined and throwen downe in sundrie places, so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts entered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the Britains on eche side that went about to make resistance, for none escaped their hands, but such as saved themselves by flight.

There came also an other power of Scots and Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland, pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the kings did themselves. Both houses and people passed by fire and sword, insomuch that all such of the Britains as could get away, withdrew forth of the countrie, not staid till they came beyond the river of Tine; by reason whereof, all the countrie which lieth betwixt Tweed and Tine was deliuered by appointment of the kings unto the souldiers, to spoile and vse at their pleasure, whereupon followed manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, conuolnesse, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilst the Scottissh and Pictissh men of warre applied their market, the Britains with all diligence repaired and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said) by the emperor Adrian, shooting ouerthwart the countrie from the riuer of Tine, unto the riuer of Esk.

Howbeit the Scots and Picts, because winter approached, made no further attempt against the Britains at that time, but diuiding those countreies which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian, among themselves, according to the order in that behalfe appointed by their kings, they fortified certaine castles and holds for defense of the same countreies, as it were to countergarison such Britains as continuallie kept watch and ward upon the foresaid wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least so soon as the spring were come, the Scots would inuade their countreies which lay on the south part of the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as they had done the yere before through the other wall of Abircoyne, they sent ambassadours vnto Eugenius the Romane lieutenant, gouerning Gallia now called France, vnder the emperor Valentinian, requiring to haue some aid and succour at his hands, whereby to resist such fierce and cruell enemies; as sought to destroy and expell out of their lands and houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged themselves in anie manner of wise subjects vnto the

empires. But Eugenius, whether he would not, or rather because he continuedlie chadidnot (for that he was otherwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the French men) made a direct answer that he had no men of warre in store to send ouer into Britaine, and therefore willed them to do what they could for their owne defense, for aid of him they might none haue. The messengers returned home with this answer, and made report thereof in a publike assemble of all the Britissh nobilitie, being as then gathered together at London to consult there for the estate and order of their countrie. Where after long deliberation (notwithstanding that they perceived they should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was yet determined, that to resist the enemies, the whole puissance of the Britissh nation should be mustered; as well men as women, being able to do anie feat of seruice available in defense of their countrie, rather to trie the uttermost point of fortunes chance, than to suffer themselves to be ouerrun without resistance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongst them, as one that was descended of the blood of Otacius sometime king of Britaine, went about with earnest perswasions to remoue the residue of the nobilitie from this determination, abusing them to seeke for peace at the Scottissh mens hands, rather than to trie the doubtful chance of Mars his iudgement, considering the feeblenesse of their whole force now, ever since that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt for seruice in the warres. But this aduise of Conanus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatlie offended with his words, not sparing to say that he spake like no true man nor louer of his countrie; so that the former ordinance (that is to say, to seeke an end of the wars by dint of sword) was allowed for the best.

Whereupon there were musters taken, armour and weapon provided, and both day and place appointed, where they should assemble together to march forth towards the enemy. Conanus sore lamenting their doings, called almightie God to record, that that which he had said, was spoken onlie for the loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & sithence his aduise might not be followed, he doubted greatly the ruine of the Britissh state by some fallall appointment draw fast vpon them. The people hearing him speake thus, some willfull wicked persons fell vpon him, and slue him there presentlie amongst them: wherewith other being sore moued to indignation, set vpon the murderers, there to haue reuenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began taking of parts, and together they went by the eares in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongst them being slaine, the magistrats had much adoe to appease the fraie.

In this meane time, whilst the Britains were thus busied in sending of their ambassadours to the Romans, & consulting together for defense of their countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of Abircoyne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, so that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be seene at this day of all that huge and wonderful worke, it is called now in these daies Graimdsike, because that Graime was not onlie (as ye haue hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same, but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground he was the greatest doer. Which being accomplished, the Scottissh and Pictissh kings assembled their powers, and ouerthrew all such fortresses as had not bene destroyed the yere before, standing on the northside of Adrianus wall, the which wall the Britains

Etius resu-
seth to aid the
Britains and
make resis-
tance.

The Bri-
tains forsaue
of the Ro-
mans, deter-
mine yet to
make resis-
tance.

Conanus
Camber
counselleth
the Britains
to seeke peace
at the Scottissh
mens hands.

Britains dis-
peopled of
warlike men by
Maximianus.

Conanus
counsel is re-
cused.

The Bri-
tains make
their appeale
to go against
the Scots.

Conanus is
slaine a-
mongst the
Britains.

The Scots
raue the wall
of Abircoyne.

Graimdsike.

The Scottissh
and Pictissh
kings inuade
the Britissh
borderers.

The Scots
and Picts de-
termined to
inuaide the
Britains againe.

The Bri-
tains resort
to the wall of
Abircoyne to
defend it.

The Scots
and Picts ap-
proach the
wall to assault
it.

Grain assault
with the wall.

The wall is
overthrowen.

The Bri-
tains leaue
Pictland and
get them-
selves ouer
the riuer of
Tine.

The wall of
Adrian is re-
pared by the
Britains.

The coun-
treies lying
north from
the wall of A-
drian diuided
amongst the
Scots and
Picts.

The Bri-
tains require
aid at the
hands of E-
ugenius.

The Romans well
undermined
and over-
thrown.

Crueltie of
Scots.

The lords
of Britaine
take new ad-
vise.

See more
herof in
England.
The tenour of
the letters
sent unto Ce-
tius from the
Britains, as
is written by
Hecst. Boetius.

taines had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enemies, who now set upon the Britains with maine force, in so much that undermining the foundations of that wall in divers places, at length sundrie parts there- of were teneered into the ditch, so that the soldiers breaking in by the same, cruelly beate downe the Britains which stood at defense.

The entrie being thus wonne, both the kings with their powers, marched forth into the south countries, commandment being given that no man upon paine of death should kill any woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandment in some places was but slenderly obied; such desire of revenge was planted in the Scottishmens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old injuries, that un- neth made they any difference either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the rivers of Tyne and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make shift to escape the enemies hands) got them o- ver the foresaid river of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mis- chiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye have heard were not all of one accord together) they toke new advise, to redresse the present mis- chiefe in this manner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadoers, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to C- tius the Romane lieutenant in France, for fresh aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent unto C- tius here insueeth.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains unto C- tius thus ensue. At what time our elders be- came subiects unto the Romans, they understood by worthy proofes and notable examples, that the se- nate was a most safe refuge and haven, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the le- gat Maximianus, tending wholly to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substance, and there- fore remaining in great danger of losing both king- dome and lives, through the sore and terrible inua- sion of our most cruell enemies the Scots and Picts, making humble sute for succours unto the Romane empire, according to the loiall trust and most as- sured confidence, the which ever like true and faithfull subiects we have reposed in the same, are yet neg- lected, & nothing regarded, but delivered as a prey unto the barbarous nations to be spoiled, destroyed, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an evident signe, that either the Romans have chan- ged their most commendable maners into the worst that may be devised, either els their most large em- pire, thorough the wrath and high displeasure of al- mighty God, is now given for a prey unto other forren nations. But if it be so, that the fatal force of the time present doth require, that without all re- medie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernment of any people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) one lie excepted, whose crueltie we having long since too much tasted, are at this present brought unto that point by their late increased puil- sance, that we know not now after the losse of our goods and cattell, which way to safe gard our lives, for the turffe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled up with earth, which as yet time did somewhat staie them, now breaking in upon us without let- ting passe any one kind of crueltie, they have de- stroyed our fields, burned up our houses, towne &

villages, beaten downe & rased even to the ground our castles and towres, with such other places of de- fence, not sparing to put to the sword as well the pious innocent children, women, and infants aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they have slaine standing at defense with weapon in hand. And as for us, which are the true of our be- traied nation, they have driven even to the sea side, and from thence (because we cannot passe over) we are put backe upon our enemies againe. And here- of proceed two kinds of our destruction, for either we are drowned in the raging floods, either els slaine most unmercifullie by our cruell enemies. Therefore if the honor of the Romane people, if our assured loialtie and love, which we beare to the em- pire of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares or thereabout, may move you to rue on our miseries, we humbly pray and beseech you, not to suffer us longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beastlie and cruell enemies, but send unto us some conuenable succors and that with all speed, least we seeme to be more cruelly betrayed of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these bar- barous people, and that we be not set forth as a no- table example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Gefray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these fore- said letters. Whereupon C- tius answering, decla- red that those calamities, misfortunes and losses in- flicted by the Britains were right displeasing unto him, and so much the more, for that through the sun- drie inuasions made, aswell into France as also in- to Italie it selfe, and into other parties of the Ro- mane empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare any men of warre to send over un- to them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the best shift they could to defend themselves for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redresse of their injuries provided, as they should thinke themselves to be ve- rie well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadoers returned with this answer unto London from C- tius, the other also came backe forth of the north without hope to speed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, unless the Britains would wholly submit themselves as subiects unto them. The Britains hereat toke such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enemies by maine force; & here- upon made their promission with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intent, gathered their people together with more speed than was thought possible for them to haue done, & forth- with rushed into the borders of their enemies coun- tries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

In the fore ward went such as came forth of Cal- loway and Annandale, with those Picts which inha- bited about the coasts of Barwicko. Then followed there a mightie battell of those which came forth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting nere un- to the parties of Balenar and Camelone with them of Jffe, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choicest souldi- ers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriage and trulle of the armie, next thereunto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their servants and men of warre the best they could chose forth. And last of all (as the maner of those nations hath bene even from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the comons closing up the back of the whole

But not so
largely as
here is expre-
sed.
The answer
of C- tius.

The Scots
and Picts
would agree
upon no rea-
sonable condi-
tions of peace.

The Scots
and Picts
prepare a-
gainst the
Britains.

The order of
the Scots
and Picts
entring into
the lands of
the Britains.

The Bri-
tains doubt
to loine
the maine
of the
Scots and
Picts.

The Bri-
tains upon
the Scot-
tish men
refuse to
haue pe-
cure to
haue battell.

The fierce
set given
by the Bri-
tains.

Grimes
thorpe in
dering of
the battell.

Those of
the
coming to
the succor
the fore wa-
restored the
battell.

The Bri-
tains run a-
waie.

The num-
ber of them
that were
slaine
both sides.

The Bri-
tains make
humble sute
for peace.

Peace gran-
ted by the
Scots with
the conditi-
on of the same.

whole aforesaid armie.

The Britains also comming forth into the field with their whole puissance to encounter their enemies, when they understood by espials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe discouraged in their minds, and thought god there fore once againe to assaie if anie peace might be purchased. But sending forth their ambassadours vnto the confederat kings, to that end their answer was, that except the Britains would yeld themselves, their wiues and children, with all their goods and substance into the hands of their enemies, simple without all conditions, there would be no peace granted. When this was knowen abroad in the host of the Britains, that though kindeled ire on the one part, and soule despaire on the other, prouoking their minds to displeasure, they generallie vpon charge of purpose required battell, euen all the whole number of them.

Whereof ensued a most cruell and mortall fight: for the Britains (as it were) resolved to die in defense of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne deaths vpon their enemies, with more fiercenesse than is credible to be thought, gaue the onset, and overthrow a great number of their enemies, insomuch that those of Galloway and the Picts fighting in the fore ward with them of Argile, Athole, and such other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great danger to be put to the worke: which Graime perceiuing (by whome the most part of the armie was ruled), and that by commandement of both the kings) called forth a number of the Island-men, who were appointed to attend the carriage, and sent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the succors of them of Galloway, being then at the point to haue sought refuge by flight. But by the comming of these Island-men to their succors, they took courage afresh, so that the battell was againe most fiercely renewed, and so continued a space with great slaughter on both parts, till finally the Britains being oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, and not able longer to indure, fell to running awaie, thinking to saue themselves in certaine bogs, moasses, and marish grounds nere vnto the place of the battell: but such coifferels, and other as remained with the Scottish carriage, seeing the discomfiture of their aduersaries, ran forth and pursued them into those marishes, killing and taking no small number of them. There were slaine in this battell of the Britains, aboue 15 thousand, and of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand.

The Britains hauing receiued this overthrow, sawe no helpe which waie to recouer their losses, but onlie to sue for peace at the victors hands. They sent therefore an orator vnto the Scottish & Pictish kings, beseeching them humbly to grant them a peace, euen with what conditions it should please them to prescribe. The kings not moued onlie with the present fortune of the Britains, but also partlie with their owne, hauing lost no small number of right worthy personages in the battell, were contented to grant a peace vpon these conditions: That the Britains should in no wise receiue anie lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor suffer anie enemye of the Scottish and Pictish estates, of what nation soeuer he were, to passe through their countrie. They should enter into no league with anie citie or nation, nor be about to make anie warres without consent of the Scottish and Pictish kings, and further should be ready to serue them against all manner of enemies whensoever they should be sent for. Moreover, they should remoue with their wiues, children, and whole families out of all those countries, lieng betwixt Tyne and Humber, resigning

the possession of the same vnto the Scottishmen and Picts.

Also they should giue threescore thousand peces of gold then currant to the Scottish & Pictish kings, towards the dispatch of their souldiours wages, and further should yald as a tribute twentie thousand peces of gold, to be paid yarelie vnto the seuerall vases of the victors. They should likewise deliuer one hundred hostages of such as the two kings should appoint, betwixt the age of eightene and thirtie yers. These conditions of peace though they seemed verie strict & greuous to the British nobilitie, yet for that they understood not how to make a better bargaine, they perswaded the multitude to accept them, and so a league therevpon was concluded amongst those people, and the publike state of the land brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to the Scottishmen and Picts, about 500 yeres after Julius Cesar had brought them in subiection to the Romans, being in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne ouer the Scottishmen the seventh.

In this season was the Ile of Albion soze infected with the heresie of the Pelagians, and therefore pope Celestine sent one Paladius a learned man vnto the Scots, to preserue them from that infection, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland that had his inuerture from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages of the people, choosing them forth among the monks and priests called Culdeis, as the Scottish chronicles do report. Paladius with right god and wholesome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of sundrie superstitious rites of their old gentillish idolatrie, till those dates used amongst them, wherevpon he is named and reputed for the Scottishmens apostle. Helietsh at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, where his reliques remained, and were long after had in great estimation.

Whereafter he instituted one Seruan bishop of the Orkenies, that he might instruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himselfe had baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these dates also manie strange sights were seene in sundrie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned overthrow: the moone being in plaine opposition to the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in a quadrant figure. At Perth it rained blood: and trees in sundrie places being blasted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if ye will so tearme it) Cheapside in London opened, so that a great hole appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. About the same season also (as is supposed) liued that huge personage Finnacoell, a Scottishman borne of seven cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and soze feared of all men by reason of his mightie stature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of him, not so agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore here passed ouer with silence.

The Romane empire being brought into irreuerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupying sundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in quiet certein yers without attempting any exploit against the Scots or Picts, and so duellie paid their couenanted tribute, though soze against their will, if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last about ten yers after the conclusion of this last peace, it chanced that one Conanus the sonne of the aboue mentioned

60000 pound saith Balantine, after the rate of Scottish monie, 20000 pound saith the same Balantine, so that he esteemeth those peces of gold to be of the value of French crownes.

The Britains tributarie to the Scots and Picts, 436. H.B.

The heresie of the Pelagians, Paladius sent into Scotland;

Of this Paladius likewise more in Ireland.

Paladius accounted the apostle of Scotland.

Servan bishop of Orkenie, and Teruan archbishop of Pictland, Winketh sights and strange wonders appeared.

Finnacoell the great hunter.

Conanus a Britaine goeth about to perswade his countreymen to breake the peace concluded with the Scots and Picts.

The Britains doubt to iourne with the maine armie of the Scots and Picts.

The Britains vpon the Scottish mens refusal to haue peace, require to haue battell.

The fierce onset giuen by the Britains.

Graine sent forth to the succors of the Island-men.

Those of the westerne Isles comming to the succors of the foreward, dispersed the battell.

The Britains run awaie.

The number of them that were slaine on both sides.

The Britains make humble sute for peace.

Peace granted by the Scots with the conditions of the same.

mentioned Conanus, descended of the blood of the Octauis, sometimes kings of the Britains, soze maligne to see his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scottish nation, and devising how to find some redres, called together the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great peece of his mind, perswaded them with the weightiest reasons he could imagine, to leuie warre againe the Scots and Picts, hauing at that present, meanes now since the last warres to mainteine it, as well by reason of their increase both of able men, as also of substance to furnish them withall.

The Britains hauing respect to their sonnes & kindred being in hostage would not agree to breake the peace.

The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conspyracie of the Britains, prescribe vnto them new articles to be performed.

Impudent seruilitie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud & cruell Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernours.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Where the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some atwarted with the note of bondage, would gladlie haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enemies, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this counsell brake vp without conclusion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had bene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings that motion had bene made, and what was intended against them. Whereupon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadoz vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the said kings required to haue performed without all delaies, or else to looke for open warre out of hand.

The chiefest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble together in counsell without licence of the Scottish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient laws they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receiue no stranger into their countrie being a Roman or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hostages they should receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twise so manie in number of the like age and degree, as was covenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding what was demanded by these ambassadoz, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great sturre if they had not bene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferior sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought into such a miserable estate, that loke what it pleased the enimie to charge the Britith nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre forth against their superiours, that after the Scottish and Pictish ambassadoz were returned home, with answer agreeable to their demandes, their arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring together the utter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two severall times with great slaughter and bloodshed, whereupon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themselves, making raises vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties alwaie from the herds and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finally through famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceiued that need the one had of the others helpe, and so they agreed. This ciuill warre soze decayed the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoiding of the commons out of their houses, the ground late vntilled, whereof ensued a maruellous

great scarritie and dearth of all things, by reason whereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortly after followed such plentie, that those that were left alieue forgetting the passed miseries, gaue themselves to all kind of vice, which took such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie manner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

Superfluous wealth occasion of vice.

In the meane time liued the Scottish and Pictish kings in good quiet and rest, applying their studies onelie how to instruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flourish in wealth and prosperitie without dread of anie foreign power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the Britith estate, as small likelihood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recover againe the former force and dignitie. Finally the Scottish king Eugenius hauing advanced the estate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had euer done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, he ended his life about the fourth yeere of Leo, that vsurped the empire of Constantinople.

The Scots apply themselves to peace.

The death of Eugenius the Scottish king.

But forsomuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succeeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yeere 470, and his chiefest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of god orders and iustice, appointing in euerie quarter men of god fame and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandement that they should diligently fozeke, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himselfe took vpon him also to see to the repairing of such castles as were decayed, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, speciallie nere to the Britith borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other sinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of wars. Wherefore he doubting the changes of fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

Dongard.

Dongard king of Scots. 461. H.B. The studie of Dongard for preservation of iustice and good orders. The repairing of castles by him.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subiects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did most excellently set forth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned forth lands, houses, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places should be infranchised and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

The boundons libralitie of Dongard towards churchmen.

Sanctuaries.

About the same time also, and whilst these things were thus a doing in Scotland, the Britains being awearied of their seruile estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and took aduise by what meanes they might best seeke to deliuer themselves from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armorie some honorable ambassage vnto Andzenus the king of that countrie for aid. Wherewith was the archbishop of London appointed

The Britains send into Britaine Armorie for aid.

Did sent into Britaine from the Armorie the Britains.

Constantinople proclaimed king of Britaine.

The assembly of the Britith armie.

The great earnestness of the Britains to recover their libertie.

The Scots and Picts make their gresss. The Scots and Picts a good nere to the Britains.

Dongard exhorteth his people to firmness.

The wings of the Britith armie are put backe.

ted as chiefe ambassadoꝝ to go on that message, which archbishop vied such diligence in the matter, that Constantine the sonne of the said Androenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Britaine to the aid of the Britissh inhabitants there. Herevpon, when the men & ships with all necessarie prouision were once ready, he embarked at Saint Malo, where the assemblie was made, and taking the sea, sailed south with prosperous wind and weather, which brought him safelie into great Britaine, where he landed at Eotnes in Denonshire, as you shall find in the chronicles of England. He was receiued with no small ioy, and forthwith proclaimed king of Britaine, wherevpon he promised to assaie to the uttermost of his power to recouer againe their whole lands and liberties, and to mainteine them in the same according to their wished desires.

For the more speedie accomplishment hereof, commandement was first giuen, that all able men should be in a readinesse, and come together at a place appointed nere to the river of Humber within fortie daies after. Which order being taken by the aduise of the lords and nobles of the realme, the same was put in execution with such diligence, that few or none being apt to beare armes, withdrew themselves, euerie man in manner coming to the appointed place of the assemblie, and offering to go against the enemies, so that it was a wonder to consider the consent of the people now ioined in one mind and will to recouer their former libertie. When Constantine beheld such notable numbers of men, he supposed the same would haue sufficed not onelie to banquish the Scots and Picts, but also vnto the bestroie & race them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres which the Britains made, was once signified to the Scots and Picts, they likewise made their apperites to meet with them in the field, and therevpon raising their powers, came forth with the same into Dorchester, and pitched their camps within foure miles where Constantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderstanding how nere vnto the enimie they were, they raised and marched forwards till they came within sight of him, as then incamped with his people aloft vpon certeine hills, nere to the aforesaid river side. Here both the kings of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies for that night, made ready for battell against the next day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottish king getting him to a little hill, called his men together, & there exhorted them by sundrie comfortable means of perswasion to put awaie all feare, and to fight valiantly, assuring them of victorie if they would keepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not rashlie breake forth of the same in following vpon the enemies when they fell to retiring backe.

He had scarce made an end of his words, but that diuerse of the standing watch came in, and declared how the Britains began to auaile the hills where they had lodged, and that the Picts were got south already in order of battell, and were marching forwards to encounter them. Dongard thewing himselfe to be right iofull of these newes, commanded incontinently, that the standards should aduance forth, and euerie man to attend the same according to his appointed order. Also that no man should presume to take anie prisoner before the end of the battell, nor to yeeld himselfe so long as life lasted. So that ioining with his enemies, there followed a verie fierce and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the Britains gaue backe from the Scottishmen & Picts, the middle ward abiding the brunt verie stoutlie. Where Constantine himselfe stood like a valiant

chieftaine, doing his endeuour to the uttermost of his power, vpon whome Dongard earnestlie preasing, and entring into the thickest throng of his enemies, was there beaten downe amongst the Armorelike Britains, and being about to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and slaine with manie a foze wound.

Diuers of the Scots discomfited with this great mishap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with more wrath laid about them more egerlie. The Picts also, for their part fought most constantlie, so that the battell continuing vntill none daie with doubtfull successe, at length the Britains were constrained something to giue backe, & after taking themselves to fearfull flight, declared that the victorie remained with their enemies. There died in this mortall battell nere to the point of 16 thousand of the Britains, and of the Scots & Picts about 14 thousand, with Dongard and the Scottish king. Constantine the day next after the battell, withdrew southwards. The Scots carried away with them the corps of their dead king, and conueieng it into the Ile of Jona, now called Colmekill, there buried it in kinglie wise. Dongard was thus slaine, in the fift yere of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauioꝝ 475 yeres, and about the second yere of Zeno the emperor.

After him succeeded in gouernment of the Scottish kingdome Constantine the brother of the aboue rehearsed Eugenius, a prince unlike in noble vertues vnto his brother the said Eugenius. For though in him there appiered some good tokens of commendable towardnesse, as he seemed outwardlie to shew, yet was he giuen more vnto wanton pleasure and lust, than to the regard of the good rule and gouernment of his subiects, a desourer of virgins, a rauisher of honest matrones, and about all, a fauourer of backbiters and slanderers; neuer thewing anie iofull countenance amongst his nobles, but amongst scoffing iesters and other vile persons he was as pleasant and merie as the iocundest man alike. Thus though he represented the Britissh king Constantine in name, yet in manners he far differed from him: for the Britissh Constantine studing to aduance the commonwealthe of his subiects, trained them in laudable exercises, & reduced them from their former euill vices vnto ciuill order and good customs. Contrariwise, the Scottish Constantine did nothing worthie praise at all, after he was once instituted king, but followed still his owne inordinate lust and sensuall appetite.

He granted peace vnto the Britains they scarce requiring the same, releasing not onelie the tribute, but also deliuering vp into their hands by secret meanes diuers castles standing vpon the riuers of Humber. Manie other things he was about to haue done to the great preiudice and hinderance of the Scottish estate, had not the nobles of the realme the soner withstood his rash and vnauided attempts. Such malice also was ingendored in the hearts of the most part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it not bene through the wholesome admonition & perswasion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of right reuerend authoritie amongst them, they had leued ciuill wars against him, but the foresaid Dongall declaring to them the great danger and inconuenience that might thereof insue, restrained their wrathfull minds from enterprising anie thing against him by force, so that for certeine yeres they suffered and bare with this his misordered gouernment.

In the meane while the Picts noting the want of all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scots, and againe what tokens of valiant courage appiered in the king of the Britains, doubted least if he should sake

Dongard is slaine.

The Britains are put to flight.

465. H.B.
8. of Leo. H.B.

Constantine. Constantine the first of that name is created king of Scots.

Constantine the Scottish king nothing like in noble conditions vnto Constantine king of the Britains.

Peace granted vnto the Britains, and diuers castles deliuered into their hands.

The good counsell of Dongall.

The Picts stand in feare of the king of Britaine.

Did sent into Britaine from the Emperor the Britissh king.

Constantine proclaimed king of Britaine.

The assemblie of the Britissh armie.

The great earnestness of the Britains to recouer their libertie.

The Scots and Picts make their apperites. The Scots and Picts approach nere to the Britains.

Dongard exhorted his people to fight manfully.

The wings of the Britissh armie are put backe.

take to revenge old injuries against them, they should be little able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had small trust now, by reason of the insufficiency of the Scottish king) they devised a meane how to rid the British king out of the waile, and so appointing certaine sic fellows to go into Britaine for the accomplishment of their devised purpose, at length the same was brought to passe, as in the English chronicles ye shall find more at large, though in the same chronicles there is mention made but of one Pict that should worke this feat, where the Scottish writers record of diuers, which nevertheless were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were cast into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to ashes in most miserable wise, as by the said Scottish writers it appereth. The death of this Constantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yeare of Constantine king of Scots, neither liued he long after: for hauing rauished a noble mans daughter, borne in the wessterne Isles, he was slaine by his father in the night season, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the space of 17 yeeres.

Constantine the Scottish king is slaine by one whose daughter he had rauished, Anno 481.

Dongall. Dongall the sonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

The politike rule of Dongall.

Constantinus a monke elected king of Britaine.

Maximianus a monke elected king of Britaine.

Then was Dongall his nephew, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclaimed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, through his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisdom and god fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redressing misdoers, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeavour, that peace and concord thereupon ensuing, the people recovered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

In this meane while that things passed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Maxigorne, Constantinus the eldest sonne of the late deceased Constantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbete, where he was shorne a monke, and aduanced to the kingdome: but being not meet of himselfe to gouerne, Maxigorne had the whole rule committed to his hands, whereupon he first caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a gard of the same Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings person: in the end also he procured some of them to murder the king, and after put all the said Scots and Picts to death, as well the guiltie as the vnguiltie, and finally made himselfe king, as in the historie of England you shall find more at large expressed.

The Scots and Picts (for displeasure that their countiemen which had bene appointed to gard the person of Constantinus king of the Britains, were maliciouslie circumvented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made sundrie roades and forraides into the British borders, neither sparing fire nor sword where they came. So that the said Maxigorne by a greivous report informed hereof, caused an armie with all speed to be leued, and appointed Guitellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enemies: whilste he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was known how he would haue made auaile Constantines children) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourne in his owne person.

Guitellus general of the British army

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue truelie in defense

thereof, chanced vpon his approach to the borders to take the number of five hundred of the enemies, being aduanced from the residue to fetch a bottie. These Guitellus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afoze anie occurrence of warre was denounced. Whereupon such other as escaped by flight, and had seene their fellows thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellows. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather together their people, and haste forward with all speed to ward the enemies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were sore afraid of the Scottish and Pictish power: whereupon Guitellus their generall with comfortable words willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to anie other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

Cansteth five hundred of the enemies to be hanged.

The Scottish and Pictish kings gather their people to resist the Britains. Guitellus encouraged the appalled hearts of his men of warre with comfortable words.

With such and sundrie other the like words the Britains being emboldened, as might well appere by their change of countenances, Guitellus thereupon remoued his campe more nere vnto his enemies, so that at the first and for certaine daies together, there chanced onelic diuers skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being sore moued against the other, they ioine in a fight field. The beginning of which battell was verie fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Dongall the Scottish king fought, the Britains shortly began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Galanus the Pictish king quicklie perceiuing, forthwith prouided remedie: for taking with him certaine bands out of his owne battell, willing the residue to stand to it manfully, and in no wise to giue ground to the enemy, he himselfe with the said bands fetched a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had ouermatched the Scots.

The Britains joine in a fight field with the Scots and Picts. The Scots are put backe. Galanus king of Picts succoureth the Scots.

This sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots encouraged afresh, assailed their enemies with more eger minds than they had done at the first, so that maintenanilie both the wings of the British armie were utterlie discomfited. And herewith a certaine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make haste to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euerie side, they knew not whither to flee: so that in the end a great number of them throwing auaile their weapons, yielded themselves, most humble craving mercie at their enemies hands. There were slaine in this battell about twentie thousand of the Britains, together with their generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died also of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrie to conquire castles and townes, such as stood in their waile.

The wings of the Britains put to flight. The campe of the Britains won. The Britains chased, know not whither to flee. Guitellus with twentie thousand Britains slaine. Foure thousand Scots and Picts slaine.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to devise by what meanes they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Maxigorne as one guiltie in conscience, doubted least through want of good will in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie inuasion of his enemies, whereupon he was minded to haue auoided the realme, but there were of his councell that aduised him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the uttermost point of fortunes hap, than with

A councell holden at London.

Maxigorne doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of his realme.

The Picts conquering the Scots and the Britains.

disposon so to peld at the first blow of his forward hand; considering the abundance of treasure which he had in those, wherewith he might wage souldiers and men of warre out of Germany & other places, in number sufficient to match with his enemies. His counsell as the best was follo wed, and messengers with commission & sufficient instructions sent withall sped into Germany, to receive a number of Sarons, and to bring them over into Britaine, to serve against the Scots and Pias in wages with Hozigerne.

At the same time these were amongst those Sarons two brethren, descended by rightfull lineage of the princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant captians, appointed with the Britissh commissaries for a certaine summe of monie to take by their prescribed number of men, & to receive charge of them as cozonsels, aswell for their conuie over into Britaine, as also for their seruice there, after their arrival. The one of these two brethren was called Hengist or Engist, and the other Hozius, who having their appointed numbers once filled, concerning about ten thousand souldiers in the whole, they bestowed them abroad in thirtie hulks, hoies, and plaits, and in the same transported them over into Britaine, in the 449 yeere after Christ, as our histories do affirme: where they were received with great ioy and gladnesse of Hozigerne, who trusted by their aid to overcome his fierce and dreadfull enemies.

Therefore when they had refreshed themselves somewhat after their travell by sea, they were sent forth with an other armie which Hozigerne had assembled of his owne subjects the Britains, to the frontiers of the enemies countrie, where at their first coming they passed over the river of Humber, before the Scots or Pias had knowledge that anie such people were come in support of the Britains to bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made but sozie shift, fell into the hands of the Sarons, who to begin their enterprize with blood, slaie all such as they could laie hands vpon, without anie respect of person. Great was the slaughter by them committed in all those parties where they passed, namelic about the river of Tine. And when they had made an end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so into the dales aboue Berwik, next adjoining vnto Picland, destroyeng all before them with fire and sword.

The Piasish king in the meane time had sent vnto Dongall the king of Scots to come with all speed to support him against the dreadfull invasion of the enemies, whose force being now increased with a power of Sarons, would worke much mischief, if the same were not the more speedilie in the beginning repelled: but hearing that the Sarons and Britains daile approached, he thought not good to tarry for the coming of the Scots, but hastned forth with his owne power to encounter his aduersaries, and rashlie giuing battell, he was overcome, and thereby lost no small number of his people. In this confusie the Sarons want them a great name for their high valiance, where contrarie the Britains got them no small note of gillie cowardise, fighting so faintlie, that their captians had much ado to cause them to keepe their ground, being readie still to haue run awaie: which their faintnesse of stomach being noted of Hengist, even then put him in no small confidence that it should be an easie matter for him to conquer them at his pleasure, when time and occasion might serue thereto.

The Piasish nation hauing receiued this grieuous

ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enemies, sent againe an other ambassage vnto the Scottish king Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation, what losse had happened to them by that most cruell people the Sarons void of all religion and moreie, and what mischiefes by the same people was intended, aswell against Scots as Pias, vnto the great danger of the utter ruine of both nations, if the enemies in time were not resisted. They that were sent declared all this matter vnto king Congall, and as they had in commission, besought him of speedie succore. Congall not onlie moued for the harins and losses of the Pias his friends and allies, but also much more for the likelihood of the imminent danger and perill towarde himselfe and his owne people, determined speedilie to go with all his power, and to ioin with the Pias, as fully resolved to preuent that mischief which was like to follow, if the violent rage of the enemies were not the sooner repressed.

The sent word therefore to the Piasish king, that if he might keepe off the enemies by light skirmishes and incursions for a small time, he would come to his assistance, with all the whole puissance of his realme. And herewithall he commanded by open proclamation, that all those within his dominions, which were able to beare armour should by the fiftieth day after assemble togither at the south side of Callidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then and there with them vittells sufficient to serue them for two moneths. According to the which proclamation, there came togither at the day and place assigned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and meete for the warres. On the morrow after, when Congall had taken the musters & belv of his whole numbers, he set forward towarde the place where he understood that the king of the Pias as then lodged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in campe taried for the coming of the Scottish armie. On the fift day after, both the kings met togither, and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friendship the one towarde the other. After this they go to heare diuine seruice, where they make their deuout prayers vnto almightie God for their good speed and luckie successe in that iourne: which being done, they march forth toward the enemies, as then lieng in campe not past ten miles from them. Here at the first sight of the enemies, diuers of the Scots and Pias being stricken with feare to behold so great a multitude, as the like had not bene seene in those parties manie a day before, they stole away and secretlie hid themselves in the next woods. But the kings, to giue example to other, caused them that were thus stolne away, to be sought out, & brought againe into the campe, where they were hanged in open sight of all the armie.

The Sarons & Britains also vpon the approach of their enemies gathered their companies togither, & mainfenantlie herewith the Sarons encouraged with such comfortable speech as Hengist uttered amongst them, required to haue battell without delay: whose example the Britains following, shewed themselves also right willing thereto. Congall the Scottish king perceiuing the enemies to make readie for battell, went likewise amongst his folks, and exhorted them in best wise he could, to play the men. The like also did Calanus the Piasish king amongst his people, omitting nothing that might encourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the battell on both sides comming forward to ioin, the arrowes and darts flue frechlie betwixt them, but neither part minding to giue place for all the shot, at length they ioined at handblowes, first the Britains in the right wing with the Scots in the left wing;

Hozigerne to counsell to send for aid into Germany.

Hengist and Hozius retained in seruice with Hozigerne.

The Sarons together with a power of Britains are first to the borders of the enemies countries.

The Sarons in hope of good successe begin the wars against the Scots with blood.

The king of Pias sendeth lay and vnto the Scottish king.

The king of the Pias is conquered. The Sarons won praise, and the Britains noted of cowardise.

The Pias estones solicit the Scots for aid.

Congall promised to aid the Pias.

Provision made by the Scots to aid the Pias.

The Scottish and Piasish kings assemble togither with their powers.

The Scots and Pias come within sight of the enemies.

The Scots, through comfote of Hengist exhortation desire battell.

The Scottish and Piasish kings exhort their people to fight valiantlie.

The battell is begun.

The Britains die.

A great tempest.

The Saxons close themselves together.

The Scots and Picts pursue the Britains.

The Saxons assault the Scots and Picts dispersed in pursuit of the Britains.

Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of the Britains.

Hengist returned to London.

Hengist offered to send for more aid into Germany.

Hengist's offer misliked of some of the nobilitie of Britaine.

The honor showed unto Hengist by Hlothigerne.

Britains sent to defend the borders, are distressed.

wing; but the Britains not able long to indure against the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great shouer of raine, mixt with such a tempest of baile, that the hardiest there wished himselfe thence, the storme beating so fast vpon them, that one might vnderneath see another, so that the Scottishmen and Picts with not whether more haister, to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their manner in time of anye present danger; closed themselves together, and drew nere vnto their chiefsteins standers: if smallie the tempest no longer began to ceasse, but the Scots and Picts leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains, supposing the victorie had bene whole theirs: which the Saxons now after that the element began to cleare vp, plainelie perceiving, by comandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Picts here and there dispersed about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murther of them on euerie side where they found them, that pitie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staid till they were gotten into places farre enough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie iocfull to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enemies sword lamentable to see. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Poike, leauing those countries betwixt Tine and Ewed in the enemies handes, of purpose ceassing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, already hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

When summer then was well nere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselfe to London; where he counselled Hlothigerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enemies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countrymen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onely to vanquish the Scottishmen and Picts, but also utterly to destroy both the nations, or at least to drive them forth of the whole countrie. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatlie liked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Hlothigerne did not onely giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also helmed by the manner of his intertainment, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not doe vnto him too much honor for such notable seruice as he had done already, and trusted he should doe hereafter. According to Hengist's aduise also, there was a crue of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of fine thousand, who shortly after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made auaile in sundrie skirmishes and encounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Shortly after was sent thither also an other companie, double in number to the first, to reuenge the deaths of their fellows; but they finding fortune as froward vnto them as the former had done before, sped much what a like, for in sundrie conflicts diuers of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselves deliuered captiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiving in what danger they stood, sithence they

might not trust their owne countie-men, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogether vnfortified. In this meane while a new supplie of fine thousand Saxons; with their wives and children, came ouer into this land, in eightene hoies, and amongst other came Hengist's wife and his daughter the ladie Eborica. Shortly after king Hlothigerne gaue vnto Hengist & his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lindseie, with a castell of great strength called Thong-castell. Some haue written that Hengist required of Hlothigerne so much ground as he might compass with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he toke a mightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which toke name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon that consideration so euer it toke that name, certeine it is by record of all the Scottish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (appointed them by Hlothigerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecast, he toke forth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certeine captaine and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staing for the comming of the Britains. Hlothigerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subjects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne Hlothigerne, a yong man of great force and valancie, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authoritie for the warres he commanded chiefe to be followed.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met together, Hengist led them ouer the riuers of Humber and Tine, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enemies late. The Scottish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers together, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with piousion of vittells for a long time. But before their comming to the riuers of Tine, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made streight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so stronglie incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constrained to raise and come forth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some euen ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

Between them also and the armies of the two kings there was a ballie, in the botome full of mires and marishy grounds, which the Scottishmen & Picts must needs passe, yer they could find means to doe anye notable displeasure to the enemies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagots to make passage ouer those mires, which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certeine hilles lieng right ouer against the Saxon and British camps, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow or front of an hill so nere to the lodgings of their enemies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they toke no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoyance and beration.

There was growing in that place, where they were

A new powder of Saxons commeth ouer into Britaine

Thwang castle, or Thong-castell.

The Saxons first inhabited in Lindseie.

Hlothigerne generall of the Britains.

The Saxons and Britains against the Scots and Picts.

60000 of Scots and Picts come to meet their enemies.

Hengist prolonged time to giue battell.

A politike the Scots

The time and seare in the campe of Saxons Hyperbole.

Hengist led his people to fight

Congals negotiation the Scots

Hengist's offer to fight the Saxons to fight

The Scots and Picts the charge

The Saxons in danger have the victory

An ambush the thousand men

were thus incamped, verie much of that kind of heath or ling, which the Scottishmen call hadder. Of which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie together, and binding it in bundels like unto fagots, in the night season they set the same on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the Sarons late. The wind in that instant being somewhat aloft, caused these bundels of ling to blase and burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waikes forth, drew the flame so streinable amongst the tents and cabins of the Sarons, that the fire catching in the straws and cloths which they had couched togither vnder them in stead of beds, increased the feare amongst the souldiours wonderfollie, by reason that the blasing bundels of the ling or hadder, still coming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as though the same had fallen from aboue, and came forth of the heauen it selfe.

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the whole campe, with such roling of beastes, and running vp and downe both of them and of the horses which were there in the campe; that if heauen and earth had gone togither, there could not haue bene a more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the souldiours had done what they could to quench the fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some uprore and disorder raised on each side, they got them with their armor and weapons forth into the next field, which Hengist himselfe perceiving (having first done what he could to stay them) inuironed with a companie of his choicest men of warre; he got him vp vnto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his people should draw thither vnto him. After this, when they were come togither, he disposed them in order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the spring of the daie, to vnderstand more certeinlie the meaning of his enemies.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enemies to be farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended downe from the hilles, fullie determined to assaile them in their camps: but vpon their approach to the same, perceiuing how the Sarons were gotten forth, and stood readie in good order of battell, minding to defend their ground, both the kings thought it best to tarie till the morning, yet they made anie exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof. In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst his people, exhorting them to remember their worthie elders, and by their example to chuse rather to die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties, than by cowardize to saue a dishonest life, which (if their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe in great thraldome and miserie. The Pictish king also with like words encouraged his men to do valiantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in perswading his Sarons to plaie the men, that obtaining the victorie they might deliuer themselves from terroze of all enemies from thenceforth in Britaine.

Whilist he was thus exhorting his people, the Scots and Picts with great force and violence began to giue the charge vpon him, which whilist the Sarons and Britains went about to defend, they were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on each side, that the discomfiture had light vpon them forthwith, had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called forth about three thousand fresh men to their succors, which he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readinesse, to come at his call, vpon that danger soeuer happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the backs of the Scots, brought them streight out of all order: for they being occupied with the other Sar-

ons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had vnderneath some for anie aduantage to turne their weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Britains did put them to flight, and chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue them in the chase, till they came to a riuer in the which a great number of them were drowned, as they leaped to passe ouer the same, and to saue themselves by swimming. On the other side, the Scots being soze handled by the Sarons, both before and behind, were at the length constrained to giue ground and breake forth by flight, & so to escape the cruell hands of the enemies. Manie were slaine in the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue getting away, fled streight to the Picts: but Congall himselfe, through helpe of his household seruants escaped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe all wounded as he was.

The Picts returning from the chase, and vnderstanding how the Sarons had giuen the Scots the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forward to incounter also with them, determined not to abide their coming at that time. And so night approaching yet the Sarons had got sight of them, order was giuen by commandement of their king, that all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and fagots, should be placed and piled togither before them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire, which being executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secretly as they might, and staied not to make a waie, till they were farre enough out of the danger of the Sarons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and perceiving no enimie abroad to bid him battell, mustered his men, and found that he had lost in this iournie as good as foure thousand of one and other. After this, he withdraue to Forke, and leauing his armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where he was receiued with ioy inough by king Horthgerne.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambrose, and Alter, the sonnes of king Constantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Armorike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to them from their father: the Sarons were sent for out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if need were to resist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after, for a policie, Hengist caused it to be bruited abroad, that the Scots and Picts meant to inuade the British confines, & therefore was there an other power of Sarons called into the land, and placed in the north parts, to defend the same against the Scots and Picts. Decca the sonne of Hengist had the leading of these Sarons, who brought them ouer, being ten thousand men of warre, in fiftie plaits, and fiftie hokes. They brought with them also their wiues and children, and settled themselves in the north parts betwixt the riuer of Humber and the borders of the Pictish dominions. And euen then it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you would say, the land by north the riuer of Humber, and so it dooth continue.

Shortlie after, Horthgerne forsaking his lawfull wife, married the ladie Korena or Kowen, Hengists daughter, to the high offense of God, and great displeasure of his subjects. And in the meane time, Decca not attempting anie exploit against the Scots and Picts, rather sought to get into his hands all the fortresses betwixt Tine and Humber, euen from the east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he greatlie aduanced, winning castles and fortresses there

The Britains put to flight by the Picts.

The Scots forced to die.

Congall is wounded, but yet escapeth through helpe of his household seruants.

The policie of the Picts to escape out of danger.

Aurelius Ambrose & Alter, sons to king Constantine.

The Sarons placed in Kent.

A new power of Sarons came ouer with their captain Decca.

Northumberland when it first began to be so called.

Horthgerne married Hengists daughter.

A policie of the Scots.

The tumult and leare raised in the campe of the Sarons. Hyperbole.

Hengist calleth his people togither.

Congall exhortation to the Scots.

Hengist exhorteth the Sarons to fight manfully.

The Scots & Picts giue the charge.

The Sarons in danger to haue the ouerthrow.

An ambush of three thousand men.

A new power of Sarons cometh ouer into Britaine.

Thwang castle, or Thogwell.

The Sarons first inhabited Lindsey.

Optimer general of the Britains.

The Sarons & Britains fight the battle.

000 of Sarons and Britons met their enemies.

Hengist pro- geth time the battell.

there in those parties, some by force, and some by surrender: and amongst other places of importance, he first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusations against manie of the nobles and gentlemen, surmising that they would betray the countrey unto the Scots & Picts, he put diuerse of them to death, some secretly, and others openly, as couid of such offences as were forged and laid against them.

Hereupon the Britains for the stay of such mischiefe as they saw at hand, deposed Noztigorne from his kinglie seat, and placed his sonne Noztimer in his roome, which being done, ambassadors were sent both unto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid and support against the cruell oppression of the Saxons, who sought not onelie by craftie meanes and fraudulent waies to attaine the dominion of the whole Ile, but also to extinguishe and utterlie subuert the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion throughout the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the Scottish and Pictish kings, to assist them against such common enemies as had bene called into the realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but onlie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of Noztigorne, to helpe as well toward the suppressing of the Scots and Picts, as also to repress all commotions of the Britains, which they might happilie raise against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in feare of.

The Scottish king Congall (vnto whome first the ambassadors were sent) for answer declared, that he was sozie to vnderstand into what danger the miserable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioine with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that were sufficient cause to inforce him to doe the best he could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an eshynke generation, as not onelie vsed the rites and ceremonies of their false religion, and that openly among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the hono: and worship of their hellish gods, to the great horro: and terrible offense of the beholders consciences; but also sought by all meanes they could deuise, how to destroye and quench utterlie the faith of our Sauicour Christ in all places where they might get the vpper hand.

He promised therefore to imploye his whole puissance to recouer out of the enemies hands all such countries as laie betwixt the frontiers of his dominion and the riuer of Humber, and further to aid the Britains to driue them quite out of the Ile, if the Britains would assure him, from thenceforth neuer to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the countries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said riuer of Humber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the same in the hands of the Scottishmen and Picts, to haue hold and inioy for euermore in quiet: which to performe, the ambassadors had (amongest other things) already promised in name of all the British nation, as a recompense or meed to haue the support and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same ambassadors received of the Pictish king, and returning therewith vnto Noztimer, declared afore him and his counsell how they had sped.

Shortlie after, for the more and better assurance of all promises, covenants and articles passed betwixt the Scottishmen, Picts, and Britains, there was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ratified and established, according to the tenor of the ancient league, which had bene concluded in times past betwixt them, with some new conditions of agreement included in the same: all old iniuries being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so that no cause of grudge or displeasure might bee

thought to remaine in remembrance. The first enterprise put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scots against Decca and his Saxons; which (as partly we haue heard) had nestled themselves betwixt the cities of Eborac and Humber.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnestlie occupied in ouerthrowing castles and towers, with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense, Decca commeth into the field with an armie ready to incounter with them, but perceiuing the multitude of his enemies to be such, as he doubted least he should not be well able to match with them, he staied a while from giuing the onset: but in the end perceiuing he could not retire backe but to his great disadvantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set upon their enemies: which they fiercelie executing, it was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victorie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able to susteine the force of the Scots, ouerpressing them with multitude, began to giue backe: which Decca perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he could doe, feare at length ouercoming regard to their capitains commandement, shame of rebuke was quite set apart, and so they toke them to their feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots pursuing after them amaine.

Decca yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and coming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at length he arriued within the Thames. The slaughter of the Saxons vpon the discomfiture was great, especially in the chafe, for the Scottishmen calling to remembrance that they had to doe with infidels, and with the enemies of the christian faith, were so eager vpon them, that they saued few or none that fell into their hands. About the same time was Noztimer entered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons there, and incounting with them in battell, slew ten thousand of them, and chased the residue forth of that countrey. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains, and the countries beyond Humber northwards vnto the Scots and Picts, according to the tenor of the league before mentioned.

Hengist and his sonne Decca (who a little before this battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with the residue of them that escaped, hasted with all speed toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in that countrey till they had recovered their strength by some power to be sent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrey: but being repelled with no small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certaine vessels, they passed ouer into Saronie, leauing a great foze of their nation behind them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as fortune then best serued. Noztimer hauing got the victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same verie cruellie, for taking relie from the Saxons which were taken prisoners their armor and weapon, he suffered them to depart into their countrey: other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted to tarie in the countrey with their wiues & chyliden, as seruants vnto the Britains.

After this, Noztimer gaue order for the repairing of churches, and restoring of the christian religion into the state of the former puritie thereof, as then sore decayed, partly through the euill example taken by daillie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and partly also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as then mightilie spread ouer the most part of Britaine. At length the said Noztimer through treason of his

The Scots made the borders of Northumberland.

The Saxons incounter with the Scots.

The Saxons vanquished by the Scots.

Decca fled by sea into Kent.

The Saxons vanquished by Britains and expelled out of Kent.

The Saxons fled out of Britaine.

Noztimer becometh the victorie moderate.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

Yorke in possession of Hengist.

Noztigorne deposed by his subjects. Noztimer chosen to gouerne the Britains. The Britains require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

The answer of Congall King of Scots vnto the British messengers.

Upon what conditions Congall consented to support the Britains.

A league concluded betwixt Scots, Picts and Britains.

The league renewed betwixt Britains, Scots and Picts.

Hengist reuerteth.

Noztigorne burnt.

Missions spirits.

A tale of a man abused with a spirit.

About saint Barnabas day.

Hepmother Korena was poisoned, and died. Then was Moxtigerne againe restored to the rule of the kingdome, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of aid anie forreine people into the realme. Moxtigerne then restored thus vnto the crowne, shewed such diligence in causing due administration of iustice without rigor to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting of all inuasions that might be attempted by anie forreine power, that his praise was great amongst all his subiects, who to shew their good willes likewise towards him as to their naturall prince, were not slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents, as by all other manner of waies. He found meanes also to renew the league with the Scots and Brits, with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Moxtmer. But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus to auoid all inconuenience that might happen; Moxtigerne after Hengist returned, and that by force and subtilties, at length got possession of the more part of Britaine, so that the Britains were constrained to flee into Wales, whither also Moxtigerne fled, and remained there a certeine time, till at length Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, the sonnes of king Constantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besieging Moxtigerne in a castell, burnt him with the house and all, when they could not otherwise come by him, according to that which Merlin the British soothsaier had prophesied before. It is folishlie supposed that this Merlin was got by a spirit of that kind which are called *Incubi*, that is to vnderstand, such as conueiung mans seed from him (and therewith by illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of man) doe lie with women, and vse them after the manner of carnall copulation.

In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale or two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought not long before his time in Scotland, which somewhat abridging the same we haue here inserted. In the yeere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scottish ship departed out of the Forth towards Flanders, there rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and weather, so outrageous, that the maister of the ship with other the mariners wondered not a little what the matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the yeere, for it was about the middelt of summer. At length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still increased, in such wise that all those within the ship looked for present death, there was a woman brenderneath the hatch, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue by Gods grace might yet be saued: and thereupon told them, how she had bene haunted a long time with a spirit, daile comming vnto hir in mans likenesse, and that euen as then he was with hir, vying his filthie pleasure after the manner of carnall copulation. In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the maisters appointment going downe to this woman, and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate person, lamenting hir great misfortune and miserable estate, vied such wholesome admonitions and comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at length the seeming right penitent for hir greuous offenses committed, and fetching sundrie sighes euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witness (as should appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and stinke, which presentlie fell into the sea. And suddenly ther vpon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of hir iourne, arrived in safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like manner a yong man dwelling in Careoth, within a village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine, verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocese, how there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer saw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleasant intisements allure him to haue to doe with hir, & that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man aduised him to remoue into some other countrie, and to giue himselfe to fasting and prayer, so to auoid his hands of that wicked spirit. The yong man following the bishops counsell, within a few daies was deliuered from further temptation.

About the same time also, there was in the countrie of Spar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing sundrie wealthie marriages offered to hir by hir father, and other friends. At length she proued with child, and being rigorously compelled by hir parents to tell who was the father, she confessed that a certeine yong man vied nightlie to come vnto hir, and kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awate, she was not able to declare. Hir parents not greatlie crediting hir words, laid diligent watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled their house: and within three daies after, vpon signification giuen by one of the maidens, that the fornicator was at that verie instant with their daughter, incontinentlie there vpon, making fast the doores, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughters armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Here a number comming hastilie in, to behold this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of Saint Iohns gospel, and comming to these words, *Verbum caro factum est*, suddenly the wicked spirit making a verie loud and terrible roaring noise, flue his waies, taking the rose of the chamber awate with him, the hangings and coverings of the bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preserved, and within three or foure daies after was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the like before had not bene seene, which the midwives and women, such as were present at hir labor, to auoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the same intent. Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath writtten to proue that all is not feined which is writtten of the illusions of diuels and euill spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to retorne where I left touching Aurelius Ambrose. We shall vnderstand, that he hauing once subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Moxtigerne, determined to make warres against Hengist and his Saxons, to proue if his chance might be to recover the realme out of their hands, and so to restore againe the christian religion. But first yer he attempted anie exploit against the enemies, he sent ambassadors both vnto Congall the Scottish king, and also vnto one Roth a towardlie yong gentleman, and of verie comelie personage, as then reigning among the Brits, requiring them both to aid him in so necessarie an enterprise as he had in hand against the enemies of Christ and his religion. Wherevpon both these kings, weeing with themselves the dutie of all christian princes, in respect of the aduancement of the

A yong man haunted with a spirit.

Aurelius Ambrose purposeth to make warres against the Saxons.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Scots and Brits to require their aid against the Saxons.

The Scots made the borders of Northumberland.

The Saxons counter with the Scots.

The Saxons conquered by the Scots.

The Saxons by Kent.

The Saxons conquered by the Scots and killed out Kent.

The Saxons out of Britaine.

At the time of the victory of Moxtigerne.

Here the victory of Moxtigerne.

The Scots and Picts promise to aid the Britains against the Saxons. The league renewed betwixt Britains, Picts, and Scots.

the cause of faith, and suppressing of ethnike idolatrie, promised their helpe to the vttermoſt of their powers againſt the Saxons, who had in ſuch tyrannlike ſort ſubuerbed and aboliſhed the chriſtian profeſſion within the Britiſh confines. And therefore the old league, according to the articles and covenants afore time concluded betwixt the three nations, was once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by euerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed, for the better expeditiō of this their attempted vol-

Aurelius Ambroſe maketh an oration.

age. Firſt Aurelius Ambroſe, with ſuch power as he brought with him forth of France, & joining therevnto a great multitude of thoſe Britains which had eſcaped the Saxons hands, either by withdrawing themſelves into Wales, or elſe by conueieng themſelves into the countries of the Scots and Picts, ſet forth toward toward the Scottiſh armie. But firſt calling together thoſe Britains that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard of them all, he made a long oration by waie of complaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practices vſed by Hengift, againſt the linage of king Conſtantine, and the whole eſtate of the Britiſh common-wealth: alſo of the horrible perſecution made by him and his people the Saxons, againſt the profeſſors of the chriſtian religion. All which matter he handled in words ſo pithilie, his talke yet ſauoyng of the Romane eloquence, that the minds of the ſouldiers being kindled therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not doubting but by his wiſe and poliſhke conduct to achieve ſome glorious victorie. And to the end all thing might be done in better order, according to his appointment, immediatlie they proclaimed him king. Which was by account of the Scottiſh chronicles; in the yeere 498, after that Mortigern with his ſonne Wotimer had reigned 17 yeeres in the whole.

Aurelius Ambroſe proclaimed king of Britaine.

Aurelius in this wiſe being eſtabliſhed king of Britaine paſſeth forth with his people, and within ſix daies after met with the armies of the Scots and Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the gout, ſo that he could not come himſelfe in perſon. Loth the Pictiſh king was there himſelfe amongſt his people, verie deſirous to ſhew ſome proſe of his manlie prowelle and manhood. Aurelius Ambroſe ſhewed all the honor that might be deniſed, as well to the one as to the other of thoſe two nations, promiſing to requite them with as much friendſhip when time and occaſion ſhould craue the like aſſiſtance. Theſe three mightie armies therefore being thus aſſembled, marched forth towards a place called Spahelwell, where they underſtood that Hengift with his power as then did ſojoine. Where when both the camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from the other: at the firſt certeine light ſkirmiſhes were procured by both parts betwixt the light horſemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to diſpleaſure, they come into the field with their whole maine battels, verie ſiercelie incountreing ech other, ſo that (as it appeared) their force was not ſo great, but their mortall hate was even as much, or rather more, if the hiſtozies ſaie right.

Conranus generall of the Scots.

Loth king of the Picts.

Spahelwell.

The Pictiſh and Saxons incounter in battell.

The Armozlike Britains

The Saxons diſcomfited.

The Armozlike Britains with a new kind of order in their fight, ſore troubled the Saxons, in perſing their battels, with their men arraid in certeine wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgewiſe. The Scots alſo & Picts bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in ſuch manner, that the ſtandards of all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains, were at point almoſt to meet, hauing made waie therevnto through the middeſt of their enemies. Wherewith the Saxons (being ſore diſcouraged) began to giue backe; and finally, notwithstanding all

that Hengift could ſaie or doo to haue ſtaied them, they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which when he throughlie ſaw, & perceiued that there was no recouerie, he himſelfe (in manner the laſt man that abode) fled likewiſe his waies out of the field, with an ambuſhment of horſemen about him, but being purſued by Aurelius verie ſiercelie, he was run through the bodie by him with a ſpeare, and ſo was there ſlaine out of hand, in the 488 yeere of Chriſt, and 40 after his coming into this Ile. Howbeit the other of the Saxons conueied his ſonne Decca (being alſo ſore wounded) awaie with them by into the next mounteins, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengift in the field, to their high reproch, there to be ſpoiled and abuſed of his enemies.

See more here of in England

Hengift is ſlaine by Aurelius, as the Scottiſh chronicles ſay.

Aurelius baſteth forth to London.

Aurelius Ambroſe hauing thus got the vpper hand of his enemies, haſted forth with all ſpeed vnto London, where hauing both the citie and towne deliuered into his hands, he recouered the whole Iland from the poſſeſſion of the Saxons: and ſuch of them as were apt men, able to beare armoz, and to ſerue in the warres, he commanded to depart forth of the land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind their fellowes that were thus forced to depart, became ſubiects to the Britains, and conuanted to become chriſtians. ¶ Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambroſe, according to the report of the Scottiſh writers, but more hereof ye may read in the hiſtozies of England, where ye ſhall find this matter ſet forth more at large. For that which we write here, is but to ſhew in what ſort the Scottiſh writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began firſt to ſet foot here in this land.

To our purpoſe then. In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recouered the land out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he could imagine, both vnto Loth the Pictiſh king, and alſo vnto Conranus generall of the Scottiſhmen, acknowledging how that by their aid chieflie he had got the vpper hand of his enemies, and ſo he willed to haue it notified amongſt his ſubiects. Hereto he cauſed the league to be renewed betwixt the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed to remaine vnto the Scottiſhmen and Picts: alſo that the Saxons ſhould be reputed common enemies to all the three nations, and that vpon inuaſion made by anie forein power, the Scots, Picts, and Britains, ſhould aid one another as occaſion ſerued.

By ſuppott of Scots and Picts Aurelius conſecteth he got the victorie of the Saxons. The league betwixt Scots, Picts, and Britains is renewed.

This league being concluded with theſe articles of covenants, was the more ſtronglie confirmed, by reaſon of ſuch aſſinitie and alliance as then alſo inſued. For whereas Aurelius had two ſiſters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both; Anne being the elder, was giuen in marriage vnto king Loth, by whome certeine yeares after he had iſſue two ſonnes, Hordob, and Maltwan or Calwan, with a daughter called Chametes: Ada being the yonger ſiſter was married vnto Conranus, generall (as is ſaid) of the Scottiſh armie. Howbeit ſhe liued not paſt two yeares after, but died in trauell of child, which alſo died with the mother: and ſo ended the alliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The Britains being deliuered through the victorie and means afore rehearſed from the cruell hands of the Saxons, inioied ſoſull peace certeine yeares after, but in the meane time diuers of thoſe Saxons which were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterſeiting to become chriſtians, vſed neuertheleſſe to make ſacrifice vnto idols, according to the maner of the gentiles, whereof their prieſts being accuſed and condemned, ſuffered death by fire for that offence.

Anne the daughter of Aurelius giuen in marriage vnto Loth king of Picts. Ada married vnto Conranus.

Diuers Saxons idolaters are burned.

The death of Congall.

Conranus created king of Scotland 501. H.E.

The earldom of Conranus for maintenance of orders and his ſubiects

I godlie diſtance led by Conranus for the sake of his commonwealth

The king sent at

Aurelius Ambroſe ſicke of a ſumpſion

Decca and Palcent returne in Britaine

The death of
Congall.

lenſe, accordinglye as the law did then appoint them. Whyleſt theſe things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being worne with long ſickneſſe, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Jona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, with all kinglie pompe and accuſtomed ceremonies. He reigned over the Scottiſhmen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

Contra-
nus.
Conranus
created king
of Scotland.
ſol. H.B.

After his deceaſſe, his brother Conranus with a great reſoiſing of all the Scottiſh nation was admitted k. in the yeare after the birth of our Sau-
our 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperour Anaſtaſius. This Conranus otherwiſe called Co-
ranus, being eſta bliſhed king, firſt toke order that the ſonnes of his brother Congall being within age, ſhould be brought vp in the Ile of Man, under the gouernance of certeine wiſe inſtructors & ſchole-
maſters, to be trained in learning and vertuous diſcipline, according to an ancient ordinance there-
of made and enacted. Alſo doubting leaſt peace and quietneſſe, now after long warres, ſhould miniſter
matter to his people of raiſing ſome commotion, to the diſturbance of all ciuill order & poliſhke gouerne-
ment within his realme, he rode as it had bene in circuit round about the ſame, making inquirie of all maner offendours, on whome he cauſed due pu-
niſhment to be executed, without reſpect either of kith or kin.

The earneſt
diligence of
Conranus
for mainte-
nance of good
orders among
his ſubiectes.

And amongeſt other enozmities which he under-
ſtood to be vſed in maner through all his countries, this (as he thought) was moſt grieuous, that the
huſbandmen and other commons of the countrie, be-
ing euill in'reated and miſuſed at the gentle mens hands, durſt not complaine, nor procure anie redres;
by reaſon whereof, when they were oppreſſed, or ſuffered anie manner of wrong or iniurie, they were with-
out remedie to haue the ſame reformed; he ordeined therefore, that the names of all ſuch offendours, with
the maner of their offences, ſhould be ſecretlie regi-
ſtered in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inſpec-
tors thereto choſen and appointed. And if it chanced that thoſe which were thus accuſed, might after-
wards be found guiltie before the kings iuſtices by matter plainelie proued againſt them; they ſhould
then be ſure to be puniſhed according to the meaſure of their offences.

A goodlie or-
dinance deu-
iſed by Con-
ranus for re-
ſtore of his
commons.

This cuſtome of accuſations, commonlie called indite-
ments, continueth euen vnto theſe our daies. Conranus himſelfe (as is reported) vſed much to be
preſent at aſſiſes and ſeſſions to ſee the lawes duellie miniſtered, either elſe to paſſe the time in hunting
within ſome forreſt or chaſe, nere to the place where the iuſtices ſat. Now whyleſt Conranus king of
Scots thus ſtudied for the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambroſe the king of Britaine fell
ſicke of a conſumption, which brought him to ſuch weakenneſſe, that all recouerie of health in him was
deſpaired; whereof Decca and Paſcentius ſonnes to Hengift being aduertised, returned with a mightie
power of Sarons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius ſaith) they named at that preſent Hengifts
land.

The king pre-
ſent at aſſiſes.

Aurelius
Ambroſe fell
ſicke of a con-
ſumption.

Decca and
Paſcentius
returne into
Britaine.

After the brother of Aurelius laie alſo at the ſame time ſoze ſicke of a ſtir in the parties of Wales, ſo
that to auoid diſſention that was raiſed among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go a-
gainſt the enemies, Aurelius euen ſicke as he was, cauſed himſelfe to be caried forth in a litter; with
whoſe preſence his people were ſo encouraged, that incountring with the Sarons they wan the victorie,
although with ſuch loſſe on their ſide, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the ſpace of ſoure mo-
neths, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went into Wincheſter, and ſent ambadaſſours vnto the

Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings for aid againſt the time when the truce ſhould expire, which was granted, and ſo he prouided for all things readie for the warres a-
gainſt the appointed time of their aſſembly. Decca alſo ſent his brother Paſcentius into Germanie for
more aid, but as ſome write, he was driuen by con-
trarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men together there, he came backe to his brother
with the ſame. But whether he had thoſe men out of Ireland or Germanie, ſure it is that the power
of the Sarons was greatly increased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambroſe, who
was poiſoned by a miſchievous monke, a Saron bozne, named Copa or Copia (as ſome booke haue)
that toke vpon him to be ſkilfull in phyſicke, and a monke by profeſſion. His death was ſoze lamented
of the Britains: but contrariwiſe, the Sarons re-
ioiced greatly thereof, ſo that immediatly after, Decca with his power inuadeth the Britains, vſing
great crueltie in all places whereſoeuer he came.

Aurelius
Ambroſe de-
parteth this
life.

In the meane time the Scottiſh and Pictiſh armies were come forward towards Aurelius, according to
promiſe made vnto his ambadaſſours; but when his death was certeinly knowne amongeſt them, the
capteins and leaders of both thoſe armies, reſolved to returne home againe, and ſo they did, for that they
doubted in what ſtate and order things ſhould ſtand amongeſt the Britains now after the deceaſſe of
their late king. After the death of Aurelius Ambroſe, his brother Uter was made king of Britaine,
and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornuall, he did not onely force hir to lie with
him; but alſo to the end he might inioy hir the more ſerlie, he ceaſed not to purſue hir huſband to rid him
out of the waie, whome at length he toke within a caſtell into the which he was fled, & forthwith cauſed
him to be executed, ſurmiſſing mater againſt him, for that he had forſaken one of the capteins called Pa-
thaliod, in battell againſt the Sarons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had iſſue the great Arthur,
and becauſe he had no legittimat ſonne, he appointed that Arthur ſhould ſucceed him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the Pictiſh king was
not a little moued, diſdaining that Arthur being a baſtard, and begot of another mans wife in adulte-
rie, ſhould be preferred before his ſons the rightfull heires of the Britiſh kingdome: and therefore by
ambadaſſours he did what he could to diſſuade Uter from making anie ſuch ordinance. But when he
ſaw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought beſt to content himſelfe with ſilence, till
the time ſerued better for his purpoſe. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Uter
and Decca the Saron king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his chyldren, ioined himſelfe
to the Sarons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the preſence
of ſaint Germane that holie biſhop of Aurer, as the Scottiſh writers make mention. Which battell as
the ſame is ſet forth by Hector Boetius, becauſe it touched the ſtate of the Picts, we haue thought good
here to expreſſe.

The Scottiſh
armie returne
home againe.

Uter begot
Arthur.

It was therefore about the feaſt of Eaſter; when the armies came into the field, the Sarons with the
Picts on the one ſide, & the Britains on the other, of whom no ſmall number (being either growen to be
idolaters through conuerſation with the Sarons, either els infected with the hereſie of the Pelagians)
euen there in campe, by hearing ſuch good ſermons as ſaint Germane preached amongeſt them, were
conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the ſame time the ſacrament of the Lords bodie, together in
company with other of the faithfull chriſtians. Fi-
nally when both parties were readie to giue battell,
A. H. ſaint

S. Germane.
preacheth vnto
the campe.

S. Germane leadeth the foreward. Their crie was Alleluia.

S. Germane beareth the kings standard.

The Saxons miraculously discomfited.

Hyperbole.

Beda dissenteth from Hector Boetius and his authour Vercord.

The Britains give themselves unto all kinds of vice and abominations.

The threatening of vengeance to succeed vicious living.

The Britains receive a great overthrow.

King Decca slaine.

The younger Decca nephew to the former Decca by his brother Discus. Loth contrarie to his oth of credence aided the Britains against the Saxons. Colgerne or Colgerne a Saxon is sent for by Decca.

saint Germane took upon him to haue the leading of the foreward, wherein he had all the priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, giuing commandment, that when he should crie Alleluia, they should all answer him with one intire voice.

Thus proceed they forth to the battell, saint Germane bearing the kings standard in the fore front, & upon the approach to the enemies, he with the rest of the priests crying with a loud voice thrice together Alleluia, was answered by all the whole host, uttering and crying the same crie so wholie together, that the verie sound thereof caused such an echo on each side by reason of the hollow mounteines and cliffes hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at this doubled noise, and doubting not onelic another power of their enemies to be hidden priuile among the hills which they saw on each side of them, but also least the verie rocks & mounteines would haue fallen downe upon their heads together with the frame of the element, readie (as it seemed to them) to breake in sunder, they took them to their feet in such dreadfull haste, that their breath was not able to suffice halfe the desire they had to continue their course. Panie of them made such haste, that running to the next river in hope to passe the same, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie threw away both weapon and armour, the more lightlie to make away. Thus through the policie of that blessed man saint Germane, the victorie remained with king Uter and his Britains, without anie bloodshed.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, assigneth the time to be at the first comming of S. Germane into this land, where as Hector Boetius following Vercord, supposeth it to be at the second time of his comming hither, which was in the daies of king Uter. But at what time soener this victorie thus chanced, certeine it is, the Britains waring proud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor took anie heed for provision of further defense; but after that those holie bishops Germane and Serenus were returned into their countrie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and excess, in following onelic their sensuall lusts and fleshlie concupiscence; which abuses, the bishops and other godlie men lamenting, ceased not most earnestlie to reprove, menacing destruction to the whole countrie, if the people leauing their wicked living and most heinous offenses towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and space.

Neither were they deceived herein: for within few yeares after, Decca efflones began to make warres upon the Britains againe, and gaue them a notable overthrow, sleaing of them to the number of fiftene thousand, with their generall pathaliod. But yet this victorie was not greatlie pleasant to the Saxons, for in the chase they lost their king the foresaid Decca, being advanced a good way off from the residue of his armie, with five hundred horsemen and a few footmen, in pursute of his enemies, which was the onelic cause that as then the Saxons attempted no further exploit against the Britains. and yet for that they would not be without a gouernour, they created an other Decca to be their k. the nephew of the former Decca by his brother Discus. And then turned all their force to make warres against the Scots, for that Loth king of the Scots, contrarie to his oth of credence, had aided the Britains in the last battell, as by certeine prisoners taken in the same they had perfect vnderstanding.

Decca therefore being fierce of nature to the end to indamage his enemies the more, sent into Germanie for one Colgerne or Colgerne, a man of great estimation and birth amongst the Saxons, to come ouer with a power unto him into England, promi-

sing for recompense of his trauell and aid against the Scots, to deliuer unto him all such lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be recovered out of the hands of the Scots, to introy unto him and his for euer. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed shortly after in Northumberland, putting the whole countrie vnto fire and sword. Which cruell dealing caused a great number of Scots & Scots, which held diuerse castles in that quarter, to come forth into the field to defend the countrie, and joining battell with their enemies were discomfited, their slaughter being much increased by the comming of Decca at vntouares upon them. For he first taking truce with Uter king of the Britains, basked with all speed to ioine his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come on land.

These newes being brought by such as fled away into Galloway and Wicland, caused both the kings, Loth and Conranus in most speedie wise to assemble their forces, and with the same to march forthwith towards the Saxons: but being come within sight of them readie to giue battell, great was the feare and terror of both their hosts, to ioine in fight with such a number of fierce people, as they saw there before their faces. Which feare arose first through the Britains, of whome no small number was there, in aid of the Scots and Scots against the Saxons, declaring manie things of the great valure, strength of bodie, and huge forme of lims of the same Saxons, being so fierce and cruell in fight, as they alleged, that they were able to put their enemies to flight even with their grim looks and terrible countenances. Whereof such feare and terror was spread through both the whole armies, that if thame had not partly wrought amongst the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies before anie battell had bene attempted at all.

The kings perceluing such discomfite amongst their men, caused them to assemble together, and appointed one such as was thought meet for the purpose, to declare vnto them on their behalves, how they could not but maruell to vnderstand such feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, considering there was no cause thereof, they being such a number of able warriors throughlie appointed, and therewithall led by such gouernours and capteins, as there was no reason why to be doubtfull of victorie, before they had same some tital and iust occasion of disadvantage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no such men but that they might be overcome well inough, as it might sufficientlie appeare, both by proofe of such victories as Wostimer the Britith king had obtained against them; and also Aurelius Ambrose, who had banquished them in such sort, that when they durst not efflones incounter with him in battell, they found means by poison to make him awaie.

Then sith the Britains (whome the Scots & Scots so often had subdued) had at sundrie times banquished the Saxons, why should they feare in such wise to fight with them in common defense of their countrie, and reuenge of such iniuries as they had latelie receiued at their hands, sith the righteous God (as all good men ought to trust) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was huted amongst them, that the Saxons were so huge of stature, and mightie of lims, that no force was able to withstand them, it was certeinlie knowen, that the Scots & Scots were indued with no lesse mightinesse and strength of bodie than the Saxons; so that if they were not of like stomachs, that rested in their owne slouthfull cowardize, & not in natures weaknesse, hauing done hir part in bestowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie force, in such plentifull manner,

Colgerne landed in Northumberland.

The king of Scots and Scots raise their power to resist the Saxons.

The Scots and Scots are put in feare of the Saxons valiance.

The kings cause one to make an operation vnto their people to remove all feare out of their hearts.

The Scots through comfite of an operation receive new courage.

The Scots and Scots are put in flight.

Colgerne created duke of Northumberland.

The Britains overcome in battell by the Saxons. Uter withdrawn into Wales. London recovered by the Saxons.

The death of Uter poisoned by drinking water of a well.

521

Loth requiteth the kingdome of Britaine.

Wostimer and Gawan.

The Britains refuse to receive either Loth or any of his sonnes to reigne ouer them.

ner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies surmount them.

Spanie other arguments were alledged and laid forth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to incourage them to fight, insomuch that in the end it appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in such wise, that they generallie required battell, offering to lue and die at their captains feet, and to follow them whither soeuer it should please their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being satisfied, forth they march towards their enemies; whome they found ready to receiue them, and that with such rigourous violence, that in the end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Brits were put to flight, the Saxons pursuing in the chase till the darke night caused them to withdraue & returne into their campe. The next day following, the Scottish king with the residue of his armie hastened away with all speed towards Galloway, and the British king withdraue into Wicland.

The Saxons using the victorie most cruelly, due all such of the British and Scottish nations as they met with, in all places betwixt Line and Tweed. Then did Decca create the forenamed Colgerme duke of Northumberland, who repairing all such castles and strong houses, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed garrisons of souldiers in the same to defend the countrie against all manner of enemies. After this, Decca turned his power against the Britains, which in the last battell had aided the Scots and Brits, as before is partly touched. The Britains receiuing a great overthrow in battell, vnder the British king was glad with such as might escape the enemies hands, to withdraue into Wales, leauing the residue of his countries vnto the Saxons, who thereupon recovered not onelie the citie of London, yielding it selfe vnto them for doubt of some long siege, but also all those countries and prouinces which Hengist the first of the Saxons that reigned as king within the bounds of Albion at anie time, had holden or inioied, and ceased not after recouerie of the same, to bere and disquiet the Scots, Britains, and Brits, with continuall incursions, hoping by such means to keepe them still occupied. In the midst of this trouble vnder the Britains departed this world, poisoned (as some haue written) by drinking water taken out of a fontaine which the Saxons had inuencomed. He died in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 521, and in the eighteenth of his owne reigne. After his deccasse,

Loth king of the Brits sent his ambassadours vnto the lords, and other the states of the British dominions, requirring them, according to the accustomed lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to receiue him as king, sith he had married the sister and heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and vnder, their two last kings, being as then both deccased, without leauing behind them anie lawfull issue, by reason whereof their estate was fallen vnto him, to inioy the same during his life, hauing married (as is said) their owne naturall and lawfull borne sister, and after the deccasse of him and his wife the said sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all realmes and countries to descend vnto such issue as he had begot of hir, which was two sonnes, the one named Morozed, and the other Maluan, or Gawan, as some doe call him.

The Britains disdainfullie using the British ambassadours that came with this message, refused not onelie to come vnder subiection of Loth, but also denied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the sister of Aurelius and vnder, should haue anie rule or gouernement amongst them, as those that were no Britains borne, but strangers vnto them, being

both borne and bred in a forein countrie. Those ambassadours then hauing their answer, and being sent home with reproch, the Britains contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclaimed Arthur, being a bastard borne, king of their realme, and forthwith assembling their powers vnder his leading, marched on against the Saxons, in purpose to abate some part of their strength, before the Brits (which was doubted would shortly come to passe) should come with them.

Wherefore hauing procured aid of the Armoricke Britains forth of France, they fought with their enemies within ten miles of London at the first, where the Saxons being at two severall times vanquished, were constrained not only to pay tribute, but also to receiue magistrats to gouerne them by the said Arthurs appointment, with other grievous articles of agreement, to the great reioicing of the Britains, for these so lucky beginnings in the first exploits of their late elected king. Afterwards was London castle won by the Britains, wherein Arthur remaining for a season, took aduise with his nobles how to proceed in his warres against the rest of the Saxons. Finally hauing prepared a mightie armie, he determined to go against those which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whome (as he had certeine knowledge) the Brits were ioined: for Loth comming to agreement with Colgerme, concluded a leage with him, whereby they were bound to aid one another against the Britains, as common enemies and aduersaries to them both.

The Britains at their comming into Dorsetshire pitched their campe not farre off from their enemies, who were already ioined together and incamped abroad in the field. The next day after, knowledge being had that they should haue battell, Arthur appointed Howell leader of the Armoricke Britains to encounter with the battell of the Brits, and he himselfe to match with the Saxons. Thus they met together on both parts verie fiercelly, and a sore battell was fought there betwixt them, so that for a good space it was doubtful whether part should haue the aduantage of the day, but at length the Brits were put to flight, which advanced the Britains to the gaine of the whole field. For the Saxons, after they perceived how the Brits were discomfited, dreading to abide the whole bynt by themselves, betooke them also to their heeles, and made their race towards Dorset, as fast as their feet might beare them.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie almost three moneths together, but the Saxons defended the walles so stoutly, making often issues forth vpon the Britains, that till hunger began to constrain them, they cared little for the siege. In the end, when they were determined to haue yielded up the citie, they had knowledge, how there was an huge armie of Brits and Saxons newlie assembled, and ready to come forward to their succors; also that king Decca (escaping from the battell wherein he had receiued the overthrow at Arthurs hands, and fleeing afterward into Germanie) was now returned with a new power, and arrived within the month of Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abide the siege but for a small time, the Britains should shortly be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the sudden.

Arthur heard of the comming of their succours in like maner, and iudging it no wisdom to farre the comming of his so puissant enemies, considering what a number of diseased and sicke persons he had already in his host, by reason of their lying abroad in the field, raised his siege, and withdraue himselfe so speedily as was possible with his whole armie into Wales,

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Arthur proclaimed king of Britaine.

Arthur goeth forth against the Saxons.

The Armerike Britains in aid of Arthur.

The Saxons vanquished, are constrained to pay tribute to the Britains.

London is won by the Britains.

Arthur raiseth a power against the Brits.

A league concluded betwixt Loth & Colgerme.

Howell leader of the Armoricke Britains.

The Brits put to flight.

The Saxons chased, made their race towards Dorset.

York besieged.

Decca returneth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur raiseth his siege.

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Arthur returneth to London.

Arthur discomfitteth the Saxons twice in battell & then againe laeth siege to Yorke and winneth it.

Arthur discomfitteth the Saxons twice in battell & then againe laeth siege to Yorke and winneth it.

Arthur bleth the Britains with gentleness.

The Britains sorrowning for the winter time within Yorke, giue themselves vnto banquetting & voluptuousnesse.

Christmasse banquetts resembling the feasts Bacchanalia.

The Britains through rest and ease become vnapt to susteine the paines of warres. A league concluded betwixt Arthur king of Britains, & Loth king of Scots.

Wales, where he appointed the Armozike Britains to sojorne for that winter, with other of the meaner sort of his owne soldiers: whilst he took the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion should be raised among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries neere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host together againe, and with the same went forth against Colgerme and Decca, who being issued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the countrie with their accustomed crueltie.

Whereupon encountering them twice in battell, he obtained the victorie, and then besieging Powke, at length he entered into that citie, by means of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Saxons there, in the night season conueied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murder of the enemies, which were content to yield themselves, but bled them very gently, thereby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his worthy victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Powke, manie seats of armes were daile practised betwixt them and the Saxons, which held possession still of the countrie thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselves to banquetting, drinking, plate, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excesse of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banquetting and reuell for the space of thirtene daies together, according to the custome vied still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles vied to keepe in the honoz of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beaustie lust and sensuall voluptuousnesse was put in vze. But whence soeuer, or by whome soeuer this insatiable gourmandise came by amongst vs, suerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almighty God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten Sonne amongst vs, to giue themselves in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excessiue filling of their bellies, with such manner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather celebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all manner of such excesse.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enemies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilst they sojourned in Powke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was done of certeine yers after, till finally Arthur joined in league with Loth king of the Scots. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decease, the kingdome to remaine vnto Morozed and his issue, if he chanced to haue anie. That the Scots should aid the Britains against the Saxons, and haue all such land as might be recovered of them beyond Humber. Also the league which was betwixt

them and the Scots, they should duly obserue. Morozed should marrie the daughter of Calvolan a noble man amongst the Britains, and of highest authority next vnto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeres of discretion. Calvan the brother of the foresaid Morozed, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large intertainment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enemies of the Christian faith, he sent vnto the Scottish and British kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they ought vnto the advancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to meet him at Wimouth, whether he would repaire to soine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth against the Saxons.

Loth king of the Scots, and Contranus king of the Scottishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enterprise, but agreeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and joining with the Britains, forth they went against the Saxons, whom they vnderstood to be already in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Decca, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were approached nere together, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euen hard to the face of the Scots, where they stood in their order of battell right skullic, and there uttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Saxons. declared that he trusted hostlie to see iust punishment light vpon them for this faithlesse and vntruths sake, in thus joining with their former enemies against their most true friends and steadfast allies.

The British king not greatly moued herewith, commanded his standards to aduance forward, and the Saxons likewise halsted apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Scots let sic their arrowes berie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in a raie, exhorted them to fight manfully: and so lone as he perceiued that the fraie was begun by the Scots, he in semblable wise comanded the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there ensued a fore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & leading Chelzyke one of the chiefe captiues amongst the Saxons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Saxons incountring (as is said) with the Scots, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enemies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first encounter he ouerthrew the same Loth: but immediatlie thereupon two British hostlemen running at Colgerme sidelingwise, bare him quite through.

In the meane time, Loth by means of his strong habergion escaping without hurt, was relieved by such as stood about him, and restored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recovered from amongst the throng of his enemies, his men were so discomfited therewith, that freightwaies thereupon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Saxons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiuing, the more earnestlie pressed forth vpon them, so that in the end Decca being constrained to lie,

Morozed married the daughter of Calvolan a Britaine.

Calvan or Cawen seruice with Arthur.

Arthur sendeth ambassadours vnto the kings of Scots and Brits.

Scots, Brits and Britains iointly together against the Saxons.

Colgerme reprooueth Loth.

Colgerme is run through by his aduersaries.

The Saxons are put to flight.

Decca constrained

Upon condition that the Saxons should submit

Arthur church repaired

Arthur goeth to see the whole of the Saxons in Brit

The of which had cor of Morozed for his toward

Arthur badge.

Arthur hostat his peo

An offer by the Saxons vnto Arthur

Does come
drined to flee.

Upon what
condition Ar-
thur receiveth
the Saxons
upon their
submission.

Arthur sent
ambassadors
unto the
Saxons
to the
Saxons
and
Saxons.

Arthur caused
churches to be
repaired.

Arthur pur-
poseth to de-
stroye the
whole race of
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in Albion.

The opinion
which men
had conceivd
of Morozed
for his wit &
towardlinesse.

Arthurs
badge.

Arthurs ex-
hortation to
his people.

An offer made
by the Sax-
ons unto king
Arthur.

flax, and receiveth a sore wound, had much ado to be conveyed awaie by some of his horsemen; the Britains pursued so fiercely upon him. At length being brought unto the sea side, he got vessels, and escaped over into Germanie. This victorie being thus achieved, constrained the Saxons to yield unto king Arthur, simple submitting themselves unto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goods, upon condition they would become christians, and from thenceforth never after to make any waies upon their neighbors the Britains; Scots, or Picts. But if they would not agree hereunto, then leaving their goods, armes, and weapon behind them, they should avoid the land, & that within 13 daies next ensuing.

Many of the Saxons that could get passage, failed over into Germanie. Other feining themselves to become christians, remained in the land, looking one day for better hap & fortune. Divers that were not able by meanes of pouertie to get awaie within the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened, were put to death, according to the proclamation set forth for the same purpose, so that in comparison berie few amongst them received the christian faith sincerely, and with a true meaning mind. Things being thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur took order for the repairing of churches abroad in the countrie, which the Saxons had overthrown or defaced; & namelie in the citie of Yorke he bestowed great cost, where the cruell infidels had done much hurt upon churches, and other religious houses.

In the yere following, Arthur had newes how the Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, joining with the Kentish Saxons, had done great displeasures unto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, killing & stealing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewith being sore moved, he drew towards London with his armie, purposing utterly to destroye all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise he could not provide for the libertie of his subjects, being still in danger to be murdered and robbed, so long as any of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained here amongst them.

By meanes also of the league, he had with him in this iournie ten thousand Picts, & as manie Scots: Eugenius nephew to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall over the Scots, and Morozed the sonne of king Loch by his wife Anne, governing the Picts, a lustie young gentleman, verie witty and towardlie in all his doings. Furthermore, Arthur understanding that hurt rest and ease had done amongst his men of warre, caused them to keepe the field in all this iournie, and passing by London, lodged them a little beside the river of Thames. But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred into the citie, causing supplications to be made unto almighty God three daies together, for good successe to follow against the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine service celebrated by the bishop of London, and causing a sermon to be made in the market place, he committed himselfe and his whole armie unto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the virgine, whose image in stead of a badge he bare in his shield continuallie from that day forthward, as diuers herebefore haue written. After this, issuing forth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a iust quarell against Pagans, and enemies of the faith. Morozed and his father in law Catwolane passed on before the battels with five thousand horsemen, and being come within five miles of the Saxons, who likewise were assembled in campe, there came from them unto Arthur ambassadors, requiring him to staie his iournie, for they were readie (if they might haue libertie so

to doe) to depart out of the land with their goods and substance, without further molesting the Britains, either by one meanes or other.

Arthur would neither consent hereunto, nor yet grant a truce for three daies, for the which they made earnest sute, but had them depart for that time, onlie assuring them that he would not come passing two miles forwards for that day, so that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue answer what the chiefeest gouernors of his host thought touching their request, by whom he would haue the matter more throughlie debated. In the meane time, whilst the Britains were buied with hearing of these ambassadors, and taking aduise what was best to doe touching their demand, the Saxons marched forth with all speed, and comming upon Morozed and Catwolane at vnwares, they gaue the onset freshly upon them, and that verie much to the disadvantage of the Britains and Picts, who notwithstanding, through the earnest exhortation of their capteins, receiued their enemies verie fiercely, in doing that which was possible for so small a number to doe, howbeit in the end oppressed with multitude, they were forced to flee, and so did, not resting till they came in sight of the whole armie. In which sight, Morozed and Catwolane by helpe of their souldiers, being mounted upon their horses, escaped without hurt, though they lost no small number of their companie, as well in the fight as in the chase.

The Saxons ambassadors being not yet departed out of the British campe, were hereupon staied till the next morning, and then had answer giuen them, that from thenceforth the Britains were not minded to heare any messengers of the Saxons comming to intreat of peace, since it was manifest enough, they meant nothing but falsehood, as well appeared in that they had against the law of armes, whilst their ambassadors were in communication, distressed part of the British armie, and therefore they should assure themselves, to haue at Arthurs hands nothing but cruell war to the uttermost of his power, in reuenge of such their great vntruths and cloaked dealings. They had scarce receiued their answer, but that there came from the Saxons forthie other ambassadors, being men of great authoritie amongst them, to excuse that which had happened ouer night, in laying the fault upon a sort of indiscreet persons, nothing prouing unto that which the gouernors of the armie had done, touching the sending of their ambassadors, and thereupon had without their aduise made that skirmish.

But Arthur iudging that there was some new subtill practise in hand, under pretense of this new ambassage, commanded as well these that came last, as the other which came first, to be kept in the marshalls tent, that in no wise they should escape, whilst he himselfe in the second watch of the night departed out of his campe, with all his puissance, which he diuided into three battels, and hauing marched three miles forward, he was upon his enemies yer they understood any thing of his comming, in so much that the Britains had staie and chased the watch of the Saxons campe, before it was certainlie knowne what the matter ment. Whereof also ensued such a tumult and noise amongst the Saxons, running by and downe, calling and crying one to another, as it happened in such cases of extreme feare, that the best aduised amongst them wist not well what to doe. Whereupon Morozed desirous to reuenge his last overthrowe, brake in also upon his enemies verie fiercely.

But some of them hauing gotten them into their armes, stood at their defense awhile amongst their carts and carriages, and so resisted the Britains on that

The Saxons
comming
upon Morozed
and Catwolane
put them forth
their people to
the worke.

what answer
the Saxons
ambassadors
had at Ar-
thurs hands.

The excuse of
the Saxons.

The sudden
invasion made
by the Bri-
tains upon the
Saxons.

The great
tumult in the
Saxons
campe.

Morozed de-
sires to be re-
uenged.

The Saxons
are put to the
fight.

The crueltie
of the Brit-
tains in sla-
ing the Sax-
ons.

Arthurs mu-
nificence.

A conspiracie
practised a-
gainst Con-
rane.

In euill offi-
cer.

A presumptu-
ous act.

The determi-
nation of the
murderers to

that side for a season; other of the Saxons having no leasure to arme themselves, nor to draw into any order of battell, by reason of the sudden impression of the Britains, brake forth of the campe on the contrarie side, & fled so fast as their feet might beare them. But being pursued by the British horsemen, and beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the next riuer, and there were drowned, choosing rather that kind of death, than so cruellie to be murdered by the aduersaries hands: verelie the Britains shewed no mercie that day, for so manie as came within their danger, died without redemption. And this bloudie battell made an end of such an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they should neuer haue recovered againe any puissance able to haue indamaged the Britains in any manner of wise.

Arthur hauing thus vanquished his enemies, gaue licence vnto those nobles which he had detained (as is said) in his campe, being sent vnto him as ambassadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the residue of such Saxons as were men of no defence, to remaine still in the land, yelding a yerele tribute vnto the Britains, and also with condition that they should become christians. The Scottishmen and Wids which had aided the Britains in this tourne, sojourned a while after at London, where Arthur feasted & banquetted them in most roiall wise, shewing them all the honoz that might be deuised, and afterwards sent them home verie princelie rewarded with manie great gifts and rich presents. Whilset such businesse as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the estate of the Scottish common-wealth was gouerned by great wisdome and policie, without any notable trouble or disorder. But finally, when king Conrane began to wax aged, and that such as had the chiefe dowings bred him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practise a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against Conrane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of base birth, assigned by the kings commission to be chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor for the administration of the lawes in Murray land, a person passing full of rigoorous crueltie, especiallie in iudgements of life and death, and in gathering vp of all manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did onelie to purchase fauor of the king, by the enriching of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent dowings of this Concet, he caused diuerse merchantmen of the towne of Forres in Murray land (as then the chiefe towne of all that countrie) to be accused of treason by a light information, and in the end executed without any apparant matter, onelie vpon a couetous desire to haue their goods and riches, because they were men of great wealth and substance. Diuerse noble men of the countrie there abouts, and namelie of the towne of Forres, being partlie of kin vnto those merchants, were sore offended with this act, and hereupon they first came vnto Concet, and reuiled him with manie high reprochfull wordes, and afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudgement where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, & there murdered him, getting them forthwith vp into the mountains, to auoid the danger which they knew vnpossible for them to escape, if they should happen to be taken while Conrane should be liuing.

After this, they deuised how they might increase their heinous deed and bold enterprize with an other farre more horrible and notable, which was to sla-

the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such mischief that then reigned in the realme through the vnworthie government of his vnjust ministers and couetous magistrats, hoping withall to obtaine the fauor of some of the noble men, whom they knew to maligne the king and his counsell most extremelie, and thereby in short time to be assured of their pardon. Shortly after it chanced that one Donald also gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and trust with the king, had vnderstanding that these outlawes intended, and thereupon practised with them by private messengers, that they should come in secret manner vnto Ennerlochtee, where the king sojourned, promising them by most assured means of othe and bowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he could deuise towards the atchiuing of their enterprize.

Hereupon these outlawes, according to their instructions, came in secret wise vnto Ennerlochtee, and were closett conuied into Conrans bedchamber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowen nothing of the matter, got himselfe quickelie out of the waite when he saw them once entered within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his enemies were got into his chamber ready to murder him, slept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon his knees besought them to take pitie of his age, and not to defile their hands in the blood of their naturall lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if they had bene any waies wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but least he should escape their hands, straightwaies dispatched him out of life, and withall made haste awaite. This was the end of king Conrane, in the 20 yere of his reigne, being the 16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the fift of the emperor Iustinianus, and in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 531. But his corps was buried in the abbete of Jona, otherwise called Colmekill, with such funerall pompe and erequies, as in those daies were vsed.

After him succeeded his nephew Eugenius, the sonne of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last mentioned tourne against the Saxons. There were that counselled him in the beginning of his reigne (which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he should see in any wise the authors of his uncles death duly punished, to the example of others, that they should not attempt the like hereafter against their liege lord and crowned king: but he contrariwise did not onelie forgive the offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald with other the murderers into his seruice, and made them of his private counsell, which caused manie men to suspect, least he himselfe had bene of counsell with them in committing that murder. The talke whereof was so common in all mens mouths, namelie amongst the common people, that the queene Dowager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not onelie the suertie of hir owne life, but also of hir two sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Ireland, where within few yeres after, she died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Reginan: the other Aidan was honorablie brought vp by the king of that countrie, according to his birth and degree.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most gentlie in all his proceedings, doing nothing that tasted in any part of crueltie. He would oftentimes sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected least any man had wrong, he would licence them to plead

dispatch the
king also.

Donald gou-
ernor of Athol
conspireth
with the out-
lawes to mur-
der the king.

The outlawes
enter into the
kings bed-
chamber.

Conrane is
murdered
within his
bedchamber
by traitorous
meanes.
35. H.B.
20. H.B.
535. H.B.

Eugenius.
Eugenius is
inuested king
of Scotland.

Reginides of
kingdome
ought chiefe
about all other
to be punished.
Eugenius is
suspected of
his predecessor
s death.

The queene
Dowager fled
with hir two
sonnes into
Ireland.

The humane
etic and fauor-
able friend

Ship of the
Eugenius
wards by
people.

Commen-
ble ordi-
ces.

The bid-
ons con-
scribed
Arthur.

This co-
no final
course of
great vic-
scribed
Arthur.

Geffrey
Monmouth

The Ws-
tains re-
themselves
the league
conclude
with the
Dons.
The req-
of the Ws-
tains to
one of the
owne na-
appointe
succeed
Arthur.

Constant
proclame
heire app-
rant & p-
pl Britai

ship of king
Eugenius to-
wards his
people.

Commenda-
ble opinion:
ers.

The victori-
ous conquests
ascribed to
Arthur.

This causeth
no small doubt
concerning the
great victories
ascribed unto
Arthur.

Geffrey of
Monmouth.

The Brit-
tains repent
themselves of
the league
concluded
with the
Picts.
The request
of the Brit-
tains to have
one of their
own nation
appointed to
succeed king
Arthur.

Constantine
proclaimed
heir appa-
rant & prince
of Brittain.

plead their case anew. And such as he perceiued were not of abilitie to follow their fate in ante cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasurie. He ordeined also, that no orphan should be compelled to answer ante action, or otherwise be vered by sute of law. Moreover, that no widow should be constrained to come past a mile forth of hir owne dores for ante matter in controvercie betwixt hir and ante other person, to be heard afore any iudges or publicke officers. Robbers, thieves, and their receiters he caused to be duly punished, to reframe other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subiects and the Picts, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did achieve all those worthy victories, which are ascribed unto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreover it is written by some authours, that he should subdue the most part of Germanie with the low countries, Brittain, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit hereof resteth with the same authours. Whelie it is certene (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur lived in the daies of Iustinianus the emperor, about which time the Gothes, Vandals, Burgonions, & Frenchmen did invade sundrie parts of the Romane empire, pitifullie wasting and spoiling the same, where yet such writers as haue set forth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. Therefore letting all doubtfull things passe, I will proceed with mine authour, and declare what he hath found written in such Scottish chronicles as he followeth touching the British Arthur, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namely Geffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it worthy to be noted here, to the end that euery man maie iudge thereof as to him seemeth best.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to war wealthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Picts, speciallie for that they could not in ante wise be contented to haue any stranger to reigne amongst them, and hereupon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, sith he himselfe had no issue to succeed him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his deceasse. Arthur not gainsaying their request, willed them (sith their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themselves, being descended of the blood roiall, and such a one as in whome they had perceiued some towardlie proofe of wisdome and valiancie: and he for his part promised to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioysing of the people dyaling together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the British nation, at length agreed vpon Constantine, the sonne of Cadore duke of Cornwall, a goodlie yong gentleman, both for his person and other his worthy qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the peeres of the realme into the counsell chamber, and there presented vnto king Arthur, as one most meetest to succeed him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and caused the same Constantine forthwith to be proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Brittain, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaued himselfe so honorablie, and with such a shew of gentle demeanour, that he wan him much praise, with an opinion of high worthinesse amongst all the

British nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Picts deceased, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Pictland, the which euer since as a remembrance of his worthinesse, hath bene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Moroz, succeeding him in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, and hearing that Constantine was proclaimed heire apparant of Brittain, was fore moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours vnto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agreed amongst other things, that there should none succeed in the kingdome of Brittain, after Arthurs deceasse, but the children begot betwixt him, Loth and his wife quene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified vnto the Pictish people, that Constantine the sonne of Cadore was elected prince, and thereby enabled as heire apparant to the crowne.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightlie to agree vnto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, admising him vnto that thing which was merelie repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oath, which he had sollemnlie taken vpon him, and to moue his subiects to do the like, least for the contrarie, they should prouoke the wrath of almighty God against them, who is the iust reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Herevnto answer was made by consent of the nobles of Brittain, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to cease by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to ante pact or promise made, but according to the duetie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subiects, had prouided them one to succeed him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his deceasse should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Picts loued the suertie of their owne estate, it should be good for them to hold themselves contented with their owne bounds, least if they sought for other mens linings, they might hapilie within short time perceiue, what doth issue oftentimes vpon such rash and vnadvised attempts.

The Pictish ambassadours returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such vaine thewest, that immediatlie they resolved to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottishmen to take part with them, in reuenge of such iniuries as they had in like manner latelie receiued at the Britains hands. Moreover, repenting themselves, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now moue the same Saxons estates to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to mainteine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Moroz vnto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their requests, and the sooner, for that such Scottish rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also maintained to make rodes and incurfions into the Scottish borders.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enemies (the warres being first proclaimed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men,

Lothian taketh the name of Loth the Pictish king.

Moroz succeeded Loth in the kingdome of Pictland.

Moroz complained vnto king Arthur, for that Constantine was created heire apparant.

The answer made to the Pictish ambassadours.

The Picts purpose to be reuenged on the Britains by open war.

The Picts solicit both Scots and Saxons to make warre vpon the Britains.

Eugenius the Scottish king agreeable to the request of the Picts.

Arthur set
teth forward
toward the
Scots and
Picts.
Humber a fa-
tail place for
the Britains
to be vanqui-
shed in.

Bishops tra-
uail betwixt
the parties to
bring them to
communica-
tion for a
peace.

Mordred and
Eugenius
were persua-
ded vnto
peace.

The Bri-
tains would
not consent to
haue anie
peace talked
vpon.

The battell is
begun.

A cruell bat-
tell.

A craftie po-
licie.
This was
one of the
Picts.

The Bri-
tains put to
flight.

Twentie
thousand of
Scots and
Picts slaine.
Mordred is
slaine.

men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie inuasion. That done, he passed forth with the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were already assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the riuer of Humber, nere to the bankes wherof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatal for the Britains to be vanquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the other, there were certeine bishops of those three nations that took great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, considering what mischief and great bloodshed should ensue, if vpon wilfullnesse they would seek to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendlie agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enemies to christian religion, than if by their incounting together in battell, they should so infect their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie means and occasion offered to execute their greedie desires to conquer the whole Ile. Mordred and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest trauell of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might haue assurance that the league made with king Loth should in euerie point be obserued. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would haue bene contented for his part to haue a greed herevnto; but other of the Britains, namely those that were of kin and alliance vnto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded therevnto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their vntimelie sute, seeing the enemies ready ranged in battell at point to giue the onset, so that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, vntill they went about to betraye the armie, vnder pretence of a cloyed treatie for an vnprofitable agreement. These or such like words were vnto the end, when suddenly the noise being raised on both sides, the battells rushed together right fiercelie. The Britains had the disadvantage of the place, being so incumbered with mires, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselves, nor handle their weapons to anie purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the riuer Humber (nere vnto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with blood, that the water thereof being all coloured red, caried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the middelt of the fight, there was one with lowd voice in the British tong cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted therevnto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust anie longer vpon victorie, but rather were it wisdom for euerie man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

This voice wonderfullie encouraged the Scottish men and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediately here vpon fell to running away. Others of them ludging this to be but some craftie and subtil practise of the enemies devised of purpose, as it was in deed, to discomfort them with, abode by it still: manfullie continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euerie mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost more mens liues than anie other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being vanquishers, there died in that mortall battell about 20000 men, together with Mordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations. Of the Britains and

such other as were with them in aid, there were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whome was Arthur himselfe, with Gawan or Galuan (as some bookes haue) brother vnto Mordred, who bare such good will and intire loue vnto his lord and maister the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Mordred. Also there were killed Caine and Catvolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from fleeing anie way forth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onelie excepted.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found quene Guainoze Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equally diuided by lots betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certeine faire charets laden with rich stuffe and iewels, also horses and armours, beside sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Vnto the Picts fell for their portion quene Guainoze, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich preie and booties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines therof. In which castell they were detained vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witness wherof there be remaining vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manie of these captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countrie called Pegill, not past 10 miles from Dundee: but amongst the residue, that of Guainoze is most famous.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an assured trueth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing forth anie issue more than the said Guainoze did. But whether this be true or not, certeine it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come nere that graue, not onelie eschuing it themselves, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations incountred thus cruellie together, was after the birth of our Sauour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scottishmen.

In the same yere before the battell, were sene manie strange sights in Albion. Grassie and heards in Portheshire appeared to bee all stained with blood. Nere vnto Camelon, a colv brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about none daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright starres to euerie mans sight continuallie for the space of two daies together. In Wales there was a battell betwene crows and pies on the one side, and rauens on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and nereest kinsfolke of such as were

Arthur with
30000 Bri-
tains slaine.
Gawan is
slaine.

Caine and
Catvolan are
slaine.

Quene
Guainoze ta-
ken.
The spoile of
the Britains
camp diuided.

Dunbarre in
Angus, not
that in Lon-
than.

The fable of
quene Guai-
nozes graue
buried in
Angus.

542.
8. H.B.

Strange and
vnto the
wonders.

Eugenius re-
wardeth his
souldiers.

Eugenius go-
uerneth his
people with
clemencie.

Constantine
crowned king
of Britaine.

The cruellie
of the Bri-
tains in mur-
dering the in-
nocent child-
ren of Mordred.
The lineage
Mordred
clearly exting-
uished.

The Saxons
returne into
England, and
burne the Bri-
tains into
wales.

Constantine
forbiddeth his
catholike kin-
dome in hope
of the heaue-
lie kingdome.
Constantine
entered into
religion.

Constantine
sent forth
Ireland into
Scotland, and
there mur-
dered.

Armirke
Irmirke
king of the
Englishmen
Irmirke
concludeth
peace with
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Eugenius
th: Scotish
king dieth.
568. H.

Conual
Conual el-
ted king of
Scotland.

Conuals
uotion to
croffe.

aine, he also advanced to sundrie preferments of lands & livings, that they insouing the same, might be a witnesse in time to come of the good service of their ancestors, shewed in defense of their king and countrie, and also of his princelie liberalitie, in rewarding the same upon their issue and progenie. By which noble beneuolence, he won him such love amongst his people, that afterwards it seemed how he gouerned the state of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by anie rigour of lawes. The Britains immediatlie vpon knowledge had that Arthur was aaine, crowned Constantine his successor in the British kingdome, and for that there should remaine none amongst them aliuie to make anie claime to the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruelly murdered Mordeus children, in most pittifull wise running vnto their mothers lap, and killing hir to saue their liues, according to hir motherlie dutie. They were brought vp in Caluolane their fathers grandfathers house, and being thus made auaite, the familie and lineage of their father the foresaid Mordeus was vterlie thereby extinguished.

The Saxons at the same time hauing aduertisement that losse the Britains had susteined, not onlie by the death of their most ballant king and chiefe, teine Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepare a mightie nauie of ships, and passe ouer the same into England, where being landed, they easilie beat downe the Britains, and drue them with their k. Constantine into Wales, so recovering all that part of the land which Hengist sometimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. Some haue written, how that after king Constantine had reigned certeine yeeres in Wales, his wife and children died, wherupon wearing wearie of this world, he forsooke his earthlie kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and secretlie departed into Ireland, where applying himselfe for a time in ministering to the poore, at length being knowne, by the perswasion of a monke he became one of his cofe and profession.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the diocesse ouer into Scotland, to instruct the people of that countrie in the true faith and articles of the christian religion, he there suffered martyrdom by the hands of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at length (but manie yeeres after his death) canonized a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be seene euen vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the bishops there. At the same time that the said Constantine was druen into Wales, there reigned among the Englishmen one Iurmirike the fift (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The same Iurmirike though he were not christened himselfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be preached amongst his people, and concluding a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, kept the same inuoluate during his life time most sincerlie. The Scottish king Eugenius also liued in peace the residue of his life, without anie trouble either by forren enemies, or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Saviour 569.

After his funerall obsequies finished in Colmehill, where he lieth buried amongst his ancestors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succeed him in administration of the kingdome, a prince of such inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may iustlie wonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuotion towards the worshiping of the crosse (a thing to put men in remembrance of Christs passion as he toke it) that which way soeuer he rode (as it is reported) he had the same borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horse,

he with all the multitude of people standing about him, would worship it, kneeling downe, & reuerentlie kissing it. This crosse was of silver with a crucifix theron, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the stasse, containing these two words: *Christianorum gloria*. He commanded also that the signe of the crosse should be set vpon the tops of steeles, and on the highest towers of the gates of castles & townes. Morouer he forbad the crosse to be grauen or painted vpon anie pavement, least anie man should irreuerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had priests and other religious men in such honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenths of all those fruits which the earth yelded. Sundrie ordinances he made also, for the grieuous punishment of all such as in anie wise misused a priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any of them a blow, should lose his hand for it: and he that due one of them, should forfeit his goods, and be burned quicke. Againe, he bestowed manie rich Jewels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches, prouiding the ministers of sufficient livings, and appointed that they should haue their houses nere vnto their churches, to be readie to execute that which appertained vnto their offices, when anie need required.

The king being thus vertuouslie disposed, caused the whole number of his subjects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the advancement of religion. The report and fame whereof moued that holie man saint Colme or Colombe, to come ouer south of Ireland (where he had the gouernance of sundrie houses of monks) with twelue other vertuous persons into Albion, and there gathering together a great number of monkes, bring here and there dispersed abroad in the countrie, he placed them orderlie in such houses, as king Conuall had builded and founded for that purpose, appointing amongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought most conuenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and the other twelue, which he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themselves to inhabit in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, toke great paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane that diuerse of that nation hauing dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countrie, brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, passed into Louthian vnto Wudens as then king of the Picts, earnestlie traouelling to instruct both him and his people in the right beleefe, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erroneous opinions of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore. At the same time, that blessed man Kentigerne, otherwise called Pungo, gouerned the church of Glasgow, as bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie of this saint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

This Kentigerne was descended of the blood royal of the Pictish kings, as son vnto that vertuous woman Thameles or Thameu, daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whome a young lustie gentleman, or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eugenius the Scottish king rauished by force, and begot of hir the said Kentigerne. He was greatlie in fauour with the foresaid Wudens the Pictish king, as one that was nere of his blood. For the same Wudens was nephew vnto the foresaid Loth by his brother called Melethon, and therefore succeeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Mordeus was aaine,

Crosses set vpon the tops of steeles.

Conuall's deuotion towards church men.

Conuall's liberalitie towards churches.

Saint Colme cometh ouer south of Ireland into Scotland.

The heresie of Pelagius in Britaine.

Kentigerne bishop of Glasgow, otherwise called Pungo bishop of Iona.

Thameles or Thameu daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whome a young lustie gentleman, or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eugenius the Scottish king rauished by force, and begot of hir the said Kentigerne.

Eugenius gouerned his people with clemencie.

Constantine crowned king of Britaine.

The cruelty of the Britains in murdering the innocent childre of Mordeus. The lineage of Mordeus thereby extinct.

The Saxons returned into England, and drue the Britains into Wales.

Constantine secretly his death, came to hope after heauenlie kingdome. Constantine entered into religion.

Constantine sent south of Ireland into Scotland to instruct the people.

Iurmirike or Iurmirike king of the Englishmen. Iurmirike concluded a peace with the Scottishmen and Picts.

Eugenius the Scottish king died. 568. H.B.

Conuall. Conuall elected king of Scotland.

Conuall's deuotion to the crosse.

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The castell of
Calidon now
Dounkeld.

The bishops
see of Doun-
keld.

Saint Colme
returneth into
Ireland.

Saint Colme
cometh againe
into Scot-
land, bringing
with him Ai-
dan sonne to
king Conran.

The death of
Conuall.
578. H.B.

Saint Colme
present at the
buriall of king
Conuall.

Kinnatill elec-
ted king of
Scotland.

Saint Colme
and Aidan re-
ceived by
Kinnatill.

The prophesie
of Kinnatill.

The death of
Kinnatill.
Kinnatill li-
eng vpon his
death bed, sur-
rendereth his
kingdome in-
to Aidans
hands.

laine, as before is expressed. Kentigern went with
saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise
called Dounkeld, where they remained six moneths
in a monastrie there, builded by king Conuall, tea-
ching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Cali-
don, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto
them, to heare their godlie instructions. There is in
the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood,
a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire
square stone, being at this day a bishops see, com-
monlie called Dounkeld, indowd with manie faire
reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance
of the bishop and his canons.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous per-
sons taking their leaue each of other, not without
shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kentigern
returning into Glasgow, and saint Colme into Ire-
land, where reporting manie things, touching the
great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with
what deuotion he had bene receiued both of him and
his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie
thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his
allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of
diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere
following, saint Colme prepared to returne into
Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by
commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as
ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugentius, fled
ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to bee
made away by the same Eugentius. Saint Colme
taking the sea with this Aidan, and coming on land
on the coasts of Scotland, was no longer there ar-
riued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the
king was dead, being the yere of his reigne the 10,
and after the birth of our Saviour 579.

Saint Colme then being thoroughlie certified of
his death, and that the corps was forward on the
way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, he
thought it a peece of his dutie to go thither to be at
the funerall, and so doing, was as one of the chiefest
there in executing of the obsequies. Which being en-
ded, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Con-
uall was inthronized king in Argyle, by the free elec-
tion of all the estates, he neuertheless kept on his
former purposed iourne, and came vnto Kinnatill,
bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to
haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if
he had liued) they were both receiued with all bene-
uolence of the said Kinnatill contrary to most mens
expectation: insomuch that embracing Aidan, he bad
him be of good cheere, for it should shortly come to
passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his
grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should
succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scottish com-
mon-wealth.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttered these words,
it is vncertaine, but sure it is that his purpose was
to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the king-
dome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death
bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a
right therevnto. Whobest being prevented by death,
he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for
within twentie daies after his coronation, being
surprised with a grievous discaise of a catarrhike
rheume, and the squinancie, he was constrained to
keepe his chamber, committing the publike admini-
stration of the realme vnto Aidan. Here vpon follo-
wed a feuer through increasing of a flegmatike hu-
mor, bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space
vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint
Colme, being present with him at the houre of his
death, he rendred in most deuout wille into the hands
of his redeemer; appointing his kingdome as it
were by deliuerie of feisin, euen there vpon his death

bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was in-
terred, according to the maner, in Colmekill,
Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble
stone, after the custome in those daies vled, by the
hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing
that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon
the kings head, and in his left hand holding his
crozier staffe, made a brieue exhortation, as well
to the king as to his people, admonishing them
of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he
exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all
things to remember to walke in the waies of the
Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and
prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with
all other good graces, whereas otherwise, if either
the people shott their duties towards God, or that
the king regarded not duly to execute or fulfill his
office, in giuing God thanks for his bountious libe-
ralitie and high benefites bestowed vpon him, it
should come to passe, that intestine seditions, conspi-
racies, and other mischieses should rise among them,
to the irreuerable losse of the realme, by bringing
the same into danger to be ouerrun with some for-
rein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to
God for his fauour, that it might please him to re-
duce them againe into the right path of his lawes
& ordinances, whensoever they should so fall from the
same. When saint Colme had made an end of these
or the like his tholome aduertisements, all the peo-
ple reioicing thereat, promised with one voice, and
therewith vowed to follow the same, and to be euer
readie to obeye the commandement of their prince,
and the holie instructions of their bishops and other
the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once
dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and
there deliuered the countrie of certeine British rob-
bers that had invaded it. After this, studieng to
mainteine good orders and quiet rule through his do-
minions, he appointed an assemble of the chiefest
peeres of his realme, to be holden yerele in three fe-
uerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Louchquhar,
ber, and Cathnessie, there to heare and determine all
sutes and quarrels of his subiects, & to giue order for
the administration of the lawes and all publike af-
faires, as they should see cause and occasion. He re-
quired also S. Colme to be present euer with them,
that matters touching religion might be the bet-
ter prouided for, and that the people might take all
things done in those publike sessions in right god
part, because such an holie and vertuous father of the
church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefest
authoritie.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for cer-
teine yeeres togither, till it chanced that diuers of
the nobles being togither on hunting, fell at vari-
ance, and therevpon making a frate, sundrie of them
were slaine. The beginners and such as were most
culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to
haue bene had to ward, but they in disobeying the
arrest, strooke and beat the officers verie sore, and im-
mediatlie therewith fled vnto Brudcus king of the
Picts, so by willfull exile to safe gard their liues. King
Aidan according to the maner in such cases accus-
med, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto
him, that he might do iustice vpon them according-
lie as they had deserued. Brudcus taking pittie of
the yong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their
excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length
he procured warre to himselfe and his countrie.
For Aidan the Scottish king, offended in that he
might not haue those rebels and publike offenders
restored vnto him, caused a number of his people,
first to fetch a great botle of cattell and prisoners
out

Aidan.

Aidan recei-
ueth his inu-
sure of the
kingdome at
the hands of
saint Colme.
S. Colmes
exhortation to
the king and
the people.

The promise
of the people.

The kings
tourne into
Galloway.

Aidan appoin-
teth sessions
to be kept
yerele in three
parts of his
realme.

Saint Colme
present at al-
lises and
sessions.

A fray among
the nobles be-
ing a hunting.

King Aidan
requireth to
haue certeine
Scottish out-
lawes deliue-
red at the
hands of Bru-
dcus king of
Picts.

Brudcus by
denieng to des-
liuer the Scot-
tish outlawes,
procureth
warre to him-
selfe and his
countrie.

The breake
peace betwixt
the Scots
and Picts.
A field fou-
ght betwixt
the Scots and
Picts.

Saint C
reproach
Aidan.

The repro-
chance of
Aidan.

Saint C
goeth vnto
king of the
Picts.

An agree-
ment betwixt
the Scottish
Picts by the
saint Colme.

Saint C
returneth
the west
Picts.

Englan-
d vnto
the king
of Scotland.

Edmunde
of North-
berland.

Edmunde
purpose

A legat
clered
twixt the
Scots
lawes, in
the art
the same

out of Angus.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vnto a field, which was foughten in Pentienth, not farre from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkelde, with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing Arthurnus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioised not greatlie at the gaine. That holie man saint Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grievouslie he had offended almighty God, in procuring such mischief as had insued of this warre, and reciting in particular the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto such repentance for his trespasses, that he whole submitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement, who being about to depart in semblance soe offended, the king got him by the sleeve, and would in no wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him some comfortable meanes how to redresse the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffered himselfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired vnto Brudeus the Pictish king, mouing him by way of diuerse goodlie aduertisements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did so much by traueilling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought them vnto agreement, for all matters depending in controuersie betwixt them and their subiects.

Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which he came for, returned againe into the westerne Isles vnto his wonted home, where he did by whole some documents and vertuous examples instruct the seruants of God in the way of his lawes and commandements. In this meane time the Sarons hauing diuised and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the residue of their lands and countries, they diuided the same into seuen parts, ordelning seuen seuerall kings to gouerne the same as kingdomes.ouer that of Northumberland, adioining next vnto the Picts, one Edelred reigned, a man of exceeding desire to enlarge his dominion. He went by all means he could deuise, to perswade Brudeus the Pictish king to renew the warres with the Scots, promising him all the aid he could make against them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots to haue bene ever enemies vnto the Sarons, but also for that he himselfe was descended of the nation called Agathyples, of the which the Picts (as was thought) were also come. But the cause why he wished that there might be warres raised betwixt the Scots and Picts, was not for anie good will to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power being weakened through the same, he might haue a moze easie preie of their countrie, the which he purposed vpon occasion to invade, and ioine vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberland.

Brudeus at the first gaue no care vnto his earnest motions and large offers, but at length through the counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, corrupted by bribes receiued at Edelreds hands, and still putting into the kings head sundrie forged informations of the Scotishmens daile attempts against the Pictish nation; he determined to ioine with the Sarons against them, and caused therupon warre to be proclaimed against the Scots, as those that had spoiled and robbed his subiects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendship and former amitie betwixt them. The Scotish king Aidan perceiving the practise of the Sarons, and together therewith the vntuith of the Picts, the better to be able to resist their malice, ioined in league with the Britains; this article being the chiefest in the whole co-

venant: that if the enemies first invaded the Britains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the countrie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable manner come ouer to their aid.

The Sarons hauing knowledge of this appointment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots forth of their countrie, and so to haue them at moze aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them: and so both their powers being vnited together, entered into the British confines. Aidan according to the couenant came streight vnto the aid of the Britains. Edelred and Brudeus refused to fight for certeine daies, as it were of purpose, therby to wearie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Also they looked daile to haue Cuthline king of the Westsaxons to come vnto their aid: but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge thereof, first thought it best to encounter with him, before he should ioine with the other, and thus understanding that their onelie refuge remained in their armes and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon those Sarons, that at the first, slaying Cutha Cuthlines sonne, with a great number of other, they cast lie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far in the chase, but called them backe by the sound of a trumpet, who being assembled herewith about their standards, made such ioy and triumph, as greater could not be deuised, what with dancing, singing, and plaicing on pipes and other instruments, according to the manner in those daies. But as they were thus in the midst of their chiefest mirth, suddenly appeared the Sarons and Picts, which were with Edelred and Brudeus, appoaching towards them in god order of battell, with whom were also the residue of the Westsaxons, that had escaped from the late bickering. Whereupon the Scots and Britains amazed with the sight hereof, were suddenly stricken out of countenance, inso much that Aidan went amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhorted them to remember how valiantlie they had already put to flight the other of their enemies, so that there was great hope for assured victorie of these likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie courage against them, as they had shewed before in assailing the other. Manie other words he vsed in admonishing them to fight manfully, till the onset giuen by the enemies caused him to make an end.

The Sarons laid about them so stoutlie in the beginning, that they forced their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe. Neither did Edelred faile in that occasion to encourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Brudeus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he encountered; so that finallie the same Scots perceiving the Britains beaten downe and soe distressed on their side, fell through discomfort thereof to running away. There were slaine in this battell on the Scotishmens side, Brennius lieutenant or (as they termed him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungan the kings third sonne, and no small number of other gentlemen besides. The king himselfe escaped by helpe of his sonne, who stragled to get his father out of the presse, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue. On the Sarons side, there was slaine Theobald Edelreds brother, and Cutha the king of Westsaxons his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Edelred himselfe lost one of his eyes. Brudeus the Pictish king was hurt in the thigh, and besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people.

Thus Edelred hauing got such a notable victorie

The Picts & Sarons enter into the land of the Britains.

Cuthline of Colin.

The Scots and Britains put the Sarons to flight, and slay Cutha the sonne of Cuthline king of the Westsaxons.

The triumph made by the Scots and Britains vpon their new victorie.

The Sarons and Picts.

The sudden feare of the Scots and Picts, after all their great toy & triumphing.

Aidan exhorted his men to manfulnesse.

The Sarons fight stoutlie.

Edelred.

Brudeus & the Picts maketh slaughter of the Scots.

The Scots run away.

Edelred lost one of his eyes. Brudeus hurt in the thigh.

B. j. at

Deglastone
the place wher
this battell
was fought.
Galloway in-
habited by C-
delfred.

Certeine com-
panies of Sax-
ons over-
throwne.

Passages throu-
gh Galloway
lands.

The diligence
of king Aidan
in providing
to resist his en-
emies.

The Scots
and Britains
dislodge.
The Scots
and Britains
enter into
Northumber-
land.

The fight be-
twixt Scots
and Britains
on the one side,
and Saxons
and Picts on
the other.

The Saxons
and Picts dis-
comfited and
chased.

at Deglastone in Britaine, he could not be so con-
tented, but eftsoones assembling his people, and ioi-
ning againe with Wudens and his Picts, the next
summer after invaded Galloway, and began to rob
and spoile that countrie, to the end he might either
inforce the inhabitants, with other the countries
next therunto adjoining, to yeld unto him; either
els to bring them into extreme pouertie in waisting
all afoze him. But Aidan being aduertised hereof,
sent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and
committing forward with his owne people which he
had assembled together, ouerthrew certeine compa-
nies of his enemies, as he found them disperfed a-
broad in seeking for preies: then passing by their
maine armie, he cometh into Anandale, where he
joined with the Britains, being come so farre for-
ward on their waie to meet him. The Saxons and
Picts hauing knowledge of their enemies doings,
toan such a place of aduantage, as they thought it
an easie matter for them in keeping the same, to dis-
tresse both the Scots and Britains through stopping
by the passages, by the which they must of force passe,
if they minded to come forth on that day. These pas-
sages laie through certeine quicksands, and by a ri-
uer which had but few fords passable.

The Scots and Britains, perceiuing how they
were thus inclosed, with all speed trenched their
campe about, raising certeine bulwarks and turrets
in places where they thought expedient, as though
they had ment still there to haue continued. Aidan
himselfe took such pains in seeing euerie thing done
in due order, that his people moued more through
his example than by anie exhortation, were most di-
ligent in their duties, desirous of nothing so much as
to haue occasion ministered, to shew some proofe
of their worthie valiances. At length, when the en-
emies were most at quiet, and (as was supposed) no-
thing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the
Scots and Britains in the night season, leauing a
great number of fires in their campe, they sudden-
ly dislodge, and passing the water by secret fords,
they entered into Cumberland, and so after passing
into Northumberland, they wasted and destroyed
with fire and sword all that came within their reach:
the report of which their doings brought Edelred
and Wudens backe into that countrie to resist their
invasion, neither resting day nor night, till they had
got sight of their enemies.

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring
battell, together they go with great noise and din
both of men and instruments. So much hardnesse
in the Saxons caused no small number of them to
be slaine, rather choosing to die with reputation of
manhood, than to giue backe neuer so little ground
to the enemy. Thus the battell continued for a space,
verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline.
On the Britains and Scotishmens side, there were
four chiefe rulers amongst them, beside Aidan him-
selfe, as Constantius and Alencrinus Britains, Cal-
lan and Morbache Scotishmen. Each of these taking
a seuerall charge vpon him, did earnestlie applie their
bittermost endeavors therein, encouraging their hands
to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to
sticke to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope
of eternall fame, beside surtie of life, and aduance-
ment to the common wealth of their countrie;
where otherwise they might loke for nothing, but the
contrarie mishaps, as shame, rebuke, and imposable
seruitude. So that the Scotishmen and Britains in-
couraged herewith, pressed vpon the enemies so
fiercelie, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts
were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine
running awaie: the Scots following so egerlie in
the chase, that moze of their enemies were thought

to die in the sight, than before there had done in the
battell.

S. Colme as yet being alieue, and with in his mo-
nasterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by di-
uine inspiration (as the Scotish chronicles make
mention) of all these matters how they went: and at
the verie time that the battels were in fight toge-
ther, he had assembled a companie of verie vertu-
ous and goodlie disposed persons, making intercessi-
on for the prosperous speed of their king the fore said
Aidan: and at the verie instant (as it was knowne
after) that the Saxons began to flee (as they which
had the ouerthrow) that holie old father shewed great
token of ioy and gladnesse, declaring vnto his bre-
thren by the spirit of secret knowledge or prophetic,
how Aidan had the better, and that his enemies were
discomfited, willing them thereupon to giue vnto
God thanks for the same. There was an huge mul-
titude slaine in this conflict, but namelie the death
of Ceuline king of the West Saxons, with other two
worthie captains of that nation, made the slaughter
moze sorrowfull on that side, the one of them was
called Caline, and the other Whitelime.

The day next after the battell, the spoile of the
field being gathered together, all that which was
knowne to haue bene taken out of Galloway, and
other countries of the Scots, was restored by the
kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The resi-
due which remained was diuided amongst the soul-
diers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was di-
stributed vnto priests & curats, to bestow the same
vpon ornaments for their churches. The banners
and standards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie
other rich offerings, king Aidan sent vnto the abbeie
of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monu-
ments and tokens of so notable a victorie. The yere
next ensuing, that holie father S. Colme now almost
wasted through age, and hereto also sore troubled
with a rheumaticke humoz, fell sicke and died. Some
saie he ended his life in his house amongst his bre-
thren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Col-
mekill, but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Island
called Heu; where againe the Irish writers affirme,
that he deceased in a towne in Ireland called Dune,
& that his towne is there in verie great veneration
of the people: vpon the which are these Latine ver-
ses ingrauen for the lookers on to read, if they list:

*Hic in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pium.*

Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure,
Thir three in Dune lies in ane sepulture.

Neither did Aidan the Scotish king liue long
time after, for hearing (as is said) that saint Colme
was dead, shortly thereupon, moze through griefe
than by force of sicknesse, he departed this world,
after he had reigned 37 yeares in gouernement o-
uer the Scotishmen, he died about the yeare of our
Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was
sent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome,
diuers learned men (amongest whome were Augu-
stinus and Mellitus) to instruct the English people
in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not recei-
ued. By the earnest trauell and exhortation of these
instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentish Saxons
was baptised with all his people. The British priests
nor their doctrine the Saxons could in no wise abide,
because (as is supposed) the one nation through a na-
tural hatred, still sought the destruction of the other.
The South and East Saxons moued with the exam-
ple of the Kentish Saxons, shortly after also re-
nounced their old superstitious idolatrie, and like-
wise receiued the christian faith. Edelred king of
Northumberland moued vnto displeasure herewith,
sent word vnto these Saxons of the south parts (as
then

S. Colme in-
duced with
the spirit of
secret know-
ledge.

Ceuline king
of west Saxons
slaine.
Whitelime
or Whitelime.

The diuision
of the spoile.

S. Colme de-
parted out of
this life.

which verses
Bellenden
translated.

Aidan king of
the Scotish-
men, depart-
eth this
world.

606.

Augustinus
and Mellitus
sent into Al-
bion.

Ethelbert is
baptised.

The Saxons
barred toward
the British
priests.
Suffer and
Edel receive
the christian
faith.
Edelred his
displeasure.

Edelred
king called
Edelred
107 of the
Picts.

A miracle
be true.

Kenet
Keir.
Heareth
Keir cro-
king of

Kenet
Keir die
the con-
the lung

Eugen
fourth
name.

Euge-
us.

S. Col
prophet
Eugen
fourth.

Flower
peace a
quiet

Thar
dicer.

then all of them generallie known by the name of Englishmen) that sith they had forsaken the old institutions & ancient religion of their forefathers, he would suerlie from thenceforth be no lesse enemy unto them than unto the Scots and Britains. There liued in these daies that holie man Valdoz a Scotchman borne, but dwelling amongst the Picts, whome he instructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Basse, lieng about two miles off from the maine land within the sea, where the Forth hath entrie betwixt the same Ile, and an other called the Spate. There were thre parishes fell at contention for his bodie, as Aldham, Liningham, and Wesson, so far forth, that they were at point to haue fought about it, but that by counsell of some discreet persons amongst them, it was ordeined that they should continue in prayer for that night, and in the next morning stand to the order of the bishop of the diocess, who was come thither the same time to be present at the burfall. The next day in the morning there was found thre beires with thre bodies decentlie covered with clothes, so like in all resemblance, that no man might perceiue any difference. Then by commandement of the bishop, and with great joy of all the people, the said seuerall bodies were caried seuerallie vnto the said thre seuerall churches, and in the same buried in most solemne wise, where they remaine vnto this day, in much honor with the common people of the countries nere adjoining.

After that the corps of king Aidan was buried in Colmekill, the nobles of the realme assembled together in Argile, about the election of a new king. Where, by the generall voices of them all, Kenethus Keir the sonne of Contwall (sometime king of the Scottishmen, as before is mentioned) was now proclaimed king, and crowned according to the maner; but he liued not past foure moneths after, but died of a catarrhlike rheume falling down into the windpipe, and so stopping vp his lights and lungs. He deliuered as it were the possession of his kingdom, by way of surrendring the same, into the hands of Eugenius sonne to king Aidan, by consent of all the nobles, a little before he died, for that it was known he had a right therevnto after the deceasse of Kenethus.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name, which had ruled ouer the Scottishmen. As it is said, saint Colme prophesied that he should be king long before his fathers death; for when all the sonnes of king Aidan were brought before him, and that Aidan demanded of him which of them should reigne after him, he ouerpasing the residue (which he vnderstood by secret knowledge should die in the wars) appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by some also Brudus, declaring that it should be onelie he. This Eugenius then being placed in the kingly seat, for got not such holisome lessons and vertuous precepts, as the foresaid saint Colme had taught him in his youth, so that studying how to defend rather than to seeke any waies or means how to enlarge it, by wrongfull increching vpon other mens possessions, he grew into such fauour with all good men, as greater could not be deuised. Vnto all offenders he was a sharpe iusticer, not sparing any transgressor of his lawes, neither in respect of nobilitie or otherwise, but rather those gentlemen which misused themselves in breach of good orders, he chieflie gaue order to see them punished; where if they behaved themselves worthilie, and according to their calling, there was no prince more glad than he to aduance them vnto honor.

By these and the like his princelie doings, he was both beloued of his people and also feared. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being ethnikes, persecuted in their infidelitie, and the other called not by all manner of means to support them; but yet taking a truce with them both, he firmelie caused the same to be obserued. In the tenth yeare of his reigne Einigell king of Westsaxons & Eilfred king of Northumberland, with aid of the Picts, vanquished Cadwalla king of Britains, and chased him into Scotland, where he remained not long, sailing from thence into Britaine in France, and purchasing aid of the king there named Cadoall, returned into Wales, where vanquishing his enemies the Saxons, and slaing manie thousands of them, he was restored againe vnto his kingdom. About the same time was Eadelfred king of Northumberland slaine in battell, at a place called Wintringham, not far from the riuer of Humber, by Redwald and Ethelbret, the one being king of the east Angles, and the other of the middle Angles; in reuenge of such iniuries as the same Eadelfred had done vnto the Saxons of the countie called Mercia, containing (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare) all those shires from the riuer of Thames vnto the riuer of Merse in Lancashire. Then was one Edwin a right christian prince appointed to reigne in his place, by the assignement of the two foresaid kings Redwald and Ethelbret.

Whilist these things were a doing, there were seven sonnes of the aforesaid Eadelfred, that detesting the vntrue dealing of the Picts, which refused to aid their father in his necessitie, and doubting to fall into the hands of Edwin, got them to Eugenius the Scottish king for more suertie of their liues. Their names were Eustred, Oswald, Oslas, Oswin, Olfas, Osmund, and Oslife. Ebba the onelie daughter of Eadelfred being taken amongst other prisoners, and escaping from hir taker, miraculously got a bote in the riuer of Humber, and with the same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe (as hath bene reported) she sailed forth, & at length safelie arriued at the point of land which stretched forth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euen vnto this day after hir name, saint Ebbes head, where being receiued by the bishop of that diocesse, she was professed a nun, and after continuing in great perfectnesse of obseruing that profession, she was instituted abbesse of hir house, shewing still in trade of life an orderlie example for hir flocke to follow.

Eugenius the Scottish king did louinglie receiue the sonnes of Eadelfred, though their father had enebene a cruell enemy against the Scottish nation; and within a while after their coming into Scotland, hearing oftentimes the goodlie sermons and preachings of the bishops and monks (who in those daies continually gaue themselves vnto that exercise) they finally abhorred their superstitious idolatrie, and receiued baptisme, that salutarisome signe and sacrament of our christian religion. Those churches also, which the Saxons in time of the warres had overthrown and destroyed in Gallotway and other countries thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be repaired; moreover also he reedified sundrie castles in those marches, and placed in them garrisons of soldiers, to defend them against all inuasions that might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space of fiftie yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace, to the great aduancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, he lastlie died in the yeare 620, and was buried amongst his elders in the Ile of Iona, within the monasterie of Colmekill.

A. if.

About

Valdoz other
wise called
Valdoz doctor
of the
Picts.

Colme in
ed with
the spirit of
the know-
ledge.

Colme king
well known
ine.
Colme
Colme.

the diuision
the spoile.

Amiracle it
be true.

Kenethus
Keir.
Kenethus
Keir crowned
king of Scots

Kenethus
Keir died of
the cough of
the lungs.

Eugenius the
fourth of that
name.

Eugenius
the fourth.

Colmes
prophesie of
Eugenius the
fourth.

Lower of
peace and
quietnesse.

Sharpe iu-
dicer.

Cadwall van-
quished.

Cadwall is
restored vnto
his kingdom.

See more
of him in Eng-
land.

King Eadelfred
slaine.

Edwine.

S. Ebbes
head.

W^{on}ifacius a
goble p^rie-
cher.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop W^{on}ifacius Quirinus came south of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Ch^rist there. Whether he were pope, and resigning by the papallie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called W^{on}ifacius that succeeded Sauinianus, it is not certeinly knowne; but certein it is, as the Scottish writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arrived in the water of Taie, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which divideth the countrie of Colowie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongst the Scots even vnto this day, for that he travelled through the most part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almighty God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came on land, another at a village called Tulline, not passing three miles from Dundee, and the third at Kestemoth, where afterwards an house of chanoins of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Koss, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Kossmarken.

M^oloche a
p^reacher.

There was also at the same time amongst the Scots an ancient goble man named M^oloche, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of W^{an}don that reuerend abbat, he ceased not to exhort the people of Par and Argile (in which countries he was most resident) to flee and forsake their vicious living, and to endeavour themselves to embrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This M^oloche kept continuall companie with the forenamed W^{on}ifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finally died also in Koss, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where W^{on}ifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his relikes rest among them in the church of Allimore, which is dedicated to his name.

Ferqu-
hard.

Ferquhard
king of Scot-
land.

After the deceasse of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald, these being appointed by their father to be brought up with Connean bishop of Sodor (that is, the bishop of Par) in vertuous discipline, did not altogether follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue care to him, but they thought his instructions did not much apperteyne vnto their birth and degre: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents deepe in his heart, determined to forsake all worldly pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more free without let or interruption of his friends or kinsfolke. Thus being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where seeking a solitarie place, Pharaos the bishop of Meaur gaue vnto him a peece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

Fiacre gaeth
himselfe for to
liue a solitarie
life in France

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if aie doe, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of wits, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scottish commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet enough, without trouble of outward enemies; but his subjects among themselves fell at such dissension, that euery part of the realme was full of murder, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any sweetieither of life or goods: all the which misorders sprang, were now

riued and maintained through the kings owne diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus readie one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise aie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongst them, than toke order for to appeale it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongst them, so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agreement, all matters in controuersie were taken by & ended betwixt them, the king not once made priue therevnto.

Ferquhard
maintained
the
discord.

The desperat
end of king
Ferquhard.

632

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behauiours, was also infected with the erroneous opinions of the Pelagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he used to haue sundrie W^{it}tish priests in his companie: the which nation had bene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herevith, summoned him by an herald to come to a councell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled together, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe, and winning the place, got him into their hands, and immediatly therevpon committed him to safe keeping. This done, they consult together for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agreement, to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

The king Ferqu-
hard infected
with the Pe-
lagian error.

Donwald.
Donwald B.
of Scotland.

The king is
summoned by
an herald.
He is taken
prisoner.

King Edw^{ard}
is deise.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scottish nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his prayers desired feruente of almighty God, that it might please him so to worke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue goble men ought to abhorre. And even as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the heremitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusall to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for any worldly preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answer, with his infirmite (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anye publike gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Si-
ra, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in hir purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigne in France, where she with hir fellows remained in great holinesse of life, leauing in those parties a worthy memorie not forgotten amongst them there till this day.

Ambassadors
sent into
France to
Fiacre.

Fiacre his
prayer.

Entered.

Of the an
bed.

The foresaid ambassadors returning south of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had seene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scottish nobilitie herevpon assembling together, chose south foure of the ancientest peeres amongst them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were othertwise prouided. These were named by that age,

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as seemed them good in all points. In the meane time Ferquhard remaining still in prison, and vexed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such miseries, due himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne; and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which had bene the occasion of the losse of so manie other mens lives in time of the civil discord, that he had ever nourished. After this wretched end of Ferquhard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632, the lords of the land assembled themselves together in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan out of the Ile of Man, was intrusted king with great ioy and triumph.

The desperate end of king Ferquhard.

632

Donwald.
Donwald the
king of Scotland.

King Edwin
is slain.

This Donwald having taken on him the rofall administration, transforiming himselfe into his fathers maners, restored againe into the former estate such things as appertained unto the common wealth, and had bene anie wise decayed and misgoverned by the slothfull negligence of his predecessor Ferquhard, by means whereof he quicklie grew into great favor of his subjects. In the meane time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part of England ancientlie called Mercia, joining their powers together against Edwin king of Northumberland, deprived him both of life and kingdom. After this, passing through the whole countrie, and entring into the confines of Wales, they took a great part of the same by force of arms from Hydeus king of the Wits, who in vaine had sued for aid unto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vnterity had bene notified more than inough in times past. But Donwald being certified of Edwin's death, made means unto Cadwallo king of the Britains by his ambassadours, that Eufred the son of Eadelfred might be restored unto his fathers kingdom, which Edwin had wrongfullie usurped.

This being granted, Eufred learning his brethren still in Scotland, came into Northumberland, where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was intrusted king of Bernicia, that is, of the countrie which is now called the marches. For at the same time they had divided the kingdom of Northumberland into two kingdoms, appointing Eufred (as is said) to reigne over the one called Bernicia, and one strike over the other called Deira, a man of great wickednesse, as by his works most plainelie appeared. For certaine yeares after his advancement to that dignitie, he found means to marie one of his daughters unto the foresaid Eufred, perswading the same Eufred to consent with him in restoring againe the heathenish religion throughout their whole dominion, & utterly to renounce the christian faith, which they had latelie before received by the instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline. But they enjoyed not long felicitie after so wicked and most bluelich a purpose, for the princes of Albion under the leading of Cadwallo k. of the Britains, and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie assembled of Saxons, Britains, and Wits, entring into Northumberland, and incountring in battell with strike and Eufred, discomfited their power, and took them prisoners, who being put into a common prison, due each other to avoid sharper tortures, which by due execution they bailie looked for.

Then was the kingdom of Northumberland given unto Oswald brother to Eufred, both in respect of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale which he bare to the advancement of Christs religion, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an earnest enemy to his brother Eufred, and all his

partakers, in so much that in the dayes of the battell, he was one of the forwardest captains against them. Unto this Oswald was sent a Scottisman called Cozman, to instruct the Northumberland men in faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie ye may read more at large: finally he was slaine by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of Donwald the Scottish king, who sore lamented the same, as of that prince whome he loved right intirelie. Neither lived the said king Donwald anie long time after the death of his deere friend; for that in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a bote to fish in the water called Lochtate for his recreation, his chance was to be drowned, by reason the bote sank under him. Certaine daies after, his bodie being found and taken up, was buried amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare of our Lord 647.

About the same time there lived in France three brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes unto Whiltan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wife Galghetes, descended of the linage of the kings in Scotland. The names of which three brethren were as followeth, Furseus, Foilanus, and Altanus. Furseus professing himselfe a monk of saint Benets order, passed over into France, there to set forth and enlarge that profession, and being received of king Clovis, began the foundation of a monasterie there called Latnie, in the which he placed monks of that order, and began to sow in those parties the seeds of the gospell, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as John Bale saith in the 14 centurie of the British writers. His two brethren Foilan and Altan followed him over into France, and both by word and example instructed the Frenchmen to embrace the faith of Christ, and to renounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it seemeth as yet, such as professed themselves to be monks, and men of religion (as they were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords vineyard, spending their time in reading the scriptures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise praise and thanksgiving: so as no small number by their wholesome doctrine and good example were converted to the christian faith. Foilan at length was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded in France called Fosse. About the same time there was also a contention amongst them in Albion for keeping of the Easter day, the Scottish bishops and some of the Britains varieng in their account from all other prelates of the west: but at length through perswasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that feast according to the account of other nations. These things chanced in the daies of king Donwald.

After the deceasse of Donwald, his nephew Ferquhard the sonne of his brother, the other Ferquhard, succeeded in government of the realme, a man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined never thelesse rather unto euill than unto good, speciallie after he had attained the crowne, in so much as it was commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and most gentle humane person, he was suddenlie changed into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Before he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond measure. There was no gentleman that wanted monie, either to redeeme his lands ingaged, or to bestow in dowry for the marriage of his daughter, but if he had therewith to helpe him, he might account himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other devout persons, speciallie such as were pore and in any necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieved

12. H.B.

Donwald the Scottish king drowned 647. H.B.

Anno 844.
Sigebertus.
Folsens monasterium.
Strife about the celebrating of the feast of Easter

Ferquhard.
Ferquhard the second of that name created king of Scotland.
Ferquhard being king was courteous before he was king, he showed liberality.

to

to their great ease and comfort. So he bryefe, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men have need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthy of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Wherefore he was knowne to be liberal, well disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now forthwith become covetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all unlafulfull affections. That which before time he had given unto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most uncourteously demanded to be to him restored, alleging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as he understood to be wealthy, he rested not till he had picked one matter or other unto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure unto his coffers, that never might be filled.

The bishops of the realme, namely those two reverend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiving such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie sundrie times for the same: and at length because they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little passed, that when other went unto the church to heare divine service, he would get him to the woods and forests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Neither were such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He used also, contrary to the custome of his countrie, to eat three meales a day, having such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene used at anie time before those daies in that realme: and all to serve his greedy appetite, together with theirs that followed his companie.

At wines & other strong drinks he would participate abundantly at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being exceedingly given unto most beastlie drunkennesse. He customably used to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, having his banquetting dishes and cupes to come in one after another, till he were so misshapen, that being laid to sleepe, he would freight vomit out such heauie gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous tollie received. Hereunto he was so drowned in the filthie lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dissuade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certaine yeeres, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would have devised a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop Colman had not forbidden them that practise, promising as it were by divine inspiration, that Fferquhard shold detestling his owne wicked doings, should shortly be punished by the hands of almighty God, according to his desertings.

And sure his words proved true: for within a moneth after, as the same Fferquhard followed in chase of a wolfe, the beast being all enraged by the pursue of the hounds, slue backe upon the king, and snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore in one of his sides, immediatlie whereupon, whether through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasion, he fell into a most filthy disease: for a venemous

humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and wast his members and lims, that a lothsome sight it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet, and priue parts, there issued filthie corruption and matter, with so vile a savour, that unnetly might any creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though he had bene infected with the dropsie, and therto was it verie hard withall. Finallie lice bred so abundantlie in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid of cleansed of them.

At length, when he had bene vexed in this sort for the space of two yeeres together, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to consider how this punishment was worthilie fallen upon him for his sinnes, and thereupon causing bishop Colman to be fetched unto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed unto him the whole summe of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reioysing hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced against him; but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almighty God, who was readie to receiue all such sinners as turned unto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiveness of his sinnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie upon him: and humbly receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of heare and sackcloth. Then causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, he there yelded up the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to commit himselfe wholly to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to attaine the same. Thus Fferquhard ended his life, in the 18 yeere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottisshmen, and in the yeere of Grace 664.

In this Fferquhards daies bishop Aidan departed this world, and then was Finnan sent for south of Scotland, to take upon him the gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Northumberland as then had their se. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renowned for his vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died anon after the decesse of Fferquhard, and then was Colman removed unto that see of Lindesferne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of holie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons unto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And amongst other was Penda sonne to the former Penda, king of Mercia. There be that write how Penda the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman trauelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the word of life amongst the people, purchasing him great fame for his worthy merits. He came to the church of Lindesferne in the daies of Maldwin that succeeded the last mentioned Fferquhard.

This Maldwin was the sonne of king Donwald: and after that Fferquhard was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which function he right sufficientlie discharged, studieng to mainteine peace with his neighbors the Brits, Saxons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to be followed of his subjects. Hereto he had a speciall care for the administration of the lawes in due forme and order, causing offenders to be punished, that other harmelesse persons might liue in quiet, so that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennox and Argile: for first through brawling among the hearers, their maisters made a fraie, wherof rose such deadlie

Gifts are required as a loan.

So, what a pretense courteousness hath.

For their gods false priests are troubled.

The king is excommunicated.

The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

A drunkard he was also.

A prophesie.

The king is sicke.

He sent for his confessor.

The king being excommunicated is released.

Fferquhard yieldeth up the ghost.

664
Finnan bishop.

Holie Land.

Bishop Colman courted the Saxons.

Penda king of Mercia.

Maldwin

Maldwin inuested king of Scots.

A noer of peace & justice

Lennox and Argile are at variance.

The Swelke
Hes take
part with
gile, & allow
with Lenn

Maldwin
went about
for to punish
the author
this commu-
nion.

The capti-
became frie-
together, a-
died into the
fles.

The Flan-
men appea-
hend the c-
teins of the
bels.

He builde
the church
the abbey
Colmekill

A great
lence & de-
upon ear

Scotlan
was free
the pestil
and plag

Winton
the moth
sicknesse

Colman
ted a mo-
rie.

Maldwin
Scotish
strangle
his bed.

The westerne
Fles take
part with Ar-
gile, Galloway
with Lennox.

Malcolm
went about
his to punish
the author of
this commo-
tion.

The captiues
became friends
together, and
died into the
Fles.

The Flan-
men appea-
red the cap-
tains of the re-
bels.

He buildeth
the church of
the abbey of
Colmekill.

A great pesti-
lence & death
upon earth.

Scotland
was free of
the pestilence
and plague.

Blottnesse
the mother of
sicknesses.

Colman erec-
ted a monas-
tery.

Malcolm the
Scottish king
strangled in
his bed.

deadlie enmitie betwixt the parties, by reason that the inhabitants of the westerne Fles aided them of Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into those parties to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the offenders, there had ensued much manslaughter, vnto the great danger of the utter ruine of those countries.

The king at his arrivall amongst them minded not to pursue the people that followed their captains, but rather the captains and authors of this tumult themselves. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attouement together, being enforced thereto of necessitie, so to auoid the prepared punishment deuised by the king against them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Fles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent to succour them, but contrariwise took them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whereupon they were safely conueied to the places where they were bozne, and there suffered their deserved execution. Thus that commotion vnadvisedlie begun, was speedlie appeased, and the name of Malcolme by reason hereof so feared amongst his subjects, that during his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part of all his dominions.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceiuing the abbey church, wherein his ancestors had their sepultures, to be in decaye, he caused it to be pulled quite downe, and workmen forthwith set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne proper costes and charges. Such speed also was vsed about this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our Saviour Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time there reigned throughout the most part of the world a sore and greivous pestilence, consuming a greater number of men (before it ceased) than there were left aliue: for it continued the whole space of thre peeres together. At length, through common prayer, fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous works, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, so that such great mortallitie by his mercifull appointment did staie and giue ouer.

The Scottishmen were free from that infection as well at that time, as also for manie peeres after. Yetther were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe fevers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and wholesome sparseness of diet, which their fathers in times past had vsed, they fell vnto riotous banquetting and excessive feeding, whereby they became subiect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious humors growing therbyon. Colman bishop of Lindesferne seeing wonderfull numbers of Englishmen perish daily of that contagious sickness, by licence of the king, to auoid the present danger of death, which by tarieng there he saw no meanes how to escape, returned into Scotland with his disciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the westerne Fles, he erected a monastrie there, wherein he remained during the residue of his life.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that countrie joining with the Picts, made sundrie roads into the Scottish borders: which iniurie when Malcolme reuenged with more displeasure done to them of Northumberland, than the Scottishmen had received, it caused the Picts and Northumbers to prepare themselves with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against the Scots: but in the meane time Malcolme died, being strangled in his bed one night by his owne wife, vpon suspicion of gelousie, for his vnlawfull companie keeping with an other woman. The next day after she was apprehended with those that were

paine to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, according as she had most iustlie deserved. Malcolme was thus murdered in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 684, and in the 20 yere of his owne reigne.

After him succeeded Eugenius the fifth of that name, nephew to Malcolme, as sonne to his brother Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadors vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambassadors which were thus sent, feined as though he had bene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scots, so saue as his prouision should be once readie, and hereupon granted to them a truce for the space of 11 moneths, in which meane time he might make his preparation. Eugenius hauing some secret knowledge of Egfreds purpose, prouided likewise for the warres on his part: but for that he would not seeme to giue the occasion, he secretly commanded that none of his subjects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing sounding to the breach of the truce.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, sent a companie of his men of war into the Scottish borders, to fetch some bootie, whereby the peace might be broken. Those that were thus sent, fetched not onelie from thence a great number of cattell, but also slue diuers of the borderers that went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. Immediatlie hereupon were sent ambassadors from Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not without much ado, after certeine daies attendance, got audience, and boldly declaring vnto Egfred their message, receiued for answer a plaine publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scots, since the truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deserved farre more damage than as yet they had receiued, whereupon he minded not to continue friendship with them that knew not how to keepe their hands from robbing and stealing from their neighbours: so that he commanded them to declare vnto their king, that within eight daies after, he should looke for open warre at the hands of him and other his allies.

Eugenius receiuing this answer from Egfred, besought God, with the other onelie sought to violate the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion. Wherewith gathering his power together, he repaired into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge that his enemies would first enter. But before he could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen were come already into that countrie, and had besieged a strong castell called Downskel, the chiefest fortresse in those daies of all Galloway. And per Egfred might winne the same, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to march forth to encounter with Eugenius, who hastied fast towards him. They met nere to the banks of the water of Lewis, as then being verie deepe, by reason it was raised with abundance of raine which latelie before had fallen, where they fought a verie sore and bloudie battell: for the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the enimies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts.

At the first there was no great aduantage perceived on either side, the kings, according to the duties of valiant captains, exhorting their people to stick to it manfully: but in the meane time, certeine bands of Egfreds part getting themselves to the side of an hill, gaue the looking on, without coming downe at all to aid their friends: which manner the residue of his people perceiuing, doubted of some

Eugenius.
Eugenius the
fifth.

Egfred king
of Northum-
berland.

A truce gran-
ted.

Eugenius
his comman-
dement.

The truce
broken.

Ambassadors
sent by Euge-
nius vnto
Egfred for
restitution.

Egfreds an-
swer.

Eugenius
gathereth an
armie.

The castell of
Downskel be-
sieged.

He sent for
his confessor.

The king be-
ing excommu-
nicated is
released.

Erqward
buildeth by
the ghost.

664
Finnian
bishop.

holie Flan-

Bishop Col-
man couereth
the Saxons.

Orinda king
of Mercia.

Malcolme

Malcolme in-
herited king of
Scots.

to ner of
peace & iustice

Ernace and
Argile are at
distance.

King Egfred
slaine.
See more
hereof in
England.

Twentie thou
sand Saxons
slaine.

Wudens
king of the
Picts.

Inuasion in
to Northum-
berland.

Cuthbert bi-
shop.

A slaughter
amongst the
Picts.

Egfred slaine
by Picts and
not by Scots.
Eugenius the
first died.
688

Eugenius the
first succedeth
Eugenius the
first.

A league be-
tweene the
Scots and
Northumber-
land men.
Cruce taken
with the
Picts.

Some treason devised against them, and thereupon began to shrink backe. Egfred advised therof, came amongst the foremost ranks of his battell, desiring the Englishmen in no wise to giue place to their enemies: and for that daies service he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be able waies able to shew or doe them. But whilest he was thus busilie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so sore, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Englishmen discouraged with this mischance, were quicklie thereupon put to flight and chased, a great number of them toke the riuer so to escape the enemies hands, of whom the more part being pressed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the flood, the residue by casting from them their armors and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other side, but those that made their course by land, being cumbered in mires and mosses, also amongst streats, rocks, mounteins and cliffes, were overtaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped auaie in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foresaid Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie above six thousand. By this overthrow the force of those Saxons or Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie soe diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that iournie.

Wudens the Pictish king hauing knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing soeie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiving that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entred with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumberland, soe afflicting the inhabitants, insomuch that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie wholie vnto his dominion, either els utterlie destroyed it, had not the deuout praiers of S. Cuthbert (who then held the see of Lindesferne) persued the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselves for parting of the spoile, and buckling together by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselves with those countries about Berwicke, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abstained from all the residue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recover their former forces againe, of manie yeeres after insuing.

Here is to be noted, that whereas the Scottish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the first, succedeth Eugenius the first, who was the sonne of Ferquhard, and by persuation of bishop Adarnan (with whom he was brought vp) & of S. Cuthbert, he entred into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithstanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subjects, he caused the warre to be proclaimed, and sent them his

defiance by an herald. Holowbeit, through the earnest praiers (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cuthbert and Adarnan (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre continued without anie notable encounter, saue onelie by light incursions (wherein no great bloodshed chanced) even vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried together with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongst their predecessors.

Manie wonderfull visions were seene that yeere in Albion, as the Scottish chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appeared in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships vnder saile, as though they had bene furnished forth for the warres. In the church at Camelton there was heard a noyse, as it had bene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into blood in diuers places in Pictland, and cheefe conuerted into a bloudie masse or cake. Cozne as it was gathered in the harvest time appeared bloudie. In the furthermost parts of Scotland, it rained blood. These sights being seene of some, & declared to other, caused a wonderfull feare in the peoples hearts, imagining some great alteration to insue.

Ambirkeleth the nephew, or (as some say) the son of Eugenius the first, succedeth Eugenius the first in the government of the realme; who after his attaining to the crowne, shortly changed therewith his manners and god disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defender of the poore and simple, that all men iudged that he would haue prouen a patrone of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenlie a paterne of all vices and couetousnesse, delighting in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking excellencie of meats and drinks, and wallowing in fleshy concupiscence of lecherous lust. To be briefe, when he toke nothing in hand worthie of his estate and degree, it was thought that of necessitie the forme of the publike gouernement must needs thorough his negligent slothfulnesse fall into decate and ruine: whereupon Garnard king of the Picts, supposing he had conuenient time to reuenge all former iniuries receiued at the Scottishmens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entring into the Scottish confines, made verie pitifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

At length Ambirkeleth (being soe blamed of his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subjects thus to be destroyed) gathered an armie together, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, doe ever stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namelie when anie present danger beginneth to appeere) forth he goeth without anie great god order (God wot) for that might be looked for at his hands, which was so overwhelmed with all kind of excessive gluttonie, immoderate surfeiting, insatiable lecherie, and delitting altogether in slothfull ease, and sluggish idlenesse, the root from whence all such filthy vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & maintained.

To conclude, he liued as one that toke no maner of regard to that which chiefe avertinced to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practise to take paines to see things done as was behouefull, of himselfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the same ought to be done. Fewer thelesse marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and nere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had supped, he was occasioned to

Warre with
out anie no-
table encoun-
ter.
The death of
Eugenius the
first.

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Wonderfull
visions seene.

Ambirke-
leth.

Ambirkeleth
succedeth
Eugenius the
first.

The king
turned from
vertue vnto
all vicious-
nesse.

Garnard king
of the Picts
inuaith
Scotland.

Ambirkeleth
gathered an
armie against
the Picts.

Idlenesse the
breeder and
nourisher of
sensuall lusts.

The death
of Ambirke-

Eugenius

Eugenius
seventh
leued his
Scots.

Peace
closed.

The king
crowned

The qu-
ene in
of his hu-

The king
suspect
the war

The me-
rens are
gib.

In order
a god p

The king
canfect
ancesto-
ries
wittier

to go forth of his lodging to do the necessities of nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of his servants that were groomes of his chamber, he was suddenlie shot through the head with an arrow, but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was neuer anie knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yeres. He was buried in Colmekill amongst his noble ancestors.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the seventh is crowned king of Scots.

A peace concluded.

The king is crowned.

The queene slaine in shed of her husband.

The king is suspected of the murder.

The murderers are hang'd.

An example of a good prince.

The king causeth his ancestors histories to be written.

The lords and peeres of the land not greatlie lamenting the death of such a monstrous person, because the armie for want of a gouernor should not fall into anie danger, they elected Eugenius the seventh, being the brother of the late foresaid Ambirkeleth, to succeed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of verie comelie port & personage, neither destitute of honozable qualities and good disposition of mind. Being once proclaimed king, he caused generall musters to be taken of the whole armie, and perceiving by surueie thereof, that he was not able to match with his enemies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Pictish king, pledges being deliuered on either side, for redresse to be had of all wrongs and injuries that had bene committed betwixt them. The Picts returning home, and the Scottish armie dissolved, Eugenius with the most part of the nobilitie went into Argile, where he received his inuesture of the kingdome, sitting upon the stone of marble, according to the custome and maner.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more stronglie confirmed by means of alliance, Spontana the daughter of king Catnard being coupled in mariage with Eugenius: she in the yere following being great with child, was murdered one night within the kings bed-chamber, in stead of the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countrie of Athole, who moued to displeasure for their fathers death, had conspired to murder the king, and had slaine him in deed, had he not through his good hap lamen forth of his owne chamber the same night. Eugenius being suspected of the murder, and euill spoken of for the same amongst his subjects, was at length with great danger of life and honor inforced to make answer by waie of arraignment for clearing of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie beloued was Spontana amongst all the degrees of the Scottish nation. But in the end being found guiltlesse of the crime (for at the time that iudgement should haue passed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioicing of all honest men. Those that had done the deed, were condemned and hanged vp naked on gibbets by the heels, together with certeine cruell mastiue dogs, the which might so deuoure them.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former suspicion, minded to haue bene reuenged on those that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the godlie admonishments of that reuerend father Adannan, he qualified his displeasure. After this, giuing his mind to the aduancement of religion and politike gouernement of his subjects, he ordeined that the histories of his ancestors should be writtten in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to read the same for example sake. These monuments he also appointed to be kept and reserued in the abbey of Iona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and such as should write the same, to remaine and haue livinge there in the abbey. Moreover, such spirituall promotions as he perceived to be too meane and slender for the maintenance of the minister that should serue the cure, he caused to be augmented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He

concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, and obserued the same during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yeres, whereof the last fell in the yere after the incarnation of our Saviour 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons, as they that intierlie loued him for his noble and most princelie qualities.

A little before his death, he betoke the possession of his kingdome vnto Morbadke that succeeded him. This Morbadke was the nephew of Eugenius the seventh, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, make, and liberall nature, before his aduancement to the crowne; so he shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during the whole course of all his naturall life, after he had attained to the same. Aboue all things he wisshed a generall peace to continue amongst all the princes of Albion, and thereupon for his part establishing a peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the English kings, he firmelie kept euerie article therein contained. In those daies (as S. Beda doth testifie) foure severall people liued in peace and quietnesse within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. His words are these that follow.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league with the Englishmen, and gladlie is partaker of the vniuersall peace and veritie with the catholike church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themselves with their owne bounds, go about to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains, though for the most part through a familiar hatred do impugne the English nation, and the state of the whole catholike church, obseruing not rightlie the feast of Easter, besides other naughtie vsages; yet both the diuine power and humane force vtterlie resist them, they are not able in neither behalfe to attaine vnto their purposed intentions; as they which though partlie free, yet in some behalfe are thrall and mancipat to the subiection of the Englishmen: which Englishmen now in acceptable peace and quietnesse of time, manie amongst them of Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other, laing away armour and weapon, applie themselves to the reading of holie scripture, more desirous to be in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to exercise feats of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth shall perceiue and behold. ¶ With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yere 734, in the which yere Morbadke the Scottish king ended his life.

He repaired sundrie churches and religious houses, which being defaced with violence of the enemies inuasions in time of warre, had not bene re-edified by his ancestors. But amongst other, he bestowed much cost vpon the church where the bodie of S. Ninian lieth, in the towne ancientlie called Candida Casa, & now Whitterne or Whittetne. Saint Beda calleth that place Pictminia, and the bishop which at the same time held the church there, he nameth Ada, auouching how he was the first that was bishop thereof after the daies of saint Ninian. Which if it be true, it must needs be that afterwards some vacation happened in that see for a time, sith it is notified in the Scottish histories, that the westernne Isles, Galloway, and other regions nere adioining, were subiect vnto the bishop of Sodor (whose see is in the Ile of Man) vnto the daies of Malcolme the third, who restored rather than ordeined the bishops see in Candida Casa againe, after such vacation as before is specified.

Eugenius the seventh departed out of this life.

716. H.B.

Mordack. Morbadke succeedeth Eugenius the seventh.

A lover of peace.

Peace throughout all the land of Albion.

The testimony of Beda.

734. Morbadke ended his life the same yere that saint Beda made an end of his historie.

Candida Casa now called Whitterne.

But

Ethline.
Ethline suc-
ceededly Mor-
dake.

A peaceable
prince.

Four govern-
ors under
the king.

Unjust go-
vernment.

Donald of the
Fles maintain-
eth robbers.

The oppres-
sion of the
commons of
Galloway.

Mordake the
kings lieuten-
ant beareth
down.

The deceasse
of Ethline.
762. H.B.

Eugenius.
Eugenius
the eight in-
vested king of
Scots.
Donald of the
Fles appe-
hended.

Donald and
his complices
put to death.

But now to returne touching the gouernement of the Scottish kingdome, I find that after the deceasse of Mordake last remembred, his nephue named Ethline, the sonne of the seuenth Eugenius, succaded in the state; a man naturallie inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iustice. The league which his predecessors Eugenius and Mordake had kept with their neighbors the Britains, Englishmen and Picts, he duclie likewise obserued. His chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as were knowen to be open barrettores and offendours in anie wise, against the peace and common quiet of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable exam-
ples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill doers, he was had in such reuerend dread amongst his subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so to do, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appointed foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe gouernance vnder him; as Donald the treasurer of Argile, Collane of Athole, and Mordake of Galloway his lieutenants, and Conrath the thane of Murray land. These hauing the procuracion of all things touching the gouernement of the realme, vied not themselves to vprigillie in manie points as they ought to haue done; but winked now and then at faults & trespasses committed by their kinssolks and alics, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to their old accustomed manner of licentious libertie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other inferior states. Donald of the westerne Fles, a man of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclined to all naughtinesse, maintained a great number of robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onelie vpon raine. For loke what they wanted, they would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place abroad where they might laie hands on it: so that all the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which countrie they most haunted, were brought into wonderfull thraldome and miserie.

Neither did Mordake the kings lieutenant there, go about to chastise such insolent midemenors, either for that he was of Donalds alliance, either else priuie to his doings, and partaker of the spoile. The people hereby vered with continuall iniuries, brought manie pittifull complaints before Mordake, who nothing regarded their lamentable lutes and supplications, but the more they complained, the worse they were handled. Neither was there anie hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the eight was admitted to the kinglie administration after the death of king Ethline, who in the latter end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased, could not attend to take order for the publike gouernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misdoers infused. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, after he had continued his reigne ouer the Scottishmen the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight that was the sonne of king Mordake, was invested king in Argile with such pompe and ceremonies as in that case appertained, and immediatlie thereupon he hasted forth to catch Donald of the Fles, not resting till at length he had caught him, though that came not to passe without some losse of his people. After he had taken both him and his chieffest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither so satisfied, he caused Mordake to be arraigned, who confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as were laid to his charge for mainteining of the foresaid Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his goods being valued and diuided into parts, were be-

stowed amongst the commons of Galloway, in recompense of such losses, as through his contriued falshood they had susteined. Also he did put Donald, Collan, and Conrath to their fines, for that they did suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Though which causing of iustice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he wan him wonderfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through out all his realme; and therewith were offendours put in such feare, that they durst in no place commit anie such misdoers against the simple and meane people. And for the more increase of his subiects wealth, he also continued the league with the Picts, Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his late predecessor had done. But yet, as the nature of man through licentious libertie is euer readie to offend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this worthy prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is before expelied, reigning in peace and quietnesse amongst his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile lust to accomplish his insatiable fleshlie concupiscence, seeking all means he could deuise to despoile young virgins and honest matrons, and that as well those of the nobilitie as other. And such companions as could best further his purpose in that behalfe, and deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie, those he set by, and greatlie made of, delighting altogether to haue them in his companie.

Thus being drowned in lecherous lust, and filthie concupiscence, he fell daile in more greuous vices, as into excessiue couetousnesse and beaslie crueltie, consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to the end he might inioy their goods. This wickednesse remained not long unpunished, for the lords and peeres of his realme, perceiving how he proceeded daile in his abhominable and tyrannicall doings, not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertisements either of God or man, they slue him one day amongst them as he sat in iudgement about to haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie in the crime thereof he was accused. They caried also a great companie of those mates to be apprehended, which had bene of his counsell, and prouokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hangd, as they had well deserued. And such was the end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the kingdome about thre yeares: his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancessors, though the people thought it little worthy of that honor, which had misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

After him came the administration of the realme vnto Fergus the third, the sonne of king Ethline, in the yere 767, who being established in the same, began stricte to practise all kinds of vices, which most abundantly reigned in him, howbeit till that day wonderfullie dissembled and kept couert. He seemed to strue how to passe his predecessor in all points of wickednesse. He toke no regard at all to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe to excessiue gluttonie; in deuouring of delicate meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a number of vile strumpets in house with him, whome he used as concubines, that his wife was no better esteemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchenmaid. Who being a woman of great modestie, and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take sore griefe and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie times assaied by way of wholesome perswasions, to turne his mind from such sinfull vices and filthie trade of liuing.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to conuert his depraued mind, nor by anie meanes to reforme him, but that the more she laboured to do good vpon

Mordake lieutenant of Galloway is put to death. The commons recompenied.

A righteous king.

Offendours put in feare.

Eugenius is peruerterd with sensuall lust and concupiscence.

A filthie delight.

Concupiscence linked with crueltie.

Eugenius is murdered.

The end of Eugenius the eight.

Fergus. 767.

Fergus the third created king.

A wicked prince.

St. Fergus the third strangled his wife.

Suspicious persons are racked.

The queen confessed murder.

She giue her owne sentence.

The queen taketh a tion of h

Major dake
lieutenant of
Galloway is
put to death.
The com-
mons re come
pened.

A righteous
king.

Defenders
put in fear.

Eugenius is
perverted
with sensu-
all and con-
cupiscence.

A filthy de-
light.

Concupiscence
linked with
cruelty.

Eugenius is
murdered.

The end of
Eugenius
the eight.

Fergus.
767.

Fergus the
third created
king.

A wicked
prince.

H. Fergus
the third
strangled by
his wife.

Suspicious
persons are
sacked.

The queene
confessed the
murder.

She giveth
hir owne
sentence.

The queene
taketh execu-
tion of hir self.

upon him, the waise he was, through verie displea-
sure of such iniuries as she dailie sustained at the
hands of his concubines, she found meanes to
strangle him secretly one night as he lay in bed,
choosing rather to be without a husband, than to haue
one that should deceive hir of the right and dutie of
marriage; and that in such sort, as she must be faine
to suffer the reproch dailie before hir face, being mis-
biled of them whom he kept as paramours in most
despitefull manner. The day after she wrought this
feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in
funerall wise, and brought forth vnto the place of
iudgement, where inquisition was strictly made
what they were that had done so heinous a deed. For
though there were but few that lamented his death,
yet some of his friends were verie earnest to haue
the matter tried forth, that such as had committed
the murder might suffer due punishment.

Anie were apprehended and had to the racke,
but yet could none be found that would confesse it.
The queene was void of all suspicion, as she that had
bene taken for a woman at all times of great tem-
perancie. But yet, when she heard that a num-
ber of innocent persons were tormented without de-
sert, she lamenting (as should appeare) their misera-
ble case, she came hastily into the iudgement hall,
and getting hir aloft vpon the bench, there, in the pre-
sence of all the companie, she had these or the like
wordes vnto the whole assemblie. I know not (good
people) I know not what god moueth me, or what
diuine reuengement bereth mee with sundrie
thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and
morning preceding, I haue had neither rest in bo-
die nor mind. And verelis when I heard that cer-
teine guiltlesse persons were cruellie tormented
here in your presence; had not wrath giuen place,
partlie vnto modestie, whereof I must confesse there
is left but a small portion in me, I had forthwith
rid my selfe out of the way. The kings death was
mine ad. Conscience constraineth me (setting apart
mine owne safegard) to confesse the truth, least the
guiltlesse should wrongfullie perish: therfore vnder-
stand ye for truth, that none of them whom ye haue
examined are pinnie to the offense. I verelis am she,
that with these wicked hands haue strangled this
night last past Fergus, about whose death I see you
in trouble, moued so to doo with two as sharpe prickis
as may rest in a woman, to wit, impatient for bea-
ring of carnall lust, & trefull wrath. Fergus by his
continual bling of concubines, kept from me the due
debt that the husband giveth to the wife: wherevpon
when there was no hope to reconcile him with often
aduertisements, beehement force of anger rising in
my hart, droue me to doo so wicked a deed. I thought
rather therefore to dispatch the adulterer, than (being
destitute of my husband, & defrauded of all quench-
ing) to liue still subiect to the perpetuall iniuries
of such lewd women as he kept & used in my stead.
Loose ye therefore those that be accused of the kings
death, & as for me ye shall not need to proceed against
me as guiltie of the crime by order of law: for I that
was so bold to commit so heinous an act, will accor-
dingly doe execution vpon my selfe even here in con-
tinencie in presence of you all: what honoz is due to
the dead, take you to that. ¶ Having thus made an
end of hir tale, she plucked forth a knife which she had
hid vnder hir gowne, and stroke herselfe to the heart
with the same, falling dead vpon it downe to the
ground. All such as were present wondered greatlie
at hir stout and hardie stomach, speaking diuerslie
thereof, as some in praise, and some in dispraise of
these hir monstrous doings. The bodie of Fer-
gus was caried forth to the Ile of Colmekill, and
there buried in the third yere after his entring into

the gouernement, and in the yere of our Lord 767.
The queens corps was not buried in sacred ground,
for that she slue herselfe.

Soluathius the sonne of Eugenius the eight, was
admitted to the rule of the Scottish estate next af-
ter the death of Fergus: a prince fertile borne to
the accomplishment of high enterprises, if though
hap of froward destinie he had not bene hindered.
For in the third yere of his reigne he began to be
bered extreemlie with the gout, which ingendered
by cold in lieng abroad in hunting; and so confina-
ing with him during his life, staid him from manie
worthie exercises, as well in peace at home, as a-
broad in time of warres. Thus he being in maner
impotent & lame of his limbs, there were some com-
motions and misorders the more boldly attempted:
and first amongst them of the out Isles. For Bane
Hakedonald, gouernor by the kings appointment
of the Island called Tire, got all the castles and for-
tresses of the Isles into his owne hands, & strengthe-
ned with a rout of unrulie and mischeuous youthfull
persons, toke possession of all the said Isles, causing
himselfe to be proclaimed king of the same.

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number
of ships together, wherein transporting himselfe with
a great armie ouer into Lozne and Cantire, made
great waste and spoile of those countries, till Duth-
quhall gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argile, be-
ing sent with a chosen power from the king to de-
fend the countrie, chanced to encounter with him,
and putting him with his people vnto flight, chased
them to such a strict, as where there was no way to
get forth, saue onlie that by which they entered. This
place is in Lozne, with a strict passage to enter into
it: but when ye are within it, the same is verie large
and broad, inuironed about with craggie moun-
tains, chained together with a continuall ridge, a
deepe riuer compassing them in beneath in the bot-
tome, with such steepe & sdelong banks, that there is
no way to passe forth of the same, but by that through
which ye must enter into it. The said Bane with his
folks being entred at vnwares into such a strict,
and perceiuing there was no way to issue forth, but
by the same where he entred, he returned backe thither,
and finding the passage closed from him by his
enemies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not know-
ing what shift to make to escape. Finally, falling to
counsell with the chieffest of his armie vpon the dan-
ger present, and so continuing for the space of two
daies without anie conclusion available, on the third
day vntill of necessitie through hunger, they requi-
red of their enemies to be receiued as yielded men
vpon what conditions they would prescribe, onelie
hauing their liues assured. But when this would not
be granted, in the evening tide they rushed forth vpon
their enemies, to trie if by force they might haue
passed through them. But such was their hap, that
there they died enterie mothers son: for so had Duth-
quhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other
rebels might take example by such their wilfull and
rebellious outrage.

The kings capteins after this passing ouer into
the Isles, brought all things there into the former
state of quietnesse. Yet after the appeasing of this
tumult, there chanced a new businesse in Galloway:
for Gillequhalme, sonne to that Donald, which (as ye
haue heard) was executed by commandement of
Eugenius the eight, gathered together a great num-
ber of vngentle scape-thrills, & did much hurt and
mischaunce in the countrie. But shortly after, being
vanquished by the same capteins that had suppressed
the other rebels of the Isles, the countrie was rid of
that trouble, and the ring-leaders punished by death
for their offenses. In this meane while, the English-
men

Soluathius.

Soluathius
admitted king
of Scotland.

Soluathius
an impotent
man.

A rebellion.
Hakedonald
proclaimed
king of the
Isles.

He inuadeth
Lozne and
Cantire.
A power from
the king is
sent against
him.

The kings
power passeth
ouer into the
Isles.

Gillequhalme
the sonne of
Donald.

men & Welch Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leisure to attempt anie enterprize against strangers. Neither were the Scots free of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceived against another, so that the Scottishmen were not troubled at all by anie forreine enemies. And so Soluathius hauing continued his reigne the space of 20 yeeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yere of our saluation 788.

Soluathius
departeth
this life.

788.

Achatus.
Achatus cre-
ated king of
Scotland.

Then after Soluathius was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, Achatus the son of king Ethine (a man highlie renowned for his earnest zeale to iustice and upright dealing) was advanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectlie vnderstood that grudge and secret hatred remained in their hearts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the common-wealth stood in, if the same were not by some good meanes qualified: and therupon calling them together, he handled the matter with such wisdom and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being vtterlie extirped and auoided, they were made friends on eche side, and promised in his presence so to continue. Thus hauing laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, he was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arrived in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the westerne Isles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

He maketh
the nobilitie
to agree.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation purposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Isles. But Achatus hearing thereof, sent ouer an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken vp before anie further force were used: alledging how there was no cause therfore warres should be moued for such a matter, where the occasion had bene given but by a sort of rousers on either side, without commandement or warrant obtained from anie of their superiours. Howbeit the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongst them at that time as it chanced) moued altogether with indignation for the slaughter of their countremen, made a direct answer, that they would neuer be reuenged of the reproch which they had receiued, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whilst the Scottish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craters passed ouer into Isla, where getting together a great preie, and fraughting their vessels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were sonke by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The Irish-
men will
revenge.

Irishmen
take a preie
in Isla.

Irishmen doe
seek peace.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to seek for peace hostlie after vnto Achatus. Those also that were sent ouer to treat of the same, found him at Cnuerlochthe; where hauing declared there message, & confessed how iustlie they had bene punished by the righteous iudgement of almighty God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserued it: Achatus answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborne, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were throughlie scourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken iust reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mouing warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Heuerthelesse, setting apart all iniuries past, as well new as old, to shew himselfe to be the follower of

Christ, who in so manie passages had praised, commended, and set forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scottish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselves, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (hauing inioied peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

Due consid-
rations.

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and vnderstanding how the Englishmen did not onelie by daillie routing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as travelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then coming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought good by the aduise of his peres, to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Scots, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprize or inuasion into France, the Scots and Scots should be readie freightwates to inuade them here at home; and when they should make anie warres against the Scots or Scots, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to inuade the west parts of England.

Carolus
Magnus in
league with
the Scots.

An erudite
hand.
Friends
fare off.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achatus certeine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriving in Scotland, and comming to the kings presence, declared effectuallic the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should bee no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restrained from such bold and iniurious enterprizes, as they daillie took in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the advancement of the whole christian common-wealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent doings, such force as was already prepared against the Saracens (the common enemies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to keepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

Ambassadors
sent into
Scotland.

God com-
of Colman

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselves being honorable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his owne palace, hauing all the chere and honorable intertainment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scottish common-wealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doubtfull, the king thought it necessarie to haue the aduise of his counsell: and therupon calling them together, and appointing diuerse of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilst he consulted with the residue (because he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Spar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scottishmen for his approued wisdom) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who there vpon standing forth, began as folloiweth.

The ambassa-
dors are hono-
rable inter-
tainment.

No man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achatus, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are persuaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleasant

"pleasant to almightie God; than to soine in league
 and friendship with a nation of greatest power and
 wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds
 of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scottish
 name be highlie renowned and spoken of through
 the whole world. But trulie these considerations con-
 tenting so well at the first, are not so much to be re-
 garded as the evils which hereafter may grow there-
 upon: for suerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of
 this determination shall euidentlie teach vs (though
 too late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of
 reason in establishing this league, if we once con-
 sent to conclude the same. Is it anie other thing (I
 beseech you) to make a league, and to ioine in socie-
 tie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the
 Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expe-
 dient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a
 nere and in maner a domesticall enemie at hand,
 whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from
 vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and
 large sea, at whose pleasure also we must make wars
 against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safe-
 guards, pitting our bodie in hazard of death and
 wounding for their cause, which dwell nothing nere
 vs, yea in their quarell to commit our kingdome,
 gods and liues vnto extreme perill of vtter destruc-
 tion: I would thinke it good therefore to take better
 aduiselement and deliberation herein, least whilste we
 seeke for vaine glorie and counterfeitt honor, we do
 not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next
 neighbors, lose our owne libertie, got with much
 trauell by our elders, for the which they so often
 fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and final-
 lie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more
 pernicious vnto a free nation, and people bozne in li-
 bertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of
 warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and plea-
 sure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were)
 into bondage: For the auoiding whereof, not onelie
 men, but also all other liuing things are readie to
 fight, euen to the vttermost. If the Frenchmen in
 the chiefest heat and most earnest brunt of the warre
 (which we shall take in hand for their sake, according
 to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake
 vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league
 with our enemies, leauing vs in all the whole dan-
 ger; shall we haue anie iudge afoze whome we maie
 bring them to answer for their default, and by whose
 authoritie they may be constrained to see vs satisfied
 for such losse and iniuries as we shall happily susteine
 at the Englishmens hands: Are we of that force
 and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after
 we are vanquished and in maner brought to vtter
 confusion by those warres which we shall enter into
 for their cause: If euer we be brought vnto that
 point (as God forbid we should) that through want
 of substance, and decaye of force, the Frenchmen
 shall also vtterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall
 not be able to resist the English puissance: afoze
 whome (I beseech you) shall we accuse them for brea-
 king of this league: We shall daillie haue to doe
 with our enemies after the conclusion of the league
 (if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with
 our friends. In the midst of our enemies we shall be
 still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we
 haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to
 our friends, in case anie need shall inforce vs there-
 vnto: commodities are brought vs out of Spaine,
 France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but
 onelie such as the Englishmen doe permit. Againe,
 when our merchants shall passe into France, what
 hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of
 dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such
 as be sailing: Either must they perish and be cast a-

way through rage of seas, either else fall into the
 hands of our enemies togiether, with all their goods
 and fraught. What discommodities hereof shall rise,
 your grace (most prudent prince) and you right cir-
 cumspect counsellors, doe well inough perceiue. I
 therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should
 continue in the former peate concluded with the
 Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the cus-
 tome of our late predecessors, who saw well inough
 what was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Sco-
 tish nation; and not to couet a new amitie with an
 vnknotome people, hauing deserued little or nothing
 as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue
 in suspicion, sith they seeke for amitie so farre off) ex-
 cept we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to
 trippole and leopord both life and libertie for the safe-
 gard of the French, without regard of our owne.
 ¶ Spanie in that assemble shewed themselves soze
 offended with Colmans words, supposing the
 league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable
 and necessarie.

¶ When one Albion, a man of great nobilitie (whome
 the king had latelie before instituted his lieutenant
 in the Isles) spake in this manner. If it were possi-
 ble that there might be one sure and inuolable con-
 sent amongst those foure people, which at this daie
 haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion,
 or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand
 and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we
 would not denie but that those considerations and
 aduises which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be
 followed; bicause that then there should be no occasi-
 on at all, why we should conclude anie league with a
 nie forren nation. But forsomuch as there was ne-
 uer man that found more vntuth and breach of pro-
 mise in anie nation, than hath bene found in these
 Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are
 now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and
 Britains haue by triall sufficientlie proued; I sup-
 pose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we
 must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against
 the Englishmen, readie to assaile vs both with open
 force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with
 such allies and confederats, as by their support we
 maie be the better able to withstand the malice of
 such vnfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I
 praise you: The Saxons in times past being requie-
 sed of the Britains to aid them against their eni-
 mies, were most longlie receiued, and highlie re-
 warded for their seruice: but they contrarie in re-
 compense of such kindnesse, shewed themselves in
 stead of aiders, enemies; in stead of defenders, destruc-
 ters: turning their weapons points against the Bri-
 tains, by whome they had bene so sent for to their
 aid; and now haue not onelie destroyed a great num-
 ber of them by fire and sword, but also they haue spoil-
 ed them of their kingdome & libertie. What league
 or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues
 are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either
 they saw occasion to vex their neighbors, or hoped to
 gaine anie thing by falsifying their faiths, as they
 that haue neuer bene ashamed so to do, where hope
 to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie
 hand bene offered. Into what sunbrie and most mi-
 serable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons
 brought the sillie Britains: How oftentimes haue
 they broken the peace established with vs, and also
 with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon
 anie such thing: Yea and that more is, amongst them
 selues at this season the Englishmen warre one a-
 gainst another, more with craftie traines than with
 open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so
 manie kings, and so manie noble men haue bene
 traitorously murdered and made auaie, that scarce

Due consider-
rations.

Carolus
Magnus in
league with
the Scots.

In euident
hand.
Friends
farre off.

Embassadors
sent into
Scotland.

God counsell
of Colman.

Colmans
counsell is
misliked.

Albion his
oration.

The English
Saxons brea-
kers of pro-
mise.

The ambassa-
dors are hono-
rable inter-
teined.

L. J. may

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the advantage of casual hap, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

" may there be anie found that will take vpon him the
supreme gouernement of that countrie. It is not
manie yeres ago, since Edwin king of that coun-
trie was rid out of the waie through treason of Al-
wie that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was
after depeyred both of life and kingdome by Dstrike,
whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found
meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert
was slaine by Dpollo, and Dpollo by Alfreð, which Al-
freð was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethel-
bert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in
the end, for now of late betrayed by his owne sub-
jects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murder-
ed. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and deuises
do the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all
places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The
reuerend fathers of the spirituality, and other godlie
men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting forth
of Gods word hath bene committed, wearie of and
abhorring this twofold madnesse, rage and wicked mis-
deemeanor of that nation, haue left their bishoprikes,
abbeyes, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue
remoued into forren regions. Therefore where the
Englishmen do absteine at this present from ma-
king vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reue-
rence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of the
league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto
such ciuill sedition and discord, as now doth reigne
amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to
doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will
immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, not-
withstanding all leagues or covenants of peace con-
firmed to the contrarie. To repress therefore and a-
bate their subtill practises, I can find no readier
meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a
league with that people, which being ioined with vs,
may chastise such outrageous furie of this wicked
nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. For-
tune hath offered vnto vs a conuenient meane and oc-
casion hereunto. For here be at this present the
French kings ambassadoys, offering that vnto vs,
which (being so great a benefit) we might scarce wish
for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in
league against the Englishmen, with their king,
whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Ger-
manie do acknowledge for their souereigne. Dought
this to be despised of men that haue their perfect sen-
ses? Dought the societie of the French nation to be
refused of vs, inhabiting here in the uttermost parts
of the earth, the same being frelie offered by them,
vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God
and man, the large empire of the world is granted?
So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most no-
table benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the
friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Ger-
mans, and all those nations which acknowledge king
Charles for their head and souereigne lord. Wherevpon
also free passage for merchants shall be open, to
passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchan-
dise and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that eue-
rie one of you (so that he weie the thing with him-
selfe throughlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship
and societie of the Frenchmen (verie puissant both
by sea and land) and thereto of approued faith and
steadfastnesse in promise, ought more to be esteemed,
and is more beneficiall to the Scottish common-
wealth, than the vnstedfast promises and great disoi-
altie of the Sarons. To which of you is it vnknowne
that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs
vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they do the Welsh-
men, if their force might answer directlie to their
wills? Therefore if we desire to auoid the violent
power of most cruell enemies, if we meane to a-
uoid their craftie practises, if we regard the christian

The Frenchmen in those daies possessed not onelie that part of Gallia, which we now call France, but also the most part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, namely on this side the riuer Rhyne.

religion, for the which the Frenchmen are contin-
allie in armor, if we set more by vertue and constan-
cie than by vnfaithfulnesse and breach of covenants
and promises, if we labor for the glorie and honor of
our nation, if we couet to aduance our countrie, our
owne rest, and quietnesse; and to be briefe, if we passe
vpon life and libertie, the most deere things that
may happen to man, let vs with ioyfull harts esta-
blish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmelie
continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confi-
dence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and
renowme to vs, both for the safegard of our realme,
restreints of the Englishmens vnlawfull attempts
and wrongfull injuries, which hereafter they either
shall or may at any time enterprise against vs. This
oration Albion drew the multitude easilie vnto
his purpose.

Then Achaius vnderstanding how the minds of
all his subjects were in manner wholie inclined to
the league, commanded all the companie to be there
in the same place against the next day. And so be-
king vp their assemblee for that time, the king made
the French ambassadoys that night a coslie supper
with a banquet, and after hauing conferre with his
nobles and lords of the counsell, it was agreed by ge-
nerall consent amongst them, that for the solemne
ratifying of this league with king Charles, accom-
panying as he had required, there should go with his am-
bassadoys at their returne the lord William the
brother of king Achaius, with foure other honorable
and learned personages, being men of perfect know-
ledge and skill, and such as were esteemed most meet
for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure
thousand men ouer with them, to serue against the
infidels and enemies of the christian religion, where
and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

Wherevpon the next day going first to church, and
there making their common supplications vnto al-
mighty God, according to the rites and ancient cu-
stomes, they after resorted vnto the counsell cham-
ber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the
French ambassadoys all that was concluded by him,
and other the estates of his realme, touching the mes-
sage which they had brought from king Charles. Who
reioicing (as should appere) greatlie hereat, gaue
most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue
for their beneuolent toils herein shewed towards
king Charles their maister, and all the French na-
tion. After this, remaining certaine daies with Achaius,
who made them all the chere that might be ima-
gined, they departed towards Hungus king of the
Dixes, vnto whom at their comming to his presence
they made the like request on their maisters behalfe,
which they had made before vnto Achaius.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most
hartie thanks for their good wills, but yet he would
not grant to conclude anie league with them at that
time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being
weightie and of great importance, required no small
time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution
therein. The ambassadoys herevpon returned vnto
Achaius without speed of their purpose with Hun-
gus, and the second moneth after, all things being
readie for their returne, and the passage of those that
should go with them, the lord William the kings
brother, together with the same ambassadoys, & such
foure persons as the king had chosen forth amongst
all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names
were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and also
hauing with him those foure thousand men of war,
which were at the first appointed to go with him, pas-
sed forth towards France, where he with all the
whole companie landed within few daies after in
safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At
their

The league with the Frenchmen agreed vpon.

The league is concluded.

Hungus king of the Dixes.

Hungus refuseth to conclude anie league with the Frenchmen.

The French ambassadoys returne home.

Clement, Clement, John Raban, Raban, Alcuine.

The Frenchmen are ready to conclude the league.

The league is published by here.

The league of the Dixes.

The league of the Dixes.

The league of the Dixes.

The league of the Dixes.

The Scottish men are honorable received of Carolus the French king.

The league is published by heralds.

The articles of the league.

The league with the Frenchmen read upon.

The league is concluded.

Hungus king the Deira.

Hungus re-eth to conde anie que with French.

The French balladoys come home.

Hungus, clement, by Mac-keban, caine.

The armes of Scotland.

The ballantes of William.

Florence is redified.

William lieutenant of Tuscane.

their comming into France Charles the emperoz receiued them in most gladsome wise, doing them all the honor that might be deuised, and the souldiers which were come to serue him vnder the leading of the foresaid William, he retained in wages, vsing them after the same sort and rate as he did his owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

Shorlie after also at the request of the Scottish orators, according to the charter signed by Achaius, and confirmed by consent of king Charles, the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was solemnlie published by heralds at armes, according to the manner in those daies vsed, the same to indure betwixt those two nations and their posterities for ever. The chiefest articles comprised in this league were as followeth. [The amitie and confederation betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme, to indure betwixt them and the posterities of both nations for ever. The iniuries and warres which the Englishmen should attempt against either nation, should be accounted as common to them both. The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the Englishmen, the Scots should send their aid of souldiers, hauing their charges borne by the Frenchmen as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise aid the Scots in time of wars against the Englishmen at their owne proper costs and charges. Whatsoeuer he were, priuat person or publike of these two confederat nations, that against either of them should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell, vittels, or in anie other manner of wise; the same should be reputed for a traitor vnto both their princes and countries. Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the consent of the other. These were the principall articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and faire ingrossed in parchment, and reserued as a monument in both realmes, for a witnesse vnto such as should come after of this friendship thus begun, as the Scottish chronicles affirme.] And for further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace seamed with floure delices, signifieng thereby, that the lion from thence forth should be defended by the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scottish kings should valiantlie fight in defense of their countrie, liberties, religion, and innocencie, which are represented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds doe interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement, and John, remained still with king Charles, but Rabane & Alcuine returned into their countrie. In all such warres and tournies as Charles afterwards made against anie of his enemies, the said lord William was a chiefe doer in the same, so that his fame and authoritie dailie grew in all places where he came. His seruice too king Charles in notable stead in his expeditions against the Sarons, Hungarians, and other; but namelie his estimation in Italie was most highlie aduanced, at what time the said Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appointing this William to be his lieutenant in Tuscany, and to haue the chiefe charge for the restoring of the said citie, which he with such diligence applied, that within short time the same was not onelie fortified with new wals, repaired and replenished with great numbers of houses, churches, and other beautifull buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citizens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie citie and towne thereabouts for that purpose.

The citie being thus restored to his former estate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king

Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieutenant the foresaid William, the citizens to thew themselves thankefull, deuised for a perpetuall memorie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling one of those which the kings of France giue, saue that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that their citie (after the destruction thereof by the Goths) was reedified and restored to the former dignitie, by the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did institute publike plates to be vsed and celebrated euerie yeere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies they crowne a lion. And further that there should be kept vpon the charges of the treasure within the citie certeine lions (for the foresaid lord William gaue a lion for his cognifance) and therevpon as the Scottish chronicles affirme, those beasts grew to be had in such honor amongst the Florentines. Thus this valiant capteine, the foresaid lord William, passing his time in notable exercises, and worthy feats of chualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of those twelue martiall warriours, which are called commonlie by the Scottishmen, Scotelglimore.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in warres, he was neuer married, wherevpon growing in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he builded diuers abbies and monasteries both in Italie and Germanie, richlie indowing the same with lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such number of monks, as he appointed to be in the said abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according to the ancient ordinance by him deuised, except he were a Scottishman borne. In witnesse of which ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remaining in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing changed from the first order or institution. Before the accomplishment of these things, by the foresaid lord William, brother (as is said) to the Scottish king Achaius, I find that the vniuersities of Paris and Paula were instituted by king Charles, chieflie by the helpe and means of these two fore-remembered Scottishmen, John and Clement, in somuch that Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the students at Paris, and John of the other at Paula.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achaius, ye shall vnderstand, that about the same time, or not much differing from the same, Adelstane the sonne of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons, taking vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eastsaxon, Mercia, and Northumberland (which Egbert his grandfather had receiued into his gouernement) desirous now to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Britishe dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira, and contained the marches about Berwicke, alledging how the same appertained to his kingdome of Northumberland, and had bene fraudulently taken from his ancestors by the Brits; but forsomuch as there was a commotion raised the same time in Mercia, he was called backe to appease it, and herevpon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, sauing such prisoners as he brought away with him, he returned. Hungus the Britishe king foretomaing this inturious enterprise of the Englishmen, determined to reuenge the same in all possible hast, and therefore made instant sute vnto Achaius (who had married his sister) to haue his aid against them.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to doe the Englishmen a displeasure, sent forthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With which, and with his owne power king Hungus invaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great botie of goods and prisoners; but yet he forbore slaughter of men, and burning of houses,

The armes of Florence.

A lion crowned.

Lions kept at Florence.

Scotelglimore.

William married ma- keth Christ his heire. Monasteries of Scottishmen in Germanie.

The vniuersitie of Paris and Paula.

Adelstane entred into Deira.

Deira wasted by fire and sword.

Hungus aided with Scottishmen invaded Northumberland.

He warred without slaughter and burning.

Athelstane
pursueth
Hungus.

houses, for a recurrence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iourne into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawn into their countrie, he followed them so nere at the heels, that verie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs where they lodged by a brooke side, not passing two miles from Waddington, before they had any knowledge of his approach. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enemies according to his wishd desire, and herewith comming vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

Athelstane his
cruell procla-
mation.

The Picts
are amazed.

The Picts thus seeing their enemies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wonderfull amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to doe. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifying of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceived how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enemies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their prouision, trulle, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Herevpon manie reasons were put forth amongst them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was done, the Picts keeping themselves still within their campe.

Athelstane
doth challenge
his enemies.

The Picts
prepare them-
selves vnto
battell.

The English-
men are put to
sight.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongst them, it was agreed by generall consent, that the next day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so herevpon preparing themselves for the purpose, euen vpon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enemies with fierce willes, speciallie encouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approach and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their foye impression; so that beginning somewhat to swaue, at length they were forced to flee vnto the place, where ye heard how they toke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, in somuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellows, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than any of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

Athelstane is
slaine.

Wiltone sword.

A dreame.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vnneth escaped five hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstans ford. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sleepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enemies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as

The crosse of
saint Andrew.

he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: wherevpon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sleepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, with there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from above against their cruell enemies.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie scene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patrone and protector of the Scottish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of joining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obtained, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the relikes of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout prayer after the accustomed manner. They bowed there also at the verie same time (as the same goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognisance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgarvie, there being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his iniurious enterprise.

Saint An-
drew the
Scottish
patrone.

Saint Regule,

why Scottish
men vie saint
Andrews
crosse in war-
fare.

Athelstane his
buriall.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new bildings & needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreover, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and silver, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the relikes of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme: and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answer before any temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongst the Picts after Hungus, toke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had given them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuiledges, that they should answer for secular crimes afore secular magistrats; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, soldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus had so freelie bestowed vpon them.

Hungus re-
paires saint An-
drews church.

Images of
gold and sil-
uer.

Tenths to be
giuen to the
clergie.

Feredeth tak-
eth from the
clergie their
priuiledges.
And why not.

Priests to be
tried afore se-
cular iudges.

The nobles of the land mainteined Feredeth in his doings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be put cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine; as shortly after followed. Where he some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogether about

about this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in most of his accounts, as the author whom he taketh to be most certaine, as well for the account of the time as in the course of the whole historie. And for that we meane not to presume wholie to derogate the same Boetius his credit, we haue not much dissent from him, but rather followed him in most places, leauing such doubts as may be worthilie put forth of that which he writeth, vnto the consideration of the diligent reader, sith it is not our purpose to impugne, but rather to report what we find written by others, except now and then by the way to admonish the reader of some vnlikelihoods (as the same doth seeme to vs and others) and hapilie not without iust occasion.

But now to our purpose. As well Hungus king of Picts, as Achais king of Scots, after the overthrow and death of Athellane, liued with their people in good quiet and rest: for the Englishmen attempted nothing against the Scots and Picts afterwards, during the time of their reignes. At length Achais, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was about the first yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, according to the maner of kings amongst his predecessors. In the daies of this Achais (beside Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) liued bishop Cernadus a notable preacher in Spurre land, also bishop Glacian with Modan and Medan two brethren, all doctors and men of singular knowledge, in respect whereof they were had in great credit and estimation with the people.

After the decesse of Achais, Comall that was his vnckles sonne Dongall, the brother of king Ethine, succeeded in gouernement of the Scottish kingdome. Betwixt this Comall and Hungus the Pictish king, there was wonderful loue and amitie shewed, both of them studieng by all means how to mainteine the ancient league and alliance betwixt their people, whereupon ensued great wealth and quietnesse vnto both their kingdomes. Fmallie Hungus waisted with a continuall consumption deceased, deliuering by his kingdome into the hands of his sonne Dorfolozgus, and that in the presence of king Comall, who likewise liued not long after him, for in the first yeare of his reigne he likewise departed out of this world, by force of naturall sickness.

Dongall the sonne of king Soluathius was re-
Deiued to succeed by the common consent of the states of all the realme, a man of singular wisdom and great knowledge. But for that he was somewhat seuerer in punishing the misordered behaviours of the nobilitie, & misgouerned youth of his realme, diuers of the nobles conspired against him, forcing one Alpine the sonne of Achais to make claime to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie, but either to follow their minds, or else to be murdered amongst them, consented to go with them into Argile, where they purposed to crowne him king sitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to the manner. Whobest, at his comming into that countrie, he found means to conuey himselfe from amongst them, least through his means the quiet state of his countrie should be brought into trouble: and forthwith being escaped out of their hands with a few other that were priuie to his intention, he maketh all the hast he could, till he came to the presence of Dongall, who receiued him in most ioyfull wise, promising that if it should be thought necessarie by the states of the realme, he would gladlie resigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, desirous of nothing moze than to see the advancement of the

house of Achais. Such (saith he) were the merites of that famous prince towards the preservation of the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thanks, besought him to continue in the administration, praying God and the world to witnesse, that he minded nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouernement of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as touching his offense, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conspirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he had not consented vnto their desires. Within three yeares after, there came messengers from the rebels to excuse themselves also, & to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh such speed towards the place where he understood the said rebels were assembled together, that he was vpon them ere they had anie knowledge of his setting forwards. So that before they could make anie shift to escape out of danger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of the realme remained afterward a great deale moze in quiet.

Whilost things passed thus in Scotland, Eganus the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found means to murder his brother Dorfolozgus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and through support of some of the nobilitie he attained to his purpose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more firmelie in the estate, he franklie bestowed his fathers treasure amongst his lords and chieffest peers of his realme, and tooke to wife Bzena the king of Mercia his daughter, whom his brother the forenamed Dorfolozgus had married, that thereby he might assuage the said king of Mercia his displeasure, which otherwise he should hapilie haue conceived for the death of his other sonne in law the same Dorfolozgus. His feare was great on each side, and therefore had small affiance in anie person, doubting lest one or other should seeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durst neuer go anie waies forth abroad without a gard of men of warre about him, whome he had wone & made his fast friends by his passing great largesse and bountifull liberalitie. At length yet, his wife to reuenge his former husbands death, found means to strangle him as he lay one night fast asleepe, hauing drunk a little too much in the evening before, and in this sort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the space of two yeares.

Thus both Eganus & Dorfolozgus being made away, without leauing anie issue behind them, for so much as now there remained none of the posteritie of Hungus to succeed in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephew to the said Hungus, by his sister Fergusiana, with the aduise of king Dongall, made claime thereto, and therupon sent his messengers vnto the lords and peeres of the Pictish dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well understood: and that if they throughlie considered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the provision of almightie God, that for want of lawfull succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to succeed in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such mortall

Ally. warres,

Alpine his excuse vnto Dongall.

Dongall maketh an armie against the rebels.

Eganus murdereth his brother.

Eganus lieth in feare.

Eganus is strangled of his quene.

warres, as by discord and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their utter ruines.

The Pictish nobilitie, hauing knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should shortly come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should seeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelon the Scottish ambassadoys, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled; they being admitted therefore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdome of the Picts, the people would not suffer them to proceede any further therein, but began to make such an uprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe toke vpon him to make answer vnto the ambassadoys: and therupon commanding silence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpore the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordinance decreed, that if any man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therfore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephew of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet because he was a stranger borne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regall administration vnto an other house, of the which one was alreadie proclaimed and inuested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make any further claime or demand vnto the kingdome.

Upon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall shewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Picts should thus go about by such subtil arguments and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And therupon the second time he sent his ambassadoys vnto them, requiring them either to doe him reason without any further surmised cauillations; either else within thre moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scottish mens hands. These ambassadoys passing forth on their iourneie, at their approaching vnto Camelon, certaine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, vpon paine of death.

The ambassadoys being terrefied with such manner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to meet them, to giue signification therof vnto their maister Feredeth, and to the whole Pictish nation; and so returned home the same way they came. Then did the Scottish lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the same time late in Carrike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongst them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minding to set Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a strange nation to reigne ouer them. But whilst Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readie for his enterprise, he chanced to be drowned in the river of Speie, as he was about to passe the same in a

bote. This mishap chanced him in the first yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all full and all obsequies.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chieffest studie was vpon his first entring into the estate, to follow his late touching his title to the Pictish kingdome: and hereupon with all diligence preparing a mighty host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterprise) he passed forth towards Angus, not staing till he came to the castell of Forfar, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictish king with a great armie of his subiects aranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, wherupon immediatlie nere vnto the towne of Kellennoth they met, and joining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scottish armie was nere hand ouerthrowne; but Feredeth lieutenant of Athole came speedilie to the succors with 400 of his countienten, and restored the battell on the Scottish side: wherby ensued a right sore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of shrinking on either part, by meanes wherof it seemed doubtful for a long space vnto whether side the victorie should incline.

At length Feredeth perceiving the middle ward of his battell a litle to shrinke, speedilie pressed forth to succor the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to attend him: but entring thus with great violence amongst the thickest preale of his enemies, he was closed in on each side, and excluded so from the residue of his owne people, that he could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by any other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiving their liues to be in present danger, did cast themselves into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, wherupon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, together with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts giue ouer the battell, so long as any daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withstanding to their camps with small joy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had bene made on both sides.

The capteins of the Picts weeing with themselves the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherfore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewise, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe bold of men of warre to defend the same. Whereupon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certaine horsemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field: thereby to vnderstand whether the Picts ment any deceit by their departure, as by laweing of some attributments, or otherwise: but vpon the returne of those horsemen, when it was once knowne how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioicing thereat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, diuiding the same amongst themselves according to their accustomed order.

Alpine

Alpine.
Alpine crowned king of Scotland.

Alpine with an armie inuaded Pictland.

Feredeth the thane of Athole.

Feredeth is slaine.

The night parted the armies.

The Picts fled by night.

The Scots diuide the spoile.

The Picts chose Feredeth to be king.

The ambassadoys come in to the court.

King Feredeth his answer vnto the Scottish ambassadoys.

Dongall his displeasure with the Picts answered.
Ambassadoys sent againe.

Ambassadoys are not receiued.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Picts.

The Scots willingly giue themselves vnto the war.

Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his enemie Feredeth to be laid in chistian buriall not farre from Forfar. After this causing the masters of his people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battell, and thereupon brake vp his campe for that time, licensing those that were left alive to returne vnto their homes. This battell being fought in the first yere of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weakened the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of utter ruine (if they should commit their whole puissance effronies to the hazard of another foughten field) determined to pursue the warre by making of incursions and inroades onelie vpon their enemies, so to vex the Wicks, and to bring them vnto reason, if it were possible. And so much verely the Scottishmen did by such their continuall rodes & incursions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left bold and desolate of all the inhabitants.

Neither did Wudus the sonne of Feredeth, (whome the Wicks had chosen to succeed after his father in the kingdom) find anie speedie redresse to withstand those daile inuasions thus made by the Scots vpon his countries and subiects. For he was but a slothfull person, and verie negligent in his office, whereupon he was had in derision of his owne people, who in the end sue him amongst themselves befoze he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole yere. When succeeded Keneth, the second sonne of Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother. For gathering together an armie of his subiects, and comming with them into Angus, he came no sooner within sight of his enemies, but that casting off his armor, he fled incontinently, leaving his people in the field; and for that his haste, was slaine by a plowman that met him by chance, and knew him not, but yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie, and therefore deferred not to haue anie other fauour. His people seeing themselves destitute of their head capteine and gouernor, retired from their enemies, keeping themselves in order of battell without anie further attempt.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Wicks chose to their king one Wudus, a man of a stout and manlike stomach, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, comming into Angus (which region the Scots had made waste) caught there certeine Scottish robbers, and forthwith hanged them vp vpon gibets. After this, he sent forth his ambassadoz vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixt the two nations, and to haue the ancient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the Scottish lords, hauing quicklie aduised what to answer, declared vnto the Wicks ambassadoz plainly, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace, till the Wicks had deliuered the kingdom vnto the right heire. Wudus vnderstanding by this answer, that the Scots would still follow the warres against the Wicks, to be the better able to withstand their malice, he purposed to procure the friendship of the Englishmen, to haue their aid against the Scots. He sent therefore his ambassadoz with a great summe of monie vnto Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue some number of his people for his wages to serue him against the Scots.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promised to come himselfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place Wudus should appoint, to go against the Scots in defense of him and his subiects the Wicks. And the Wicks reioiced greatlie, that they should haue aid thus of the Englishmen, hoping thereby to haue assured victorie of their aduersaries. Other mistrust

ted not a little the Englishmens offers, by reason of the old enimitie betwixt the Wicks and them. In this meane season the Scots take and seize vpon all the countrie of Angus, euen from the mountaine of Grangebene vnto the riuer of Taie, whercof Wudus being certified, sendeth a post with all speed vnto king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him to send to his aid a power of Englishmen, to helpe to resist the Scots, which at that present inuaded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made this answer, that he was not onelie troubled with this ciuill war made against him by other Englishmen, but also had bene requested by Letwes surnamed Plus, as then French king, in no wise to indamage the Scots his confederats, so that for that yere present he might not conuenientlie send to him anie succours, but if he would defer the warres till the next yere, he should haue the best helpe that he were able to shew him.

Wudus perceiuing himselfe thus mocked and belad by the Englishmen, commanded by solcinne summons, that all such of his subiects, as were able to beare armor, should assemble in nether Calidon within eight daies after, with conuenable provision of vittels, there to know his pleasure. His commandement was obeyed: so that a mightie armie of men at the day and place appointed came together, which being mustered, they streitwaies remoue vnto Calidon castell, now called Dunkeld, where they passe the riuer of Taie, and so enter into Angus, not without some difficultie: but being once gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place where they vnderstood their enemies did lie. Wudus the night befoze the day in the which he thought they should haue battell, by the aduise of certeine expert warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the boxes that were in the campe, seruing for burden, to be bestowed amongst the women, lackies, and cowfrels, part of them being clad in armor, and part in white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to speares and iauelins. Amongst them also he ordeined an hundred horsemen to be placed, whome he made pstate as then to his intention, by whose leading that feat which should be wrought in this behalfe, was to be achieved. These he caused to lie couertlie within a wood nere vnto the place where the battell should be fought, giuing them in commandement not to shew themselves till the battell were begun.

King Alpine all this while held himselfe in a castell which stood vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, being now decayed, so that little thereof remaineth to be seene at this day. Vpon the north side of the hill, therelies a great large plaine, compassed on each side with mounteins, as then full of woods & launds, but now for the most part bare and without anie trees or bushes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Alpine beholding forth of the castell, how the Wicks approached to giue battell, got him into the campe, & exhorting his people to shew themselves valiant, placed them in arate. The Wicks no lesse desirous to fight than their gouernors would haue wished them, began the battell befoze they had commandement, with such violence, that the right wing of the Scots was soze disordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came speedilie to their succours, greatlie reproving them for their faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so much to embolden them, that by his means the fight was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that those which befoze were put backe, began to winne ground againe, and to beate downe their enemies verie fiercelie.

But herewith did the counterfet troope of horsemen, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come forth, and shewed themselves vpon the backe halfe of the Scottish

Englishmen assistance. The Scots take Angus.

Wudus sendeth vnto Edwine for aid.

Edwine deferreth his aid.

Wudus being deceived of the English men, called his owne subiects to the warre, assembling them at the foot of Calidon wood.

Wudus entreateth into Angus with an armie.

A wonderful policie used by Wudus.

The incamping of Alpine his armie.

Whyle the Wicks began the battell.

Feredeth is buried.

The Scots determine to warre onlie with incursons.

Wudus succeedeth his father Feredeth.

The Wicks sue their slothfull king. Keneth king of the Wicks. The king casting off his armor, fleeth. He was slaine by a plowman.

Wudus king of the Wicks.

Wudus sent vnto Alpine for renewing their league.

Alpine refuseth anie treatie of peace.

Wudus sendeth an ambassadoz vnto Edwine king of England for aid, with a summe of monie.

The monie is receiued and accepted.

The Wicks come downe to the battell.

The Scots being deceived with a counterfet trope of horsemen fled.

King Alpine taken by his enemies and after beheaded

Kenneth the sonne of Alpine inuested king of Scotland.

8 3 4.

The Picts giue thanks vnto God for their victorie. They make a vow to continue the warre.

The good counsell of graue men is despised.

The Scots are animated.

The Picts fall at variance with themselves.

Brudus died.

Drusken R. ouer the Picts

The head of king Alpine is stolne, and solemnlie buried with the bodie.

Scottishmen, appearing in sight to be an huge number, a farre more than they were in deed: with which sight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare, least they should be compassed about with multitude of enemies, they brake their arraie, threw off their armor, and toke them to their feet, so to escape and saue themselves by flight. Thus few were slaine in the battell, but a great number died in the chase, & were beaten downe on eith side as they were overtaken by the Picts. Alpine himselfe was taken, and hauing his hands bound behind him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the name of him vnto this day, being called Basalpine. His head also was set vpon a pole, and borne vnto Camelon, and there let vpon one of the highest turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from this sorrowfull ouerthrow, got them with all speed vnto Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yere of our Lord 834, and the fourth yere after Alpine entred first into the estate.

The Picts hauing attained this great and soillfull victorie, assembled at Camelon by commandement of their king, where causing a solemn procession to be made, in rendering thanks to almightie God for their good successe in their passed iourne: they take a generall oth vpon the gospell booke, that from thenceforth they would not cease to make the Scots war, till they had utterlie destroyed the race of them: and here with ordeined a law, that if anie man made mention of anie peace or league to be had with the Scots, he should lose his head for it. There were indeed some ancient personages amongst them, that spake against this insolent outrage of the people, alleging that in time of prosperous successe men ought to vse a modestie: but certaine youthfull persons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the authors thereof out of the church, within the which they were as then assembled. The Scots being certified hereof, were nothing herewith discouraged, but rather put in god hope of better successe, sith the enemies abused themselves thus in time of felicitie.

The next summer after, the Picts assembled their power together, and setting forward towards the Scots, thorough a light occasion they fell at variance amongst themselves, and fought with such hatred together, that the king was not able to appease the fraie, till night parted them in sunder. Then calling the lords afore him, he assaied alwaies to haue agreed the parties, but when he saw it would not be, in the morning he gaue them licence to depart euerie man to his owne home, breaking off his iourne for that time. Brudus liued not past thre moneths after, for thorough griefe that things went not forward as he wished, he fell into a greuous disease, and finally thereof died. After whose deceasse, the Picts chose his brother named Drusken, to succed in gouernment of the kingdome, who applied his whole endeavour vpon his first entring into the estate, to appease the ciuill discord amongst his subiects.

But whilst he was thus busilie occupied about the same, there were certaine Scots, which sore disdained to vnderstand that the head of their late king should remaine vnburied, in such reprochfull sort amongst their enemies. Wherevpon hauing perfect knowledge of the Pictish tong, they feined themselves to be merchantmen of that countrie, & coming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they found meanes in the night season to steale to the walls, and secretlie taking awaie the head, escaped with the same home into their owne countrie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended: and so now the head of king Alpine being recovered, was closed in a ledden coffin, and Kenneth him-

selfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmekill, where he buried it in the abbey, amongst the sepulchres of his elders, together with the residue of the bodie in verie solemn wise, as appertained. And further, those persons that had put their liues in aduenture to fetch the same head from the walls of Camelon, were by Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuities, to remaine to them and to their heires for euer. After this, Kenneth deuising for the suertie of his subiects, furnished all the holds and castles on the frontiers of his enemies with men and munition, according as he thought expedient: and moreover toke order, that all the youth of the realme should be in a readinesse vpon an houres warning, to go forth against the Picts, if they attempted anie new inuasions.

But the Scottish lords had no great lust to take anie enterprize in hand against the Picts, remembering how infortunatlie they had sped the last time: so that for the space of thre yeres there was no great exploit atchiued, saue certaine roads and incursions, which both the nations continuallie vsed to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion serued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other injuries by them done and attempted against the Scottish nation, in the fourth yere of his reigne, he assembled the peeres and chiefest nobles of his realme, trusting to persuaade them to aid him in all such enterprizes as he ment to take in hand against the Picts, whome he purposed to pursue with open warres, till he had them at his pleasure. But calling his lords and peeres thus assembled on a day before him, and going earnestlie about to moue them to the warres, he could stir them no more to his purpose, than if he had bene in hand to haue counselled them vnto that which in no wise had appertained vnto their duties: which their lacke of stomach, Kenneth perceiuing, he began to deuise a prettie shift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemblee for the same day, he commanded that they should come together againe on the next morow, to consult further for the state of the realme; as they should see cause. The same euening also he had them all to supper, which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were sone brought into a sound sleape. Now had the king appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man apparelled in garments prettie deuised and made of fish skins buskiled, bearing in one of their hands a staffe of such rotten wood as shineth in the night, and in their other hand a great ore hozne, to the end that uttering their words through the same, the sound of their voices should seme farre differing from the usual speech of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to eith of them assigned, where (as is said) the lords late fast asleepe, who being at the first as if were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting whether it were but a dreame, or some true and unfeined vision.) Here with also were heard certaine seuerall voices, far greater than those of men, declaring that they were messengers sent from almightie God vnto the Scottish nobilitie, to command them to obey their king, for his request was iust: the Pictish kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage, & ought to be recovered from that people, which for their great offences and sins towards almightie God, should shortly come to bitter destruction: such was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maiestie, in dead.

Kenneth fortified the realme.

Kenneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

A prettie shift deuised by the king to persuaade the nobilitie.

Of such sights there were many in those daies: and oftentimes no doubt esteemed to be heremitic visions.

testie, against the which might neither counsell nor puissance of man be able to resist.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus made an end of their words, theyilie hid their stanes vnder their innermost garments, and therewith quicklie conueied their uppermost vestures made of fitch scales (as I haue said) into their bosoms, in such slight and nimble wise, that it seemed these visions had suddenlie vanished awaie. Those lords that had scene these sights, laie still for that night, greatly musing on the matter. In the morning being got vp, and assembled in the counsell chamber, they declared to ech other what they had scene and heard in the night passed. And for that all their visions which they had scene by ech others report, were in euerie behalfe like, and nothing differing one from an other, they beleued verelie it was some celestiaall oracle & message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had bene admonished from aboue, to continue the wars with all their forces against the Picts.

The king told them he had scene the like vision, but they ought to keepe it close, least by glorieng too much in the fauour shewed by almighty God toward them, they might happlie displease his diuine maiestie, which other wise they might perceiue was ready in their aid. When finally the vision be published, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of the king was well liked of them all, and commandement giuen, that all manner of provision should be prepared with all speed for an armie to be set forth into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to provide themselves of all things necessarie, mustered their men in all parts, so that there was leuieda greater host than had bene scene in those parties of long time before. When the whole power was come together, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entering by great violence into the Pictish borders about Sterling.

Dusken the king of Picts aduertised hereof, and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts and such Englishmen as he had retained, to serue him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and passing by the Scottish armie in the night, incampeth betwixt them and home, in such sort that the day did no longer appeere, but the one part desirous to be in hand with the other, without token of trumpet, or commandement of captaine, they rushed together most fiercelie. The hastie speed of the Picts to the charge, put them to no small disadvantage; but the departure of the Englishmen, without abating themselves aside to the next mountaine, most of all discouraged them: for the Scots therewith giuing a shout, declared themselves to be highlie recomforted with that sight. Dusken in all haste sent vnto those Englishmen a messenger, willing them with large promises of reward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen answered, that their life was not to fight without order and commandement of their generall, and that the Picts like unskillfull men had cast awaie themselves to be slaine by the enemies hand, where it appertained vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when no hope of victorie appeared.

The middle ward of the Picts seeing themselves left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs; whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their ground and defended them; they began to thinke: which the Scots perceiuing, strooke on the more fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to withstand their force, fell to running awaie. They made their course towards the water of Forth, which was not farre from the place of the battell, where being overtaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great

numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The Englishmen whilest the Scots and Picts were thus occupied in the sight and chase, withdrew homeward with all speed; and by reason of the mounteins which they had to passe, that toke awaie the sight of them from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie without anie pursute. Dusken himselfe so soone as he perceiued how the field went against him, got him to his horse, which he had appointed to be ready for him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of danger with a few other in his companie.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in the place of the battell all night, keeping strong watch about their campe, for doubt least the Englishmen had bene lodged in some secret place nere by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might haue scene anie aduantage; but in the morning when it was knowne how they were quite gone their waies, and returned into their countrie (as before we haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pictish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the soldiers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in this iourne so manfullie imployed. Within few daies after, the Pictish king Dusken sent his ambassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare him, and promised to grant a peace, so they would surrender into his hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vtterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that the warre was effrones renewed with more crueltie than before.

The yere next ensuing this battell, Kenneth got Mernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furnishing all the castles and holds with men, munition, and vittels. But whilest he went about to subdue the countries about Sterling, word was brought him that such as he left thus in garison in those countries, were betrayed by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie mothers sonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in wrath for the newes, lest off his treatie, which then he had in hand with the people of Mernes and Sterlingshire for their submission, and returned in great hast towards Fife, where being arrived, he put all to the fire and sword, not leauing one aliue of the Pictish nation within all those quarters. The like crueltie was shewed through the whole countries of Mernes and Angus, for an example to other to beware how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of allegiance.

In the meane tyme that Kenneth with his Scots raged in such wise through those countries, Dusken assembling all the power of his countries, came forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning either to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, either else to die with honor in the attempt thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length he came vnto Dornock, where afterwards stood a famous abbie of chanoines of saint Augustines order, and here he found Kenneth with his armie already incamped. The next day, when both parties were ready to haue giuen battell, Dusken wishing rather to aske peace whilest his power was yet in safetie, than after he were once vanquished (if such were his misaduenture) to intreat for the same in baine, sent an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before he ioined, for that he had to say certeine things, which being followed, might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of both the Scottish and Pictish nations.

Kenneth

The English men escape.

Dusken escaped by flight

The Picts sue for peace,

Kenneth getteth Mernes, Angus, and Fife.

Fife is put to the fire and sword.

Mernes and Angus is crucie punishment.

Dusken cometh to rescue his people.

The lords declare their vision vnto the king.

The answer of king Kenneth.

Kenneth entered into Sterlingshire, Dusken haue thus invaded his enemies.

The Englishmen fled.

Dusken sent to the Englishmen.

The Picts are vanquished.

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse a nie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a communication, and so thereupon both the kings in ptesence of both their armies arranged in the field readie to fight, came together in a place appointed, either of them being accompanied with a like number of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accorded. Here Dzusken with manie reasons going about to persuade peace, shewed how necessarie the same was betwixt the two nations: and againe, how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted too much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title and interest as they had in the countries of Bernes, Angus, and Fife, vnto him and his successors the Scottish kings for ever, so that he should make no further claime vnto anie other of those countries which the Picts as yet possessed.

The persuasion of peace by Dzusken.

Bernes, Angus, and Fife is required of the Picts to release.

Kenneth his answer.

Wherevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vnderstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but si- then the Picts fought in an vnjust quarell, as to defraud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hungus, who latelie reigned amongst them, of the rightfull inheritance of their kingdome, they themselves had iust cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to at- teine that by warre which by other means they could not atteine at the hands of the vnjust possessors, they had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was reason they should. And what commoditie might there- of insue to both nations, being by such means once ioined and vnited into one iustie kingdome, he doubt- ed not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie inough. And as for other conditions of peace than this, he told them plainelie there would be none accepted. Thus did the kings depart in sunder, without anie agreement concluded: and being returned to their armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint of sword.

The order of the battell.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew themselves men, sith the same should iudge whether the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effect- uall words when he had incouraged his folks to the battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he set first archers and arcubalisters; and next vnto them pikemen and speares, then bilmen and other with such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude with all kind of weapons, as was thought most expedient. The fore ward was committed to the lea- ding of one War, a man right skillfull in all warlike knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The king himselfe with a troope of horsemen followed them to succour in all places where he saw need.

King Dzusken imbolde- neth his peo- ple the Picts.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to the battell, which the Scots began with such a cheere- full shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset were so amazed, that if Dzusken had not with com- fortable words relieved their fainting stomaches, the most part of them had fled without anie stroke stricken. But being incouraged through the ptesence of their king, shewing himselfe with cheerefull counte- nance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them to stand by him at that ptesent, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell betwene them. The wo- men that were amongst the Picts, of whom there was no small number, speciallie in the right wing, made such a woofull noise, when they beheld the men

one kill an other, that they were a more cumbzance to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of service: by reason whereof that wing was shortly beate downe, and put to flight. Which when Ken- neth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring in amongst them, disordered their arate in such wise, that by no means they were able to aid themselves, or come into anie order againe: so that in the end they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and take them to their feece, thereby to escape the dan- ger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons laie here & there strewd in the place of the battell, that the Scots were forced in following the chase to breake their arate, so to passe the more speedilie: by means whereof, falling amongst whole bands of the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

Kenneth with the horsemen disordered the Picts arate.

The right wing of the Picts is put to flight.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiuing, comman- ded to sound the retreat, and so gathering his peo- ple about their standards, he appointed certeine companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of the enimies, whilst he himselfe with the residue a- bode still in the place (where the field was fought) all that day and the next night following. The Sco- tish capteins that were sent to follow the chase, earnestlie executing their kings commandement, made great slaughter of Picts in all places where they might ouertake them. Dzusken the Pictish king himselfe being pursued to the riuer of Tair, for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine with the whole retinue which he had about him. It is said, that the Scottishmen incountred with the Picts that day at seuen sundrie times, and in seuen sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the Scots. The day after the battell, such as had followed the chase returned to the campe; where they presen- ted vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other spoile of Dzusken the Pictish king, which they brought with them, besides great abundance of other pil- lage and riches, which they had gotten of the enimies that were slaine. Dzusken's armour and other things belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name with in the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a monument of this victorie to such as should come after.

Kenneth causeth the re- treat to be sounded.

The king of the Picts slaine.

After this the whole pteie and spoile was gathered and diuided amongst the souldiers. Kenneth was counselled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue departed home; but he purposing now to make an end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a for- wardnesse, called together the multitude, and in this wise began to utter vnto them his mind and purpose. It is the dutie of a good capteine, when he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres not ended, if he mind the pteseruation of himselfe and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought, not to cease from pursuing the enimies once van- quished, till he haue either made them his friends, or else utterly destroyed & rid them out of the way; for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the en- mie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened and brought to a low ebbe, till time peraduenture he shall haue recovered his forces againe, he shall pro- cure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than hap- pils he is well ware of. And that we may speake somewhat of this dangerous present, the state of the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is sore infested, their power being diminished by force of warre, is brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands vt- terlie to destroye and exterminat the whole nation. Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for vs by anie meanes to draw them (our hono- rable) vnto

An oration of King Kenneth

“ into our friendship . But the Picts are of such a
 “ stubbozne nature , and so desirous of reuenge , that
 “ so long as there remaineth anie one of them aline ,
 “ they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge
 “ all such losses as they haue in anie wise sustained by
 “ this warre . Whereupon I doe verelie beleue , that
 “ there is none of the Pictish nation from henceforth ,
 “ will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the
 “ Scots . Therefore sith we can not make the Picts ,
 “ thus latelie scourged by vs , our friends , I thinke
 “ it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) to
 “ terlie to deströie the whole nation , by putting to the
 “ sword not onlie both men and women , but also all
 “ their youth and young chyliden : least they being de-
 “ cended of that linage , hereafter in time to come ,
 “ arme themselves to the reuenge of their parents
 “ deaths , and that not without perill of the bitter losse
 “ of our countrie and kingdome .

“ This sentence of the king , though it seemed to cru-
 “ ell to many , yet together for that they sawe the same to
 “ stand with the kings pleasure , or that they thought it
 “ most expedient for the libertie of the Scottish com-
 “ mon-wealth , it was allowed and ratified by them
 “ all . Such crueltie hereupon was forthwith shewed
 “ throughout all the Pictish regions , that there was
 “ not one liuing creature of humane shape left aline ,
 “ sauing such as saued themselves within the walles
 “ of Camelon , or in certeine other holds and forres-
 “ ses , and also about two thousand of those that fled in-
 “ to England : for all the residue were most inmerci-
 “ fullie murdered and slaine , without respect either
 “ of age , sex , profession , or estate . Thus Kenneth ha-
 “ uing dispatched the inhabitants , seized the countrie
 “ into his owne hands , making partition of the same
 “ as he sawe cause , and diuiding it amongst his nobles ,
 “ according to the merits of euerie of them duilie
 “ weied and considered , he added new names vnto e-
 “ uerie quarter and region (either after the name of
 “ the gouernor , or else of some promontorie , riuer , or
 “ other notable water or place , according as was the
 “ ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of
 “ the Pictish names might end together with the in-
 “ habitants .

“ The countrie ancientlie called Horestia , was gi-
 “ uen vnto two brethren , Angulian , and Pernan , by
 “ reason whereof the one part of the same countrie
 “ was called Angus , and the other the Pernes . The
 “ linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this
 “ day . The region which till then was named Athol-
 “ nia , was turned afterwards to the name of Fife , af-
 “ ter the name of one Fife Duffe : whose valiancie
 “ was throughtlie tried in these last warres with the
 “ Picts . There remaine vnto this day tokens and old
 “ ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Leuin
 “ and saint Kenneths church , which (as yet appeareth)
 “ was fenced about with seuen rampires , and as ma-
 “ nie ditches , wherein the posteritie of this worthy
 “ man after his decesse had their habitation by the
 “ space of manie hundred yeeres . Louthian retained
 “ still the former name , so honorable was the remem-
 “ brance of that famous prince king Loth amongst
 “ all men . The strongest castell of the whole countrie ,
 “ Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant capteine na-
 “ med Bar , whose counsell and forwarde seruice stood
 “ the Scots in no small stead in those warres , in which
 “ the Picts were thus subdued . That fortreffe euer si-
 “ thence (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar ,
 “ that is to say , the castell of Bar .

“ There descended of him a noble house or familie ,
 “ bearing the name of this castell , continuing in great
 “ fame and honor , euen vnto our time , of the which the
 “ earles of March had their beginning , and continued
 “ long in that dignitie from one to another , with sun-
 “ dry branches of right famous memorie . The names

of diuerse dales were also changed , but yet some
 kept their old names still . Dolucia hostlie after
 began to take the name of Annandale , of the riuer
 of Annan that runneth through the same . And so
 likewise Tweedale took name of the water of
 Tweed . And Cludsdale of the riuer of Clude . In
 like maner manie other countries , towncs , and ca-
 stles had their names changed at the same time , af-
 ter they came into the possession of the Scottishmen ,
 upon sundrie considerations , for a witnesse of their
 victorious acts atchieued against the Picts . Further-
 more , into the citie of Camelon were withdrawn
 the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the
 Picts , with their children , vpon trust to be in safetie
 in the same , as well by reason of strength of the
 place , as also of the strong garrison which was appoin-
 ted to defend it .

“ Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure a-
 broad in the countrie , came thither with a mightie
 armie to besiege the citie . And first sending vnto
 them within , to know if they would yield , he was an-
 swered , how sith it plainlie appeared , that the Scots
 could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter
 of all such as fell into their hands , aswell of women
 and chyliden , with impotent aged , as of others , they
 were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life .
 Whereupon the siege continued by the space of thre
 wee daies . Whilste the Scots in the meane time got
 together a great number of sagots , and other such
 brush and stufte to fill the ditches withall , which were
 verie deepe and broad , at length when they within be-
 gan to want vittels , they required a truce for thre
 daies , in the which meane time they might take ad-
 uise for the surrender of the citie . Kenneth mistrus-
 ting no deceit , granted their request , and thereupon
 commanded his people to cease from all manner of
 annoyance of the enemies , for that terme .

“ But in the meane time the Picts prepared them-
 selves of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon
 the Scots . There was also an old gate forlet and
 stopped vp with earth and stones vpon the one side of
 the citie , so that of a long time before there had bene
 no way forth by the same . Therefore in the darke of
 the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ra-
 melle therewith it was closed vp , about the third
 watch they passe forth at that gate in good order of
 battell , setting first vpon such Scots as kept the
 standing watch , who were in doubt of nothing lesse
 than of anie issue to be made on that side , by means
 whereof they were easilie oppressed , and likewise the
 other that kept the inner watch , insomuch that the
 slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent
 with great noise and clamor , as is commonlie sene
 in such sudden tumults , especiallie chancing in the
 night season .

“ When the day began once to appeare , the Picts
 withdrawing towards the citie by the same way
 they came , were pursued by the Scots , and no small
 number of them slaine at the entring . The citie al-
 so had bene taken at the same time , but that the
 Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles ,
 discharged a wonderfull number of quarrels , darts ,
 arrows , stones , and other things vpon the Scots ,
 as they approached nere to the gate , where their fel-
 lowes (that made the issue) basked to enter againe
 into the towne . There were slaine of the Scots at
 this bickering aboue six hundred , wherewith Ken-
 neth was so kindled with wrath , that detesting the
 falshood of the Picts , he botred by open oth that he
 would not depart from the siege , till he had put the
 citie and them within to fire and sword , without
 sparing of anie , either one or other .

“ Sundrie times he attempted to haue towne the
 citie by force of assault , but the Picts still defended
 their

The chan-
 ging of the
 names of the
 dales .

Annandale .
 Tweedale .
 Cludsdale .

The gentle-
 women are
 preserved in
 Camelon .

Kenneth send-
 eth vnto Ca-
 melon , coman-
 ding them for
 to yield .

They of Ca-
 melon require
 truce for thre
 daies .

The Picts
 issue vpon the
 Scots with
 great forrune .

An extreme
 how made by
 king Kenneth

The constan-
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 Picts when
 they were be-
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meth came
 the re-
 to be
 ded .

king of
 Dians
 .

The commons
 allow the
 kings taxing .

A cruell act
 committed by
 the Scots
 vpon the
 Picts .

Pictland par-
 ted vnto di-
 vers men .

New names
 are giuen vnto
 euerie
 region .
 Angus .
 Pernes .

Fife .

operation of
 Kenneth

Louthian .

Barward gi-
 uen vnto Bar
 which was
 the fortreffe
 of Dunbar .

The familie
 of Dunbar .

their walles so frontlie, that he could not atchieue his purpose. Whereupon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths togither. So that such scarcitie of all kinds of vittells still arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens abstained from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselves, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was forthwith slaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend vnto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obstinate in their wilfull contumacie, because they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stufte, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choicest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, ioining nere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should giue the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come forth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and hauing their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them by, and swiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as being gotten togither to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approach, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and coming on their backs, they were wonderfullie amazed, but yet so long as they were able to make anie resistance, they did what lay in their uttermost power to beat backe the Scots, and to driue them out of the citie againe.

The slaughter therfore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in euerie passage & corner of the streets, insomuch that the Scottish lords and other captains, in reuenge of the late receiued losse of their men, through the false practised policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to set fire on the houses, and to kill and slea all such of the Pictish nation as came in their way. Thus the murder proceeded vpon all estates, aswell religious as other, and likewise vpon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the presence of king Kenneth, besought him in most lamentable wise, to haue pittie vpon their wofull estate, and to saue their liues from the hands of his most cruell souldiers. But such was the rage kindled in the Scottishmens hearts, that there was no more fauor shewed toward them than toward the other, and so immediatlie were they also slaine without all compassion. So farre forth was the murder executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliuie of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miserable destruction of their countrie and kinsfolkes. When were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houses and buildings aswell priuate as publike, with churches and chappels, were set on fire, and that which might not be consumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and destroyed with hand, so that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the ashes, with heapes of the broken and burned stones, and likewise of the pavement and foundation of some part of the walles.

At the same time the castell of Maidens, now called commonlie Edenburgh castell, was still kept with

a mightie garrison of Picts, but they hearing of the miserable destruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like mischance, lest the castell should, and fled to Forthumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yere after they first began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 839, from the first coming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scottish chronicles be true. ¶ But where as the truth concerning the time of the first coming into this Ile, aswell of the Scots as Picts re-
flects doubtfull, and that aswell by authoritie of approved writers, as by reasonable conjectures, we haue in the historie of England more largelie written thereof; we referre those that be desirous to see further of that matter, vnto the same, following here in this historie of Scotland the report most an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottish writers, not taking vpon vs so frankelie to set downe our owne opinion in this Scottish, as in the English historie, through want of such helpes in the one, as we haue got in the other.

There were seene the same yere two comets or blasing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rising in harvest season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spring of the yere. There was oftentimes also seene in the aire a vision of fire armies, running togither with burning flaes, and the one being vanquished, they suddenlie both of them banished away. Also at Camelon, as the bishop was at seruice holding his crozier staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to ashes. About none daie, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countries of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with braseng of hozles, as though two armies should haue bene togither in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. These uncouth wonders were interpreted by diuiners diuerslie: some of them affirming the same to be token of joy and happie prosperitie, and other alledging, how they signified rather mishap and bitter calamitie.

But to returne to our purpose. King Kenneth hauing thus destroyed the Pictish kingdome, togither almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Fergus out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had bene diligentlie kept) into Courie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a sacred token for the establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raised plot of ground there, because that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought neare vnto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. Vpon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scottish kings were vsed to sit, when they receiued the investiture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him removed, those Latine verses were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the aforesaid Fergus the first his coming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

Now in the meane time, when those few of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes persuade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recoverie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas ouer in-

839.
1421. H.B.
6038. H.B.

Prodigious tokens seene in the aire.

The interpretation of these tokens.

The marble stone is removed from Argile into Courie, in the place called Scone.

The residue of the Picts were dispersed.

A prettie craft used by Kenneth.

The Scots enter the citie.

The Picts are miserablie slaine, without regard of person.

Ladies and gentlewomen desire the king to be pardoned of their liues.

All the Pictish nation destroyed. The citie of Camelon is throwne downe.

The castell of Maidens is left of the Picts.

to Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerſe other of them remained ſtill in England, where they got their living either by ſome manuall occupation, either elſe by ſervice in the warres. The Scots from thenceforth lived in quiet, during the life time of K. Kenneth, who deſerued eternall fame, by the enlarging of the bounds of his kingdome, ſo mightilie and in ſuch wiſe, that where he found the frontiers, he made the ſame well nere the middeſt of his kingdome. Other things he did alſo touching the politike gouernement of his ſubiects in time of peace, no leſſe worthe of praiſe than his noble and famous conqueſts: but ſpeciallie he ordeined certeine lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers ſhould proceed in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, of the which I haue thought requiſite to rehearſe part as yet being vſed, that aſwell the author, as the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, maie the better appeare, vnto ſuch as ſhall peruſe this hiſtorie.

The Chapters of thoſe lawes which yet remaine to be obſerued, are theſe.

Et euerie ſhire haue certein men ſkilled in the lawes appointed to be reſident in the ſame, according as in the beginning it was inſtituted. Let their ſonnes alſo in their youth be brought vp in knowledge of the ſame lawes.

Let them onelie keepe in their cuſtodies the tables of the lawes, with the register bookes of the kings & peres of the realme.

If any of them be conuicted of extort buying, or other the like vniuſt dealing, let him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remaine vnburiſed.

Such as are cōdemned for theft, let them be hanged, and thoſe that are proued guiltie of murder, let them loſe their heads.

A woman which is condemned to die, either let hir bee drowned in ſome riuer, either elſe let hir be buried quicke.

He that blaſphemeth the name of God, of the ſaints, of his prince, or of the capitaine of his tribe, let him haue his tong cut out.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbours hinderance, let him haue his ſword taken from him, and be baniſhed out of all mens companie.

Such as be accuſed of any crimes that deſerue death, let them paſſe by the ſentence of 7 honeſt men, either elſe of 9, 11, 13, 15, or moze, ſo that the number be od.

Robbers by the high waies, deſtroiers of cozne growing in the fields, as is ſled by enemies in time of warre, let them die by the ſword.

Fugitiues, vagabonds, and ſuch other idle perſons, let them be whipt and burnt in the cheſke.

Let not the wife ſuffer for the husbands offence, but the husband ſhal anſwer for the wifes murther, if he be priuie thereto.

Any mans lemmian, or concubine ſhal ſuffer the ſame paines that he doth which offendeth with hir.

He that rauiſheth a maid ſhal die for it, vnleſſe ſhe require for ſafegard of his life, to haue him to hir husband.

If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adulterie, ſhe conſenting vnto him therein, they ſhal both ſuffer death for it. But if ſhe conſent not, but be forced againſt hir will, then he ſhal die onelie for the ſame, and ſhe ſhal be releaſed.

If the child hurt the father either with tong, hand, or foot, let him firſt be deſtroyed of that member, and then hanged, his bodie to remaine without buriall.

A murderre, a dumbe perſon, or he that is vnthankfull to his parents, ſhal not inherit his fathers patrimonie.

Fuglers, wiſzards, necromancers, and ſuch as call by ſpirits, and be to ſeek vpon them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

Let no man ſow in the earth any graine before it be purged of all the weeds.

He that through negligent ſlouth, ſuffereth his arable ground to be choked by and ouergrowne with weeds; for the firſt fault let him forſait an ore, for the ſecond ten oxen, and for the third let him forgo the ſame ground.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend being ſlaine, ſee him buried, but let the enimie lie vnburiſed.

Anie ſtraie cattell that cometh into thy grounds, either reſtoze them to the owner, either els deliuer them to the ſearcher out of theues, commonlie called *Tonodrach*, or to the parſon or vicar of the towne: for if thou reteine them in thy hands by the ſpace of three daies, thou ſhalt be accounted guiltie of theft.

He that findeth anie thing that belongeth to an other man, let him cauſe it to be cried in the market, or els he ſhal be iudged for a fellow.

He that ſtriketh him, with whom he goeth to the law, about anie matter in controuerſie, ſhal be iudged guiltie of the action, and the other ſet free.

If oxen or kine chance by running together to kill one another, the truth being not known which it was that did the hurt, that which is found without hornes ſhal be iudged the occaſion of the ſkath; and he that is owner of the ſame, ſhal haue the dead beaſt, and ſatiſfie him for the loſſe to whome it belonged.

If a ſow eate hir pigs, let hir be ſtoned to death, and buried, ſo that no man eate of hir fleſh.

A ſwine that is found eating of cozne that groweth in the field, or wroting vpon the tilled grounds, let it be lawfull for anie man to kill the ſame without danger.

Other kinds of beaſts, wherein other men haue anie propertie, if they breake into thy paſtures, or eate by thy cozne, impound them, till time the owner haue ſatiſfied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

Theſe were ciuill ordinances belonging to the good gouernement of the people, other there were, which appertene to religion:

Smiths & of munes ſhal die.

Adulterers ſhal die.

A child hurt- ing his father ſhal die.

Who are not to inherit.

Fuglers and wiſzards, &c.

Sowing of graine.

Swil hys- bandie.

Buriell of friends.

Wifes and ſtraics.

Things found.

Adnerſaries in ſute of law.

Oxen or kine hurting each other.

A ſow.

Swine.

Beaſts de- uage ſauant.

Articles teach- ing religion.

The Scots was in quiet.

Kenneth made lawes & ordinances.

Lawiers ne- ceſſarie.

The tables of the law to be kept.

Robbers to be hanged.

Puniſhment for theft and murder.

A woman cō- demned to be drowned, or burned quicke.

Blasphemers haue their tongues cut out.

The puniſh- ment for a lie.

A man accu- ſed to be con- demned by an odd queſt of men.

Robbers to be put to the ſword.

Vagabonds ſhal be whipped and burnt in the cheſke. The wife ſhal not ſuffer for the husbands offence. The concu- bine and hir mate to haue alike puniſh- ment.

gion: as these.

Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratories, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.

Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, bigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honor of our S. Christ & his saints.

To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense worthe of death.

That ground wherin anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for seven yeres space.

Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance.

The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horse shall beare the coate-armoz of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horse; who after the corpes is brought to church, turning his horse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and there with the people making an outcry against him, he shall streitwaies depart and get him with all speed to the place fro whence he came; the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer vp vnto the priest his coate-armoz with his horse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister dooth inioy euerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not appertaining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in steed of the horse and armor, five pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth governed his people in great felicitie during his life time.

The bishops see, which before had bene at Abirnes, he translated vnto the church of that holie man S. Kenle. Euer since which time the towne hath been called S. Andzeues, and those which governed the same church a long time after, were called the great bishops of Scotland: for the realme was not diuided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolm the 3, who by diuine inspiratton (as is said) ordeined the see of Dunblake, now called Abiden: but such as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge meet for the office, used the authoritie & rorne of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident. Yet such was the continuance of those which governed the church of S. Andzeues, that there haue bene aboue the number of forty bishops resident there, since the first institution of that see: manie of them

for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being numbred according to the manner in times past in the register of saints. But now to retorne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is said) enlarged the bounds of his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and to the Isles of Orkney on the other, the sea compassing the residue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yeres in great renoume and glozte, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Forthuiot, in the yere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Ile of Colmekill, and there honozablie buried amongst his ancestors.

After his deceasse succeeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Heuerthelesse he had continued scarce two yeres in the estate, but that he had subuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughty examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banquetting, keeping of hawkes, hounds, & horses for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof he had no regard at all: for such charges as he should haue bene at for maintenance of men of warre to keepe the frontiers of his realme, were imploied on a sort of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as huntmen, falconers, cookes, balwdes, ruffians, and such like lozzels.

Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembryng what appertained to their duties, spared not, but freely admonished the king what danger would insue of his misordered behauior, if he reformed not his manners, nor restrained the licentious doings of his seruants and familie. But when they perceived that their words were not regarded, but for the same they themselves ran into displeasure, they sorrowed not a little, to see so small hope of amendment of such enormities, as euerie where reigned through the region: for all youthfull persons giuen to sensuall lust followed the same without anie feare or care of correction, so that there was no measure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch that thoztie, though want of all good gouernance, wrong was placed in steed of right, and contempt of Gods honor imbraced euerie where in place of vertue and godlinesse.

In this meane while, the residue of the Scots remaining amongst the Englishmen, ceased not to solicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them towards the recouerie of their dominion out of the Scottishmens hands, promising to be subiects vnto the English nation, if by their helpe they might be restored to their ancient seats. At length Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland were perswaded through instant sute to take that enterpryse in hand, the rather vpon trust of good successe, for that they vnderstood what laske of politike gouernement then remained amongst the Scots, by reason of the kings naughty demeanour, and most inordinat trade of life. But first there was a league concluded with new articles of agreement betwixt the Englishmen and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongst the coasts of Cumberland, by means of which league both Britains and Englishmen toioined their powers together, and in most speedie and forcible wise passed the water of Tweed, first pitching their campe in the countrie of Bedes. From thence immediately the king Osbert (being appointed as generall in that iourne)

The bounds of the Scottish kingdome.

King Kenneth departed out of this life. 856. H. B.

Donald. Donald the fourth of that name succeeded his brother Kenneth. The king is of dissolute behauior.

The king is admonished of his nobles.

The English king request aid of the Englishmen.

Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland.

The Englishmen and Britains toioined their powers with the Scots.

Keeping of holie daies.

Priests.

Ground to be left vntilled.

Graues.

Buriall.

Buriall of noble men.

S. Kenle his church, now called Saint Andzeues.

In herald is
sent unto Do-
nald.

sent an herald unto Donald the Scottish king, com-
manding him either to surrender up unto the Picts
all such regions as the Scots had taken from them,
either else to loke to haue the Englishmen and Bri-
tains no lesse their enemies than the Picts, whose
cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and
defend.

Osbert is put
to flight at
Jedburgh, of
Jedburgh.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these
newes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he
toke a good hart vnto him, and in defense of his
realme caused musters to be taken throughout all
his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to
incounter his enemies, whome he found at Jed-
burgh ready to giue battell: where after sore fight,
in the end Osbert with his people was chased to
the next mountains. Donald hauing thus obtai-
ned the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had
bene his owne, and thereupon remoued ouer
Tweed with all possible hast, marching forth till he
came to the mouth of that riuer, where there laie at
anchor certeine English beseels, laden with proui-
sion of vittells and all other things necessarie for the
furniture of an armie. Donald setting vpon these
ships, with small resistance toke them, spoiled them
of all such things as were found aboard, and after set
fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongst the
souldiers and men of warre, which serued them to
small vse or commoditie: for all the youth of the ar-
mie, through example of their pauce, was so corrup-
ted in vicious customes, that the campe was reple-
nished with hoyses, batons, stews, and dicing tables,
in such wise, that all such prouision as should haue
serued for stowe and staple of vittells, was spent in
riotous banketing without anie order or measure:
& oftentimes (as it chanced) where politike gouerne-
ment lacketh) there happened amongst them in the
armie, discorde and variance with sundrie murders
and slaughters.

Osbert his
prouision by
water is ta-
ken by the
Scottishmen.

A great dis-
order in the
Scottish
campe.

The Scots
campe in-
truded.

soo00 Scots-
men slaine.
King Donald
is taken with
the nobilitie.

The campe is
ruled.

The whole
realme of
Scotland dis-
comfited.

When the enemies were aduertised how far out of
order all things stood in the Scottish campe for want
of good and discreet chieffes, Osbert with all speed
got a mightie host together againe, and before his
approch was looked for of the Scots, he commeth vpon
them one morning in the breake of the day, and
assaulteth them in their lodgings, wherein he found
them so bruprouided of all helps to make resistance,
that it was a wonder to see the disorder that appea-
red amongst them: some of them running vpon
their enemies naked without all discretion, other
breaking forth of the campe to save themselves by
flight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie
way to escape the enemies hands, though it were
with present danger of breaking their necks downe
the sloeing banks and craggie rocks, being forced
thereto by the fierce perforce of the Englishmen and
Britains, who most eagerlie pleased vpon them in
all places, to reuenge the late receiued overthrow
and slaughter of their friends and kindred. There
died of the Scots in this mortall bickering about
twentie thousand persons. King Donald being fall
asleepe at the first assault of the enemies, as he that
had drinke ouer night more than enough, was ta-
ken before he could make anie shift for himselfe,
with the residue of the nobilitie, that escaped with life.

The Scottish campe, the next day after this
overthrow, was ruled, the spoile being diuided a-
mongest the Englishmen and Britains: But when
the same of this infamituous battell was noised once
through the realme of Scotland, how the king was
taken prisoner, his campe loome, the armie discom-
fited, and almost all the souldiers and men of warre
slaine, those few of the nobles which were left aloue
remaiuing prisoners in the enemies hands, there
was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as

though the realme had already bene lost without re-
coerie. Some there were that blamed fortune,
some cursed the wicked trade of life in the king, o-
ther betwailing the great calamitie of this mischance
put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases
commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are e-
uer sundrie opinions. Spanie ran vp and downe
the streets and high wayes, to inquire the certaintie
of all things, and whether there were anie hope at
all left to resist the enemies, also which way the eni-
mies held, whereabout they went, and what they pur-
posed to do.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knowne that
the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the
Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed
with sorow (for losse of their friends and kindred)
stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into
the womens, that a greater hath not bene heard
of in anie region. So that all prouision to defend
their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were
the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes fauor.
The Englishmen hereupon toke all the countrie e-
uen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains
seized into their hands all that which lieth from the
bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, find-
ing no resistance in their way at all. Whereunto af-
twel the Englishmen as Britains used the victorie
verie cruelle, sparing neither one nor other of the
Scottish blood, that by anie means fell into their
hands, but priests and all passed one way, that is, by
the edge of the sword.

King Osbert purposed to haue passed the water of
Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so
ouer Fife into Angus: but hearing that the Scots
had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he
staid certeine daies. At length understanding that
the enemies were nothing of that puissance or num-
ber, as at the first they were reported to be; he de-
termined to set ouer in certeine boats ten thousand
of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind
and weather, that rose in that instant, there were
siue thousand of them drowned, therofore being
constrained to land againe on the same side from the
which they loled, hauing lost through violence of the
weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their
beseels. Osbert being also admonished with this mis-
fortune, thought good to attempt no more the furi-
ous rage of the water, but determined by land to
go vnto Sterling, where he understood he should
find the Britains, with whome he might loine his
power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so invade
other of the Scottish regions which lay thereabout.

But at his comming thither, certeine Scottish am-
bassadors came vnto him to sue for peace, which
they humbly requested at his hands in name of the
whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the
state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much
on battell fortune, the which sheweth his lesse neuer
stable; but commonlie bleth to call backe againe his
grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer
hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the banquet
shed himselfe to haue bene sufficientlie corrected. As
for the Scots, though it might appeare that their
force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should
little auail them: yet were they minded to die in
defense of their liberties, rather than to submit them-
selues vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The
words of these ambassadors being throughlie weighed
(though some toke them in great disdain) yet in the
end it was supposed that after victorie thus had a-
gainst the enemies, honorable conditions of peace
ought to be preferred before doubtful warre.

Whereupon answere was made to the ambassa-
dors, that both the English and British people with
their

The English
men made
Louthian, the
Britains
Galloway.

The Scots
left comfort-
less.

The Bri-
tains as yet
kept posses-
sion of Cum-
berland, and
those other
counties li-
eng by the
coast of the
Scottish seas.
The victorie
used cruelle.

A great manie
Englishmen
drowned.

Ambassadors
sue for peace.

Fortune is
vittile.

Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proposed.

The Forth called the Scottish sea.

Dunbretton. It was called before Caer Irculith, that is, the citie upon Cluid, as H. L. holdeth.

Hosages are required.

The Scots dislike the articles of peace.

Calene his grave counsell taketh place.

The multitude contented unto Calene his sayings.

The Scots receive the peace.

their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agree to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countries as they had now gotten into their possessions, without anie claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them or anie of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should diuide the Scottish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time euer after, the Scottish sea. On the west the water of Clide should diuide the Scottish lands from the Britains; the castell of Alcluth, standing at the mouth of the same riuer, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbretton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anie of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anie of them to be driven to land on the south shore, within anie of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or vittels, and depart within three daies, except some reasonable cause of staie constrained them to the contrarie. Moreover, they should not fortifie anie townes or castles on the frontiers nere to the English or British confines. And further, they should covenant to pay unto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of siluer. For performance of which articles of agreement, the Scots should deliuer threescore hostages, being the sonnes and heirs apparant of the chiefe nobles men of all their realme and countrie. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anie of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

The ambassadoys returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for free people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people bene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appeased this contention, perswading them to haue respect to the time. And with the force of the realme was so inhibited, abated, and brought vnder foot through aduers fortune: better it was to yeld vnto necessitie in saving part of that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recover the residue, than through obstinate wilfulnesse to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonour to receiue conditions of peace at the enemies hands, with there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladly accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Cald appointed them: and yet it is not to be indged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdom amongst them, and such as regarded their honour, so far forth as reason in anie wise did reach.

The multitude moved with these words of Calene, whose grave authoritie (by reason of his age and come) was of no small reputation amongst them, hauing lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finally determined to follow his opinion in receiuing the same conditions of agreement which Osbert had prescribed: and thereupon sent againe their ambassadoys with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in maner as is before rehearsed, which being thoughtlie accomplished in

such solemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Osbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadoys, being earnestlie required so to do, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The agreement being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the west sea, betwixt the riuers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland: and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lieng from Sterling vnto the east sea, betwixt the Scottish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scottish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) diuided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto those three people; the same towne with the castell remaining vnto Osbert, as it was covenanted amongst other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scottish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, whereupon came by the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceiued, for (as in the historie of England shall appere) that name came not in vse till manie yeres after. Osbert also in this place caused a stone bidge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in stead of the wooden bidge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone bidge he set by a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

Anglos & Scotis separat crux ista remotis,

Arma hic stant Bruti, stant Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.

I am free march as passengers maie ken,

To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts which had bene with the Englishmen in this iourne, euer hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Osbert, when they saw how he retained the same in his owne hands, appointing his subiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in deed, least the Englishmen of friends would now become enemies, seeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselves in the possession of those lands and livings, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilst anie of them remained alieue.

Upon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongst the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselves, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norway and Denmarke, vnto their countriemen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found allue within anie of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scottish king Donald being restored againe to his countrie, was receiued with more ioy and honour than he had deserued, in hope yet by this scourge of aduerser fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuses. Nevertheless, he had not bene at home anie long time, but that he fell to his old vice, quatraps of life againe, remouing from his company such honorable personages as wished the suretie of his estate, with the aduancement of the common weale, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiving the danger that their countrie stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, vnder his rule and gouernement, they found means to apprehend and commit him vnto safe keeping, but the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he was

King Donald with the noble men are sent home againe.

Lands diuided betwixt the Britains and Englishmen.

A bidge of stone made at Sterling.

Belenden the Scot. The Picts hope is deceiued.

The Picts went into Norway and Denmarke.

King Donald falleth to his old vices & gains.

King Donald is laid in prison.

the safety
himself in
pison.
860.

was thus put in toade in great desperation the
himselfe, in the first yeare after he had begun his in-
fortunat reigne, and in the yeare of our Saviour
860.

A young babe
grutch was
ring into his
mother.

Scalls ro-
ring die.

Fishes like in
shape to men.

Adders and
snakes fell
down out of
the skie.

The interpreta-
tion of the
prodigious
things.
King Con-
stantine crow-
ned.

He said would
reouer his
predecessors
losses.
He was adu-
ised other wise
by his coun-
sell.

His orders
are redressed.

Wishes should
onlie attend
their vocation.

A penaltie for
not doing
their duties.

Youth should
eate but one
meale a day.

Drunkenness
punished with
death.

Youth to be
trained up in
hardnesse.

Reapers of
banketting

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was
brought vnto such miserable state by the puissant
force of the Englishmen and Britains, as aboue is
rehearsed; there were sundrie wonders heard of in
the countrey; as in Louthiana child of one moneth
old and a halfe, admonished the mother to ste out of
that countie: for it would come to passe, that the
enimies should come and take that region out of the
Scotishmens hands. Walls also, as they were pa-
ssing abroad in the felos there, roaring after a
strange sort, suddenly died. Fishes likewise, in
shape resembling the figure of man, were found
dead in the sands of the Scottish sea. In Galloway
there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out
of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the
saour of them lying on the ground, both men and
beasts died of certeine diseases, which they toke
through infection thereof.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in diuina-
tion, affirmed that these things did signifie an in-
fortunat reigne, with an euill end vnto king Do-
nald, as after wards it happened, who hauing made
away himselfe in pison (as before is expessed) Con-
stantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned
king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, accor-
ding to the maner as then vsed. After his first en-
tering into the estate, he would gladly haue gone in
hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to
haue recouered out of their possessions, those coun-
tries which they had latelie taken from the Scots in
his predecessors time: but his counsell aduised him
otherwise, declaring that the state of the common-
wealth was so decayed by the misgouernance of his
said predecessor, that till the same were reformed,
and such intestine discord, as through licentious li-
bertie reigned amongst his subiects might be ap-
peased and quieted, there was no hope to attaine a-
nie worthie enterpryse abrode against forreigne e-
nimies.

Whereupon by their aduertisements and good ad-
uise, he deuised a reformation of all such misorders
as were growen vp in all parts of his realme: and
first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests
should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle
with anie secular businesse, but to be free from go-
ing forth to the warres: neither should they keepe
horses, hawks, or hounds. And if anie of them were
found negligent in doing his dutie appertaining to
his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a
peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his
benefice. For the youth of his realme he toke order
(to bridle them the better from wanton delights and
sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past
one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie deli-
cats, and to abstaine from all such drinke as might
dissemper their braine, so that if anie yong person,
either man or woman were knowen to be drunken,
they should die for it.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his
realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shou-
ting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid
slothfulness, that their bodies might with such ex-
ercises be made the more able to indure paines and
trauell: and for the same purpose he toke order, that
they should lie vpon the bare bodys, with one man
tell onelie throwen vnder them, so that they should
fast nothing neither by day nor night, that might
mouell them in anie wanton delights or effeminate
pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as
kept bittelling houses for banketting chere, should

be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell
houses: Which with the Scots by obseruing of
these ordinances, made within short time of glut-
tous and excessive feeders, sober and temperate men:
of belch and skilfull persons, hard, tough, and able
to abide anie trauell or labour: were the same neuer
so painful: and herof the state of the common-
wealth began to growe to good perfection, so that
Constantines administration was liked of the most
part of all his subiects.

The first that went about to disquiet the prospe-
rous reigne of that worthie prince, was one Euan,
a man of an ancient house, borne in the westerne
Ales. Such haue bene the vnquiet nature of the
Scotishmen, even from the beginning, neuer to
liue contented anie long time either with peace or
warre: for being once wearied with the charges
of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace;
and hauing in time of peace heaped together some
wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement
of their superiors, but either are ready to fall out
with some forreigne enemy, or else to raise some
commotion amongst themselves. This Euan
therfore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of
Dunstaffage in Loughquhaber, practised a conspira-
cie against the king, with a number of other light
persons being gentlemen borne, mistaking the ad-
ministration of things, onelie for that they saw how
their inordinat libertie to oppresse inferiour persons,
and to vse such wild and insolent midmeanour, as
they had done afore time; was now restrained by
lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for
the same.

But as these conspirators went about to haue
moued the people of Loughquhaber, Murray
land, Rolfe, and Castnesse, to haue ioined with them
in their traitorous interpryse, some of them in whom
Euan put most trust, secretlie aduertised the king
of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent
number of men together, made such speedie hast to-
wards Dunstaffage, where the chiefe capteine of the
rebels as then lay, that he came before the same per
anle inking were knowen to them within of his
approch. By meane thereof coming vpon them so
at vnwares, he had the castell sone at his pleasure;
and immediatlie hereupon caused Euan to be trus-
sed vp on a high paire of gallows, for a spectacle to
all his complices. And furthermore, leass the other
conspirators might prouide them of some other chieft-
eine, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that
were accused to be of Euan's confederacie, the which
he put in streit pison, there to be safely kept, till the
peeres of the realme had determined with good deli-
beration, what should become of them. This busines
being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for
quietnesse, there suddenly followed a greater and
more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the
world, that when men least thinke of mischief, they
fall oftentimes into most danger.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to
all such lands as somtimes belonged to the Scots, for
that the residue of that nation which had escaped the
hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned
vnto him all their right and interest of the same lands,
he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the
injuries which the Scots alledged they had sustained)
to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen.
He caused therefore an huge number of ships to be
prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in
a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion,
vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one na-
med Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chieft-
eins hauing their ships and men with all provision
appertaining once readie, toke the sea, and sailed
with

horses he be-
mused.

Scots were
made sober
and able to
abide hardnes

Euan disqui-
etted the king
and realme.

The vnquiet
nature of
Scotishmen.

Euan lieuten-
ant of Dun-
staffage conspi-
red against
the king.

The king is
aduertised of
Euan his
treason.

The king com-
meth to Dun-
staffage with
an armie.

Euan is exe-
cuted.

Euan kept
in pison.

One trouble
followeth
another.

Cadane king
of Denmarke

The cause
that made the
Danes to
make warre
against Enge-
land and
Scotland.

A great nauie
sent into
Scotland.

forth till they came to the spoils of Scotland, where they toke land within the countrie of Fife, before; anie tidings were heard of their comming thither.

The Danes being set on land, spared no kind of crueltie that might be shewed against the inhabitants; and namely for that they had not as yet receiued the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, overthrowing and burning by churches and chapels, wherefoever they found anie in their way. Whereupon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses & possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come aduersaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and goodlie persons, as about the same time laboured buslie in setting forth the word of life vnto the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scottishmen, into the Island called Spae, which lieth in manner in the midway of the passage ouer the Forth betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monasterie of monks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restrain the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murdering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scottish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Island of Spae; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodan, Caius, or (as others write) Ponanus archdeacon of saint Andrews, and bishop Stolzband; the names of the residue are forgotten. Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fled out of their countrie, from the persecution which was their exercised by men of misbelieve against the christians, they arrived here in Scotland, and applied themselves to the instructing of the Scottishmen in the way of saluation. Other write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there together. But of whence sooner they were, certeine it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries nere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by flight or slaughter.

Constantine the Scottish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had wasted anie further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and estimation amongst his subjects. Whereupon leueng his people, and assembling a mightie host together, he passed forth with the same towards his enemies, the which were lodged in two severall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, leueng in sunder with the course of a little riuer called Leuin, the which (vpon the approach of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that late on the further side next vnto them) chanced to be raised on such hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might be passed over at the fords.

After this sore and tempestuous weather, the aire cleared vp and waied verie faire and calme, giuing occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enemies, whilst the other could not

come oner into their aid and succore. In it is crimed which lay on that side the riuer next vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue staied his men from issuing forth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew nere to the same, and assailed all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could do, forth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the captains were constrained of necessitie to set them in order of battell, sith they would needs giue the onset vpon their present enemies.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armes, certeine linen garments, wrought with red silke, shewing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashon, that no armour might lightlie hold forth against them. These kind of weapons, together with the muster of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scottishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in arate of battell. But anon comming nere together readie to ioine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie stoutlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Parte of them making towards their campe were overtaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditches were oppressed with throng, aswell of their owne companie, as of their enemies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase, and striting to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whirling waues of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellows (which stood on the other side readie to haue passed the water, if they might so haue done without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whome Hubba was one, to the great reioicing of his brother Hungar, to see him thus deliuered twise from perill of death, as first from amongst his enemies, and secondlie out of the roving streame of that deepe and swift raging riuer.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enemies to the worse, with that happie successe toke such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue; so that for two daies together, there was such dancing, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not bene heard of. Nea so farre proceeded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselves for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though already they had the same wholie in their possession; and further reasoned, not without altercation, whether the Danish captives after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept aliue to be shewed to the people in triumph or no. Great adoe and manie vaine words were spent hereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselves: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the necessarie proceedings against their enemies. At length, when the riuer was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed, Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to set themselves in such order, whereby

The Danes
ble great
crueltie.

The inhabi-
tants fled the
countrie.

They that
fled into Spae
Island were
slaine.

The uncerten-
tie of writers
in this matter
of these mar-
tyrs.

Constantine
assembled a
mightie army.

The Scots &
Danes ioine
their battels.

The Danes
apparell.

Their wea-
pons.

Tall men of
bodie and
limbs.

A battell.

The Danes
take the flight.

Hubba was
sauced from
drowning.

The Scots
toke of this
victorie imma-
derate ioy.

The Scots
for ioy readie
to fall out.

Constantine
proceeded a-
gainst his eni-
mies.

The ord-
placing
Danes &
Hubba &
the right
Danes
the left

Hungar
the battell

Hungar
a victorie

The Scots
did make
like victorie

King C
stantine
ced his
like man

In inc
ment g
his soul

The D
approch
warre
Scots

The D
that qu
and the
batter
The S
thor: ar
and dai
thecke
balle.

The S
are par
fight.

Conse

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deuide for the winning of the spoile; perceiving occasion now offered to geue the onel, forthwith armed their people in this sort.

Hubba with his brother Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an Englishman borne, who was fled out of his countrie, for that he could not beare such injuries as Osbert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and dishonour of his house and name. He had with him in his left wing certeine bands of Englishmen, with those Danes that had escaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the residue of the armie, kept the battell in middle ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & manhood that day, with the same should either put them in possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the substance and riches contained therein, either else bring them perpetuall seruitude with ignominie amongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all, bowed with solemne oth, either to returne with victorie to his campe, either else to die in the place, willing them all to make the like covenant. Whereupon the vniuersall multitude allowed him so much for this his motion, that there was not one amongst the whole number, which agreed not to sweare the like oth. Constantine keeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the lieutenant or thane of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thousand men a peece.

All the residue were set in the battell where he himselfe stood. And first he gaue them all hartie thanks in that they had so valiantlie atchained the victorie in the last battell, requiring them now not to blench their former glorie with any faintnesse of courage, recreant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wise to be afraid of their enemies, in respect more for their hugenesse of bodie, than for any of their valiant stoutnesse of heart: for if they assailed them with one whole and entire consent, according to their wonted forwardnesse & manlike prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight, and obtaine a ioyfull victorie. Herewith he also warned them not to run rashlie vpon the enemies, but to suffer them first to geue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earnest violence disorder themselves, and so should it be more easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

But this deuise did not a little abate the Scottish mens courages. For the Scots vse is, when they shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and noise, and therewith to run vpon their enemies, by which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the enemy in feare, and encourage themselves to the battell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in order of battell: but when they perceived that the Scots came not forward, they also staied in the mid-way to refresh themselves, least at the joining they should be out of breath. Anon after, passing forward an easie pace, they shot quarrels, and threw darts at their enemies verie freshlie, and the Scots let lie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had bene a storme of haille.

After this they rushed together with great violence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enemies to flight, and after compassing the maine battell round about, they constraind the same in the end with great bloodshed and slaughter to geue backe and flie out of the field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this unfortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who being first taken was had into a cage by the sea side

amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murdered by the enemies. The place was called certeine yeeres after the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memoire of that heinous murder there committed. The Scottish nation also had bene better lie as then destroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Constantine, perceiving how the field was lost, escaped awaie with two companies of his best men of warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

The people likewise doubting for want of a gouernor to be the sooner overcome by their enemies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yeere after the birth of our Sauour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began to rule the estate of the realme. The same yeere were manie wonders and uneth lights seene within the Scottish dominions. In the mouth of the fourth, otherwise called the Scottish sea, there appeared fishes in great numbers, like vnto men in shape, swimming by and doing in the streame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke skin, which couered their heads and necks, from their shoulders vpwads like an hood. These are called Ballinates, and vse to go in great companies togither, as though they were skilles of herrings, signifieng (when they are seene) some great misfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Also the loches, riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of Nouember, till the latter end of April; and when the frost brake, and the snowe melted, there was such a flood flowing ouer all the plaines euen to the roots of the mountains, as the like had not bene seene. Furthermore, when the same thynke and went away, in the mud and slime there was such a sort of frogs left, that when they were dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was so infected, that manie deadlie diseases ensued, whereof great numbers of the inhabitants did perish. Moreover, there was a mightie starre or comet seene with fire raies issuing forth of the same, which both night and day folowed the mone during the moneth of April, to the great horro: of all that beheld it.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is said) hauing banquished the Scots, and wasted the countrie of life, passed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and spoiling all before them, they pursued the inhabitants into Northumberland, whither they fled for refuge. Here the Danes being aided with certeine Englishmen in fauour of Buerne, slue in battell both Osbert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The crueltie of the Danes was such after they had atchained the victorie, that few escaped with life, but such as saved themselves by flight. But chieflie there rage appeared most against priests, and such as professed themselves men of religion. For the Danes being Ethnicks, persecuted most egerlie those that in any wise professed Christ. The like outrageous murdering of the christians was practised through out the countrie, and at length came vnto that blessed king saint Edmund, reigning as then ouer the people of the Eastangles, as in the English historie more plainlie mate appeere. Notwith other of the English kings maintained the warres with these Danes certeine yeeres after this, with variable fortune; the most part of those people which inhabited on that coast toward the Germane seas, either being slaine or brought into miserable bondage and thraldome. But Alured, which succeeded his brother king Osbert, not in the kingdom of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdom of the Westsaxons, redressed a great part of this miserie, into the which the countrie was thus

is taken and murdered. The blacke den or cage.

Ethus brother vnto Constantine was saved by flight.

Ethus.

874.

Fishes like vnto men in shape.

Ballinates.

A long winter

Frogs in the mud & slime.

A comet.

The Danes went into Louthian.

King Osbert & Ella slaine.

This crueltie inuaded Northfolke also.

King Alured redressed Northfolke harms. Hector Boetius miseth

The order & placing of the Danes armie. Hubba had the right wing Buerne had the left wing.

Hungar kept the battell.

Hungar made a bow.

The soldiers did make the like bow.

King Constantine placed his men in like manner.

An encourage ment given to his soldiers.

The Danes approach towards the Scots.

The Danes shot quarrels and threw darts. The Scots shot arrowes and darts as thicke as haille.

The Scots are put to flight.

Constantine

Scots & as in the battell.

Danes fell.

is swea.

men of and

ttell.

Danes the flight.

ba was from ming.

Scots of this time in 107.

Scots ready out.

Constantine was slain by his enemy.

divers mat-
ters touching
the report of
our histories.

thus brought by the Danes, by subduing them in
Andrie confidias, and sleaing their two captains the
foresaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the same En-
glish historie is further expzelled.

Ethus surna-
med Lightfoot

But now to returne unto Ethus, I find that he
was of such swiftnesse of foot, that he would inach
and make waie in running with harts and hounds,
and thereupon was surnamed Lightfoot; but of what
nimble lightnesse of bodie soever he was, truth it is
that he was of disposition in mind swift to haue the
order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he
might haue recovered Fife and Louthian with other
regions, whilst the Englishmen and Danes were
together by the eares, he passed ouer that occasion,
delighting more in following the pleasures of the bo-
die & sensuall lusts, than to bestow his time in seates
of chivalrie and other warlike exercises. The nobles
of the realme perceiving him thus to abuse the wor-
thie gifts of his person, mistrusting least his insolent
doings should indamage the publike state of the
common-wealth, they toke counsell together how
they might apprehend him, and to send him some whi-
ther out of the waie there to be safelie kept, and then
to place some other in the gouernement of the
realme, that might rule the same with more discreti-
on & better aduise. And least their resolution should
be disclosed before it toke effect, they slacked no time,
but went speedilie about their businesse. And com-
ming to the king, whome they found a hunting in
Calidon wood, they suddenlie arrested him, and ther-
with committed him to safe keeping: & those whome
they knew to be fauourers of his euill rule and mis-
gouernance, they put them also fast in irons, till they
had answered vnto such articles as should be laid to
their charge. This done, they proceeded to the election
of a new king; and in the end by the persuation of
one Dongall gouernor of thane of Argile, they chose
Gregorie the sonne of that Dongall, which reigned
before Alpine, who was not past two moneths old
when his father died.

King Ethus
is arrested,
with his fa-
uourers.

Gregorie is
chosen king.

Gregorie.

876. H.B.
875. 10. Ma.

A conuocati-
on of the cler-
gie.
Priests are
free of all tri-
bute.

They should
not be called to
serue in the
warres.
Authoritie gi-
uen vnto bi-
shops to order
kings.

This Gregorie being knowne to be a man wor-
thie of the rōme, though he himselte onlie was
against it, at length by persuation receiued the inue-
sture of the kingdom at Scone, with all due solemn-
nitie. Ethus hearing thereof, through anguish of
mind died within thre daies after, in the second
yere of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our
Saviour. There be that write how he was strangled
in prison by Dongall his procurement, least by ad-
venture he might haue bene restored vnto libertie,
and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe.
Gregorie being thus established in the estate, con-
sidering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the
hands of the diuine maiestie, to begin his govern-
ment with some luckie enterprize, caused a conuoca-
tion to be holden at Fozfair, for the aduancement of
Christs religion: where amongst other things, it was
ordeined, that priests from thenceforth (to the end
they might more frelie attend to their vocation)
should be exempt from payeng of tribute and all man-
ner of exactions. Also that they should not be con-
strained to go vnto the warres, neither to come be-
fore anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their or-
dinaries and bishops, by whome they should be sub-
ged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops
should also haue authoritie to order all men, both
publike and priuate, aswell for the keeping of faith gi-
uen, as to constrain them to confirme the same, and
to punish such as should be found in the contrarie;
likewise in causes of controuersie touching matri-
monie, tithes, testaments, legacies, and such like:
moreouer the correcting of those that blasphemie ei-
ther God or his saints.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like

offendours against the lawes and articles of the chri-
stian religion, was assigned vnto the bishops and
their substitutes, so that all those which were found di-
obedient vnto them, and refused to be at their com-
mendement, they should haue authoritie to excom-
municate them out of the church, and from compa-
nie keeping with anie of the cōgregation, so as they
that were thus excommunicated, should be deprived
of all abilitie to inioy anie inheritance or right to
lands or possessions whatsoever they were. Neither
should they be accepted as a witnesse in anie maner
of cause, neither beare anie office or rule in the com-
mon-wealth. This Gregorie also (as is said) was
the first author of that ordinance, by the which the
Scottish kings at their coronation vie of ancient cu-
stome to soly by solemn oth, that during their liues,
they shall mainteine and defend the church, with his
ministers, in all ancient liberties and priuileges,
and not to suffer anie man to hurt or infringe the
same.

There was suertie in this Gregorie a certeine na-
turall inclination to vertue, with such aduisebnesse
in all his wordes, that he vttered selo or none but that
the same seemed to be spoken with verie great con-
sideration. He was neuer married, but continued in
chastitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was
verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more
watchfull than giuen to slepe. But his fame increas-
ed most for his mainteining of iustice and ciuill ad-
ministration concerning the state of the common-
wealth, not omitting the practise of warre, where ne-
cessitie required. The first expedition which he toke in
hand, he made into Fife, to recouer that countrie to
the crowne of Scotland. At whose entrance into the
same, the Picts, whome the Danes had left in those
parties at their departure thence, being stricken with
feare to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient
enimies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leaving Fife
in manner void, and without anie that would offer
to defend it against the Scots.

Whereupon Gregorie so finding it desolate of
inhabitants, sent for people out of other parts of his
realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie
as he thought most expedient. This done he passed
into Louthian, where taking the fortresses and places
of defense, some by force, and some by surrender,
he easilie reduced that countrie into his subiection, so
that within a few daies, hauing there all at his plea-
sure, he came vnto Berwikke, where there were a
great number of Danes ioined together with the
Picts, as men not minding to flee anie further, but
to fight with the Scots euery there, if they should
come forward vpon them. But when they saw what
number the Scots were of, and herewith doubting
the Englishmen to come on their backs if the mat-
ter went not well with them; they thought it best
that such Danes as were of anie great reputation
of nobilitie, should withdræw into Berwikke before
the enimies were at hand, and the residue to passe o-
uer Twad into Northumberland, there to ioine
with other Danes that in those parties were latelie
arrived.

But the Englishmen within Berwikke, abhorring
nothing more than to be vnder subiection of the
Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the
Danish nobles into their towne, deliuered it to-
gether with their ghesse vnto the Scottishmen, who suf-
fering the Englishmen at their pleasure either to go
their waies with all their goods, or to remaine still in
their houses, sue the Danes, without sparing either
man, woman, or child. Then leauing a strong garri-
son of Scottishmen within Berwikke, Gregorie
marched forth with the residue of his people into
Northumberland, to visite that countrie to other of
his

when the
Scottish
kings first be-
gan to pro-
mise by oth to
mainteine the
libertie of the
church.
King Grego-
rie was giuen
whollic vnto
godlinesse.
King Grego-
rie was neuer
married.
He was sober.

He made an
expedition in-
to Fife.
The Picts
fled into Louth-
ian.

The king set
inhabitants
in Fife.
He subdued
Louthian.

The Danes
and Picts
ioine them-
selues to-
gether.

They fled in-
to Northum-
berland.

The Danish
nobilitie fled
into Berwikke

The Danes
are slaine in
Berwikke.

Herbert
threatned
Scots.

The Dan
prepare to
battell.

The Scot
egerie in
their enim

King Gre-
rie his saie
to the south
ers.

The Dan
led to their
camp.

Herbert at-
tempted his
men togther

Herbert w-
toward Ma-
in, chiefe g-
nerall of the
Danes in
England.

Herbert re-
mained in
camp.

King Gre-
rie indered
the inhabi-

his dominions that bordered upon the same.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Forke, under the leading of one Herdunt, who had latelie taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countrymen at Berwick, threarned sore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scottish race within anie part of the confines of Albion. Which bow manie of the companie, following their capteins example, likewise made. Shortly after, hearing of their enemies approach, the whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued forth of their campe to giue battell.

Here the Scottish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue vsed some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to incourage them to fight: but such haile was made by the Scots to preasse vpon their enemies, that he saw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect arate, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw readie enough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie tolled them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murdered, after he had yelbed himselfe prisoner to these enemies, with whome they should now ioine.

The Scots herevpon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enemies scarce space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iavelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on ech side, so that there needed neither exhortation of capteins, nor diligence of soldiers to keepe them in arate. For the wrathfull stomachs of the soldiers onelie brought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egerneesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enemies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entering the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had done in the field.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men together againe, being dispersed here and there: but when he understood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that vnhappie day, and determined to retire vnto Malin, who as then was capteine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarce fortie miles got forth on his waie, when word came to him, that Malin fighting with the Englishmen vnto warlike, at a place called Helcades, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therewith his head was carried abroad by and downe the countie from tostone to tostone to be seene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much diminishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaye.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yett he sought forth a plot of ground most meet for his purpose; where he determined to abide in campe, till he might understand what the Danes in other places were intended to do. But Gregorie king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countie vnder his subiection: neuertheless he permitted the inhabitants to inioy all their possessions still, onelie re-

ceiuing of them in name of souereigntie a yecrelie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake vp his armie, and went himselfe into Berwick, where he remained all the winter season in consultation with his nobles about the publicke affaires of the realme.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iourne against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being bored afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for twentie yeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortly after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renewing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was sore enfeebled, by reason of the two last overthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to encounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enemies to become their friends. Wherevpon sending vnto the Scottish king an herald, they require to ioine with them in armes against the Danes, common enemies to both their countries, promising that if they would so do, they would willinglie render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time belonging vnto the Scottish kingdome.

Gregorie weeing with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publicke weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the good suertie and aduancement of Christs religion, wherof the Danes were greivous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselves together in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which pertained sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scottish confines enlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

This dissention and variance being ceased after this manner, it greatlie reioiced the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile, but contrariwise, the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to inioy vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongest their enemies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they needed not greatly to trauch, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselves of the league, which they had latelie made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the decaile of his father, called a power, and with the same entered into Anandale, to recover that countie out of the Scottishmens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was coming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe towards Cumberland with their hoste, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.

But king Gregorie coasting the countie; met with

tants of Northumberland to inioy their lands. King Gregorie wintered at Berwick.

King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

The Britains send to king Gregorie.

King Gregorie his consideration.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

Herdunt threarned the Scots.

The Danes prepare to the battell.

The Scots egerlie invade their enemies.

King Gregorie his saying to the soldiers.

The Danes fled to their campe.

Herdunt assembled his men together.

Herdunt went toward Malin, chiefe generall of the Danes in England.

Herdunt remained in campe.

King Gregorie suffered his subiects.

The Scots
ouerthrow the
Britains.

Constantine
is slain.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them bat-
tell, wherein when Constantine perceiued how his
people began to shrinke backe, as one hauing more
regard to his honoz than to the suertie of his life, he
rushed forth into the foremost prease, there to succour
and relieue his standards: but being compassed a-
bout amongst a great companie of his enemies,
his chance was there to be slaine with a number of
the chiefest lords of all the British nation. The other
multitude seeing the day go thus against them, fled
to saue their liues, leaving the victorie so vnto the
Scots.

This ouerthrow did put the Britains in danger to
haue bin utterly ouerrun, what by the Scots on the
one side, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid
to be looked for of the English, they had plaine an-
swer they should haue none, sith they had so vntrust-
lie broken the league concluded with their confede-
rats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the pros-
perous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this
Ile, against their common enemies the Danes.
Yet the better to establish the estate of their coun-
trie, and in hope of some recouerie of their former
damages; they crowned to their king one Herbert
or (as some copies haue) one Hebert the brother of
the last Constantine, and herewith sent ambassa-
dours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottishmen to ex-
cuse themselves, in that they had so wrongfullie at-
tempted the warres against him and his people,
laing all the fault in Constantine, who against the
wills and contrarie to the minds of his subjects, did
take vpon him that dishonorable and most infortu-
nat enterprize.

Herbert king
of Britaine
sent ambassa-
dours to Gre-
gorie.

King Grego-
rie his an-
swere.

Gregorie re-
quired a reli-
gation of
Cumberland
and Westmer-
land.

Peace was
concluded.

Humf. Lhoid.
870.

Gregorie hauing heard the message of these am-
bassadors, for answer declared vnto them, that
he vnderstood well enough, that the Britains now
sued for peace vpon no reuerend consideration they
had vnto their oths of couenant; but onelie for that
they saw how if they should pursue the warre still,
they were sure that in the end they should be like to
haue the soile: and therefore he was fullie thus resolu-
ed, not to conclude anie peace or truce with such
disloyall people, till they had resigned ouer into his
hands the whole possession of the countries of Cum-
berland and Westmerland, with assurance neuer to
pretend anie claime or title vnto those dominions
from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of
couenants, to render into his hands not onelie the
keies of all the towne, castels and fortresses in the
same countries, and to auoid quite their waies into
Wales to other their countriemen there, but also to
deliuer sixtie noble mens sonnes and heires appa-
rant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

The ambassadors returning home with this
message, and reporting it accordingly vnto their
king, when all men had said their aduise, in the end
they condescended to conclude a peace with the
rehearsed conditions prescribed by the Scottish
king, sith they saw no better meane to preserve their
nation from present destruction. And thus deliuer-
ing the appointed number of pledges, they left the
countries of Cumberland and Westmerland void,
surrendering into the Scottishmens hands the pos-
sessions of all the towne, castels and fortresses, and
therewith departed into Northwales, where they
placed themselves in the countrie betwixt Conway
and the riuier of Dee, out of the which they expelled the
Englishmen (that were then in possession thereof)
and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which
they named Stradcluid, maintaining warres a-
gainst the Englishmen manie yeares after.

King Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his king-
dome, assembled his nobles at Carleill, where he
resolved (with their aduise) to followe such good for-

tune as by Gods prouidence shall chanced vnto
them. Whereupon it was agreed, that they should
go first vnto Yorke to conquere that citie, whilst
the Englishmen in Kent were occupied with the
Danes that were come thither; so as neither the
one nation nor the other could attend to make anie
attempt to hinder the Scottishmens enterprize. But
in the meane time came ambassadors vnto Gre-
gorie from king Alured, to congratulat his prospe-
rous successe against his enemies the Danes and o-
thers. These ambassadors also willed to haue the
ancient league betwixt Englishmen and Scots re-
newed, by which means both their powers might
ioine together against their common enemies, when
they should attempt anie wrongfull inuasion.

The policie of
the Scots to
haue taken
Yorke.

King Alured
sent ambassa-
dours vnto
king Grego-
rie.

This request was granted, so that shortly there-
vpon peace was established betwixt those princes
and their people, with confirmation of the old league,
thereto were added these articles; That the Scots
should inioy possession of Northumberland without
anie claime to be made to the same by the English-
men; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their
dominions, the warre should be accounted as com-
mon to them both; Neither should the Scots grant
passage to anie enemy of the Englishmen through
Scotland, neither the Englishmen suffer the Scot-
tishmens enemies to passe through England; If a-
nie Englishmen did rob or steale anie thing out of
Scotland, that should not breake the league; but the
offenders with the receiuers should be deliuered to
the Scottish magistrats, to be punished according to
the qualitie of the offense; and the like should be ob-
serued by the Scots towards the Englishmen.

Peace confir-
med.

New condi-
tions of peace.

No passage to
be granted
vnto the ene-
mie.

Punishment
of robbers.

Thus things being quieted with the Englishmen,
as Gregorie was about to lay armour aside, word
came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by
reason of an inuasion made by the Irishmen into
that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge
that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two
ships of Dublin arriving on their coast, sent ouer a
great power of men, the which landing in Galloway,
made great slaughter of the people on each side.
King Gregorie being aduertised hereof, streitwaies
made towards them, but they hauing knowledge
of his coming drewe to their ships with a great pre-
p of goods and cattels, and returned therewith imme-
diatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Galloway in-
uaded by the
Irishmen.

Herevpon Gregorie without delai got together
his ships and followed the enemy with all his armie,
and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme
in great feare, who as then were in contention to-
gether which of them should haue the gouernement, by
reason their king was latelie dead, and had left a
sonne behind him being but a child in yeares, to suc-
ceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wisser
sort, and such as tendered the wealth of their coun-
trie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but
when they saw that it would not be, they did so much
pursuail, that a truce was taken betwixt them for
a while, least fighting still amongst themselves, they
should put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of
the Scots: against whom when they had agreed vpon
the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a
power, one Bren being generall of the one, and Cor-
nelius of the other; for these two princes were heads
of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the
gouernement of the realme remained therevpon by
consent of the residue had the leading of all them
that were of their faction.

A truce was
taken betwixt
the two
parties.

The two Ir-
ishmen es-
ther their
powers.

These two captains with their armies incamped
themselves vpon the banke of the riuier Bane, be-
tween the mountaine called Fute: their camps being
seuered by a small distance the one from the other,
in such a strong place, that it was not possible for
the

Two armies
one neare the
other.

the enimies to approach them without manifest danger to cast away themselves. Their chiefe purpose was to prolong the time here in this place, till they had furnished the Scottish armie, and then to deale with them at their pleasure. But the industrious provision of Gregorie passed the politike devise of the Irishmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of those Scottishmen, which passed the seas with him, should purchase himselfe of vittels, according to the custome of the countrie, for fiftie daies space, as of bread, chiese, butter, lard, and powdered biefe: as for drinke, they knew they should not need to care, sith they were sure to find water inough in euerie place where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & seruile gluttonie had not softened nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottish people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the meane time which way he might best indamage the enimies; at length concluded to send in the night season two thousand of his souldiours by to the ridge of the forenamed mountaine called Fute, through the thicke bushes and woods, therewith the same was couered, to the end that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the rest of the armie went about to assaile his enimies) tumble downe stones from the browes of the hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great numbers of them, either else to constraine them to come forth of their strength into the plaine fields, and so to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, toke vpon him to haue the conduct of them that should go about this enterprise, who conueieng his hand ouer the water of Bane, and so vpon the backeside of the mountaine, in the morning when their felows fell in hard to assaile the Irish campe, where Ben lodged, they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe vpon the Irishmen, that aboue a thousand of them being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake their ground, & to flee in manner without anie stroke stricken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them, toke a great number of them prisoners, and slue but a few, hauing before hand such commandement from their prince.

Whilist this mischief fell vpon Ben and his people, Cornelius with his folkes cursling that infortunate daie, left their lodgings, and marched their wates in good order of battell, till they were farre inough out of danger. The bodie of Ben also was found amongst other in the rising of the campe, with the head bruised in peeces, and the braines passed out with some stone throwne downe by the Scottishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be buried in christlian sepulchre. He caused also women and children to be sent a waie harmlesse, onelie retaining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in hand made anie resistance: and commanded them also that they should provide themselves of vittels to serue them, whilst they should lie abroad & remaine therein that countie.

Wherevpon manie of the Irish people thus tassing the miserie of the Scottish king, yelded themselves vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that Gregorie finding sufficient prouision of vittels to serue his host for a long season, he went into the strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he entoured about with a strong siege, & continuing the same certeine daies, at length they within wearied

with continuall trauell and lacke of vittels, opened the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile, but appointed the towne men to redeeme the same (their armour excepted) of his souldiours for a peece of monie.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of three daies, he departed and came afore another citie called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and therfore preserved the citizens from all hurt & annoyance. From thence he purposed to haue gone into Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that Cornelius was comming towards him with such an huge armie, as the like had not bene seene with in the memorie of man in that Ile. Wherevpon Gregorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon report of these newes, he got him by into the next mountaine.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in three battels. In the first there was a great multitude of Bernes with darts and bowes: in the second were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes of male, with bucklers and great long swordes, which they caried vpon their right shoulders. In the third battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with all the chiefe nobles of the countrie, were an infinite companie of all sorts of souldiours, chosen forth of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to their custome) diuided themselves into two wings, and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were three sorts of souldiours: as first archers, and those with long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as bare long swordes and leaden mallets.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts, forward they make one towards another to begin the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throwing of darts was spent, and that they came to ioine) kept off their enimies with long speares or sauelins, in such sort, that they were not able to come nere them: which disaduantage Cornelius perceiving, commanded so high, that they should with their swordes cut those sauelins in sunder. And as he lifted vp the visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face with a speare, that he was faine to withdraw apart out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled, incontinentlie to saue themselves, threw off their armor and fell to running awaie. This did the victorie incline to the Scottish standards.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell, howbeit in the chase there was a wonderfull number slaine: for the Scots pursued them even into Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie beset on each side with a mightie siege. There was got into this citie at the same time a wonderfull multitude of people, that of such as were receiued into it fleeing from the battell, as also of other which were there assembled before, in hope of assured victorie and safeguard of their goods. By reason wherof being thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, so that either they must of necessitie yeld, either else by some other way that danger wherein they were presentlie bewarped.

But forsomuch as they saw no great likelihood of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was concluded amongst them, that sith there was no more anie for those noble men which were inclosed within that citie to escape the enimies hands, and that there were none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend the countrie from the Scottishmen's prouidence, they should fall to some treatie with the Scottish king for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions as might be obtained: for other remedie in that present

The towne was yeilded.

A gentle ransom.

Pontus was surrendered also.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The Irishmen came in three battels. Bernes. These might for name call long glasses, if they had bene furnished with eyes.

The Scots came in two wings.

Two battels ioine.

Cornelius was sore wounded.

The Irish ran away.

Dublin was besieged.

They consulted vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

The Irishmens practice.

The Scots had made prouision of vittels afore hand.

The kings milt.

Kenneth Cullan.

King Gregorie assailed the Irishmen.

The Irish are pursued.

Ben was slaine.

Women and children are kept harmlesse.

Unarmed men were spared. Whilist they were commanded to be prouided.

Doungarg or Doungard besieged.

sent mischief they could deuise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, namelie of Cozmach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of vpright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

Cozmach B.
of Dublin
went vnto R.
Gregorie.

Duncane.

A wittie
saieing.

King Grego-
rie his wife &
godly answer.

He toke vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his presence, besought him most humble to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wrath, if he had conceived anie peece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his couline yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstand. He besought him also to remember, that it appertained moze to the honor of a king, to preserue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countries, than by violent hand to seeke their destruction.

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie conetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had done to his subiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselues were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had deseruie bought with no small portion of their blood (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthilie by the iust iudgement of almightie God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarrell, & for the reseruing of the kingdome vnto yong Duncans behoufe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

Dublin is sur-
rendered vnto
R. Gregorie.

Gregory was
receined with
pzocession.

Cozmach bi-
shop of Dub-
lin becometh a
croffe-bearer.

He kisseth the
croccif.

He entred the
castell.

A peace con-
cluded with
Ireland.

This answer of the Scottish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined forthwith to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with pzocession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cozmach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe advanced forth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling dolowne vpon his knees, he reuerentlie kissed the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staieing till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be done of certaine unrulie persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken by the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in counsell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and covenants. First it was agreed that the yong king

Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discret persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained euer since his fathers decease) till he came to yeeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the fortresses into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrie, no not so much as for trade of merchandize, without safe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chieffest of them for performance of the covenants, and here, with taking with him threelcore hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chieflie for the politike gouernement of his people in god order and rule, to the advancement of the common-wealth: and finally died an happie old man, in a castell called Doundoze within the countrie of Carioth, in the 18 yeere after his entring into his estate, and after the birth of our Saviour 893. He was neuer married, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deserued of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowned princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forward in his life time, to the adoznement of his countrie and common-wealth, Aberdine (of a village) was advanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuiledges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, and there buried with all solemne pompe and erequies: ouer the which his next successor, Donald the first of that name, caused a faire towne to be erected.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous cleerke John Scot, a Scottishman in deed bozne, but brought vp in studie of god literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Græke tong, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperor Lewis, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whole commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionysie, intituled Hierarchia, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassadoz from the same Lewis vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbeie of Palmesburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholars, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceased not to blame and shapellie to reprove the corrupt maners of such his scholars, as were giuen moze to libertie than learning, he was by them murdered with daggers, as he was leading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs.

As to our purpose. After Gregorie succeeded Donald the 5. in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the seconde, who finding the state of the realme in god quiet and flourishing in wealth, he applied his whole studie to mainteine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be bulie ministred, so that no iniurie, speciallie if it were done to anie poore person, escaped unpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a godlie disposed

Articles of
covenant.

Their pang
king to be
brought vp.

R. Gregorie
to haue the
gouernment
of the realme.
He should also
appoint the
magistrates.
No man to
traffike in
Ireland with
out a passport.

R. Gregorie
returned into
Scotland.

The king
died.

893.

Aberdine is
made a citie.

King Grego-
rie is buried
in Colmekill.

John Scot.
Some hold
that he was
an English-
man.
Bale.

Dionysie's
pagita was
translated by
John Scot.
He taught
Alured in
England.
He taught in
Palmesburie

He was kil-
led of his scho-
lars.

Donald.
Donald the
first.

He was a god
iusticer.

He was re-
ligious.

A familie
blasphemy

God of
the
m
led.

Common
rined
w
n
thumber

King D
goeth to
sit him.

Common
sent be
thumber

Donald
1000
the aid
English

Common
werthy
by R. 3

A peace
cluded.

The D
to be
and to
in Eng
God
baptist
man

The
sema
Spur

The
and
line.

The Scots and Danes confederate themselves together.

Malcolme is made chief general of the armie.

He is created also heire apparent.

The earle of Cumberland heire apparent to the king of Scots.

The Scots and Danes ioine their powers together.

They begin a cruell warre.

Athelstane bafe sonne vn- to king Edward.

Athelstane came against the Scots.

937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie went to foracke.

Athelstane toke Northumberland.

Westmerland and Cumberland recouered.

Malcolme escaped his hurts.

A counsell called by Constantine.

the English and Scottish nations. Hereupon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest provision that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to bitter destruction.

Malcolme sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scottish armie, containing the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolme also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And even then it was ordered, that he which should succeed to the crowne after the kings deceasse, should euer inioy that province. Malcolme ioining his power with Aualassius and Godfric (who had assembled in like manner a mightie host of Danes) they all together brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murdering the people without a nie pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kinsfolks and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scottishmen now ioined in one armie together.

But the more vilanie they shewed in their doings, the sooner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the bafe sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succeed in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers deceasse) with all speed sought to be reuenged of such inuoluntuous doings. Whereupon getting together an armie, he encountered with them at a place called Bzoningfield, or Brunenburgh, in July, in the yere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue something backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in deed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, ech of them struing who might be the foremost.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into arraie againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enemies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so attained a most triumphant victorie. Where died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scottishmen, but chieflie the Scottish nobilitie bought the bargaine most deere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, together with Willfert king of the Gwentas, Hantwall king of Britains, and seven dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueled of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest thereof, hauing all the holds and forrestes deliuered into his hands.

Then without further delaie he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yielded themselves vnto him, promising from thenceforth to continue his faithfull subjects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped, yet with great danger, and in an horse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countie asforesaid. Whereupon Constantine caused a counsell to be called at Abirnetbie, where he perceived how sore his realme was weakened through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the re-

sidue that were left, seemed through want of yeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme. So as he utterlie despaired either to be of power to beate backe the enemies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldly pompe as might withdraw him from diuine contemplation (whereunto he was partie bent) he gaue ouer his kingly estate, and became a canon within the abbey of saint Andzewe amongst the couent there.

This was in the yere of our Saviour 943, and in the fortieth yere of his cloune reigne (as Hector Boetius saith:) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Bzoningfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it needs be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers doe report, so that it should rather seeme that Constantine refused in deed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yere of our Lord 937, or shortly after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilst Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbey of saint Andzewe a certeine time) in the foresaid yere 943, falling in the fortieth yere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a tome set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

In the 36 yere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermaphrodite, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the best standing forth more in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with sette like a goose, legs like a man, full of bristles, and a berie cuill fauored thing to behold. The other was borne in Northumberland, onelie hauing a mans sex, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two breasts crested or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill vpwads it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie willes or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarie, as when the one did sleepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and bhall together, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other berie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sickenesse wearing away and finallie deceassing, the other was not able to abide the greuous smell of the dead carcase, but immediatlie after died also.

About the same time there issued forth a founteine of blood out of the side of a mountaine in Gallo-way, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seven daies together, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countie) had their waters mixed with blood, and so running into the sea, caused the same to seeme bloudie certeine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuiners did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortly after. They were also the better beleued, for that within a while after, that great ouerthrow happened at Bzoningfield, as before is specified.

After

Constantine became a canon.

943.

Match. West.

943. Constantine died.

A monster.

In other monster.

Two contrarie willes in this monster.

One part died before the other.

Bloud issued out of an hill.

what was ment by these wonders.

Malcolme

After that Constantine (as is said) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the sonne of Donald was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceived right well how the force of the realme was so infiebled, that there was no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe studie was by all means possible to defende the borders of the Scottish dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he was about to have sent ambassadours unto king Athelstane, to have treated for peace, he was credibly informed, both Athelstane had given Northumberland unto Anaslatus, and made a league with him to have his aid against the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he understood how his realme was besurrounded of skilfull captains to make resistance. Yet he caused a counsell to be called, wherein when such as were assembled proponed manie fond and chabdy reasons, it might happen there was small hope of anie good conclusion; but even as they were at a point to have broken up without anie certeine resolution, word was brought how through seditious discord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen being assembled together in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloudie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to pursue the Danes in chase, so long as anie day light appeared in the skie.

The English men and the Danes fall out together, and fight.

Anaslatus fled into Westmerland, raised the Ale of Swan, and got him into Ireland.

They go in procession in Scotland for wy.

Ambassadors sent unto Malcolme.

The league was confirmed againe.

Northumberland added therunto, and given into England.

Cumberland and Westmerland to be made into England.

Anaslatus with such Danes as he might get together after that overthrow, fled into Westmerland, and within three daies after, in such ships as he found there upon the coast, he sailed over into the Ile of Swan, and spoiling the same, with all the preie he passed from thence over into Ireland. In the meane time king Athelstane having lost no small number of his people in the foresaid battell, omitted his journey into Scotland, and lay still in Northumberland, no man understanding what he intended to doe. Which newes were so pleasant to the Scottishmen, that there was common supplications and processions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God for delivering the people by this means from so great and present a danger. Shortly after came ambassadours from Athelstane unto Malcolme, to move means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottish and English nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was isfullie heard of Malcolme, though he set a countenance of the matter as though he passed not whether he had warre or peace; but in the end, for that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all parts, he shewed himselfe willing to have the old league renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, with anie reasonable conditions which should be thought requisite.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league was againe confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the semblable articles as were comprised in the old league, with this article onlie added therunto; that Northumberland, being as now replenished most with Danish inhabitants, should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumberland and Westmerland to the Scots: upon this condition, that he which should succeede here into the crowne of Scotland after the kings deceasse, being heire apparent, should have those regions, and do homage unto the king of England as his vassall perpetuallie for the same. This peace being thus established betwixt these nations, Andolph the sonne of Constantine, the then lord of Cumberland of Cumberland, and inheritor to the kingdom of Scotland, after this, Malcolme passed the western of his life

in god quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a man onlie studious to mainteine the state of his realme in good order, as well for the wealth of the temporallie, as spirituallie, wherunto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the precincts of his realme, to see the lawes duly maintained, at Urrine a villiage in Morrey land, where he caused iudice to be somewhat sordidly executed upon offenders, he was murdered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the fiftieth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked deed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserved, being torne in peeces with wild hollies, and those peeces sent unto sundrie cities, where they were hanged up on the gates and towers, untill they rotted away.

They that were the doers of the murder also, and procured the doers thereof, were thrust quite through upon sharpe stakes, and after hanged by aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case seemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Saviour 959. Here we have thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceived in their account of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolme deceased in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but sixteen yeares.

Moreover, where the Scottish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succeeded Athelstane had against Anaslatus and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Inulph that succeeded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie means (if they mistake not their account of yeares) for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 948. But beelie this fault in the first account of yeares is but too common in the Scottish historie, and therefore to him that should take upon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a maner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not wish anie man to give anie credit unto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agree with our writers, whom in that behalfe we may more safely follow; and by conferring the same with the Scottish writers in some places, happily perceive the true time, as well of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account: whereof to admonish the reader, we have here as in the English historie, we have thought it not impertinent to shew.

And albeit that some may alie that reason we haue to move us to doubt of their account of yeares, more than we do of that in our owne writers; we will referre the same unto their iudgements that are learned; and haue traueled indifferently alike, as well in perusing the one as the other without affect. But as the errors are sooner found than amended; so haue we thought good to set downe in the margin of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scottish writers, specially in places where we differ anie thing from them, because we will not seeme by way of controuersie to prejudice the authors, further than by due consideration the well advised reader shall thinke it expedient.

As to my purpose: After the corps of Malcolme was buried (according to the custome) amongst

King Malcolme was murdered.

The conspirators were put to execution.

The murderers were torne with hollies.

The procurers of the murder were hanged.

959. The mistake of the names and times of the English kings in the Scottish histories.

Indulph.

mongst his predecessors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Knouth prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiving the crowne and other the investitures of the kingdome. In the administration thereof he continued for the space of five yeares without any notable trouble; in the end of which terme, he was required by messengers sent unto him from Anaslatus, to joine with him in league against the Englishmen, in revenge of that overthrow, which as well the Danes as Scots had received at Bruningsfield, alledging that opportunity was now offered, sith after the decease of Athelstane, the Englishmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the administration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelstane and Malcolme inforce any impediment, but that he might enter the warre against the Englishmen, considering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whose deceasse the said league was ended.

Indulph is provoked by Anaslatus to warre against England.

His persuasions.

Indulph his answer.

The Danes not pleased with such an answer procure warre against England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Anaslatus. Knouth a valiant capitaine.

Elgarine persuaded the foris into the Danes.

10000 soldiers sent unto king Edmund.

Elgarine is taken prisoner.

But Indulph for answer hereunto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelstane, by great deliberation of advice, and by consent of all the estates of both realmes, taking their solemn oaths for the true observing thereof, so that he could not, unless he should violate that oath, attempt any thing to the breach of peace with the Englishmen, procuring the just indignation of almighty God against him and his people in that behalf. Hereupon the Danes accounting Indulph but a foolish and negligent person for this kind of answer, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting passe so great opportunity to be revenged of the Englishmen for the death of such Scots as died in the overthrow at Bruningsfield, determined not to be moved with the like sort of reproch: but with all speed sending for assistance to the Norwegians, who joining his power with the Danes, which came to his aid under the leading of a right valiant capitaine called Knouth, transported with all speed over into Northumberland, unto whom the governor there named Elgarine, acknowledging himselfe to be descended of the Danish blood, yielded all the castles, townes & foris, promising to aid Anaslatus against king Edmund to the uttermost of his power. These matters coming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all speed he gathereth his power, and sending into Scotland for such aid as he ought to have from thence by servants of the league, there came unto him ten thousand Scottishmen with their bows to serve him in these his wars against the Danes. When joining his owne people with those Scottishmen, he set forward towards the enemies. There were at Scone Northumberland men with Anaslatus, the which upon the first encounter with the Englishmen, fell straight to running away, which made an open and ready breath unto the English part, to attaine the victory: for the Danes being not able to resist the valiant force of the Englishmen, were quickly constrained to give backe, and in the end to be slain; the Englishmen and Scots following in the chase with such fiercenesse, that all such as they overtook died upon the sword, though they submitted themselves never to humble in requesting mercie.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enemies hands was taken alive: for looke Edmund commanded, that if any man might take him, he should in any wise save his life. But he might not buy his death in most cruel wise, to the example of other

After this, and for the space of three daies after the battell, Edmund lay still in the fields nere unto the place where they fought, and then repaired unto York, where Elgarine for his treason was drawn in pieces with wild horses. There chanced also no notable trouble in Albion, during the space of four yeares after this last overthrow of the Danes with their capitaine Anaslatus, who is also otherwise called Anlaf, as is to be seen in the English histories, where the same make mention of the foresaid king Edmund, whom likewise they affirme to be the brother of Athelstane, and not his sonne, as before is partly touched. Indulph in this meane time did with great diligence see to the good order of his realme, shewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But even as all things seemed to rest in peace quietnes through the whole Isle of Albion, Hagon king of Norway, and Helric king of Denmark, of purpose to revenge the slaughter of their countrymen lately made in Northumberland, came with a mightie name unto the coasts of Scotland, assailing to land with their whole armie, first in the Forth, then in the river of Tait; but yet through such resistance as the Scots made, being assembled together to keepe them off, they were faine to withdraw, and waisting along the coasts of Angus, the Parnes, Par, and Buthghane, at length sailing as though they would have taken their course homewards, they landed forth into the high seas. But within four daies after returning againe to the shore, they landed their people earlie in one morning upon the coast of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countie joining unto Buthghane, putting such of the countie people to flight, as presented themselves to impeach their landing and invasion.

Elgarine is drawn in pieces.

Indulph was diligent in his office.

The kings of Denmark and Norway enter with an armie into Scotland.

The enemies are put off.

They land in Boen.

King Indulph draweth nere towards the enemies.

Indulph prepared to battell.

The Danes gave the onset.

A supplye sent unto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

The king with few in his companie

But Indulph being advertised hereof, forthwith assembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with such speed, that he was come into Boen before his enemies were certified that he was set forward. So some therefore as they heard he was come, such as were abroad foraleng the same countie, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came still forward, and upon his approach to the enemies, he prepared to give battell, and with a short oration began to encourage his people to fight manfully. But before he could make an end, the Danes gave the onset with such violence, that the battell a long space continued doubtful on both sides; the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, being their bestmost strugglers to attaine the victory, till at length the Danish with their capitaine Knouth began to speare on the backe of the English, with which sight they were put in such feare, that those which fought in the fore ward, retired backe unto the middle ward, leaving the Scots edge to pursue; but soone as they came unto the teate ward, they were rather to die in the fight, than to give backe, and so they were in the end slain. Those in the rear ward were heathen armed, and continued the battell more with a desperate will, than with any great force or breast, being so overcome they were, a few of the Scottish army of the Danes, vanishing the more, and others fled their wayes, some betwixt the ships, and others here and there being scattered, and the whole army into the middle ward, where they were slain, where the king Edmund with few in his companie about him, as though all had beene quiet on each side, killing the whole band of the Danes, where the

Indulph the enemy's dagger

Indulph was slain with a sword

Indulph was slain with a sword

The king's sword

Indulph was slain

Indulph was slain

Indulph was slain

Indulph was slain

Indulph was slain

Indulph was slain

Indulph was slain

fallen into
the enemies
beger through
negligence.

Andulph
was slain
with a dart
and died.

961 (with) 10.
Ms.

968
Duffe.

The king
went unto the
western
Iles.

He purged the
Iles.

Barretors
taken and put
to death.

Magabounds
compelled to
learn an oc-
cupation.

The nobles
were discon-
tented with
the kings do-
mings.

The occasion
of murmuring
of the nobilitie.

The king fell
sicke.

the same lay in covert within a close vallie, being fled from the field thither upon the first joining of the battels, with the which entering into fight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was reuenged of those his enemies, the whole number of them being slain there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Tullane, a towne of Boene, and after translated vnto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongst other his predecessors the Scottish kings. Andulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

After the corps of Andulph was removed vnto Colmekill and there buried; Duffe the sonne of B. Malcolme was crowned B. at Scone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Cuene the sonne of B. Andulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie whereupon the king transported ouer into the western Iles, to set an order there for certeine misdoers vled by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arrivall amongst them he called the thames of the Iles asoer him, commanding strenghtlie as they would auoid his displeasure, to purge their countries of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might liue in quiet, without veration of such barretors and idle persons as sought to liue onlie vpon other mens goods.

The thames vpon this charge giuen them by the king, toke no small number of the offenders, partly by publike authoritie, & partly by leng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland, either else to learne some manuell occupation therewith to get their liuing, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen bozne. Whobest the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therewith, accounting it a great dishonour for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constrained to get their liuing with the labor of their hands, which onlie appertained to plowmen, and such other of the base degre as were bozne to trauell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serue at their commandement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sort to be made in maner equall with them in state and condition of life.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongst themselves, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an utter enemie thereof, so that he was vnwilling to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, vnles he knew better what belonged to their degre. This murmuring did spread not onelie among them in the Iles, but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie enill of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so greuous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it: for there was scene in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decay and consumption (so as there remained bneath anie thing vpon him saue skin and bone.)

And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with indistinctnes of looks, that moze was not to be wished for; he had also

temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into exceeding sweats, which by no means might be restrained. The physicians perceiuing all their medicines to want due effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into foreigne parts, who hapilie being inured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much thereto.

Whobest the king, though he had small hope of recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, deuising oft with his counsell about the same. But when it was understood into what a perillous sicknesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest wers those of Spurreyland, who staing sunbte of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sicknes with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vered with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Spurreyland, called Fozes.

Wherevpon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send forthwith certeine wittie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iourne, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Fozes by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their coming, requiring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

The souldiers, which laie there in garrison, had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a yong woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner vled by his mother & other his companions, with their intent also, which was to make auaile the king. The souldier hauing learned this of his lemmman, told the same to his fellowes, who made report to Donwald, and he shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the yong damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir vpon streit examination to confesse the whole matter as she had scene and know. Wherevpon learning by hir confession in what house in the towne it was where they brought there mischievous mysterte, he sent forth souldiers about the middell of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches roasting vpon a wooden broch an image of war at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell: an other of them sat recting certeine words of incantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie buslie.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, toke them together with the image, and led them into the castell, where being streitlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of incantment, they answered, to the end to make a way

The king being sicke, yet he regarded iustice to be executed.

A rebellion practised.

The rebellion was kept fro the kings knowledge.

Witches in Fozes.

Inquire was made.

The matter appeared to be true.

A witches daughter is examined.

The witches are found out.

An image of war roasting at the fire.

The witches were examined.

The whole
matter is
confessed.

The nobles
of the countrie
set the wit-
ches on worke.

The witches
were burnt.

The king is
restored to
health.

The king
with an arme
pursued the
rebels.

The rebels
are executed.

Captain Don-
wald craved
pardon for
them but not
granted.

Donwald
concealed ha-
tred against
the king.

Donwald's
wife counsel-
led him to mur-
der the king.

The womans
evil counsell
is followed.

the king: for as the image did waiste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake forth in sweat. And as for the words of the enchantment, they serued to keepe him still waking from slepe, so that as the war euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the war was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murray land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, straightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserved) to bee burnt to death.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a doing within the castell of Fozes, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking forth vpon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to doe anie maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murray land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Kosse, and from Kosse into Cathnessle, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fozes, and there caused them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

Amongest them there were also certaine yong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being neere of kin vnto Donwald capteine of the castell, and had bene persuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: wherevpon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine deniall, he conceived such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankfulness, hee found meanes to murder the king within the foresaid castell of Fozes where he vsed to sojourn. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had sustained by the execution of those his kinsmen, whom the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great grieve at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceased not to traueill with him, till the vnderstand what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (with the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him a waile, and shewed him the meanes wherby he might soonest accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir advice in the execution of so heinous an act. Wherupon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way hee might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart forth of the castell, was long in his or-

ratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, coming forth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accounted a most faithfull seruant to the king.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priue chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they sate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue removed the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken slepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife hee called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priue to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeyed his instructions, & speedilie going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king late) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without anie busking at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horse there provided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staied, and gat certaine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the channell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so closelie, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had bene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by blæding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murder. For such an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantlie if the murderer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they slue them whose helpe they vsed herein, and straightwaies therevpon fled into Dornie.

Donwald, about the time that the murder was in doing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the rest due of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied a waile, and the bed all beset with blond; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of blood in the bed, and on the floor about the sides of it, he forthwith slue the chamberlains, as guiltie of that heinous murder, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had bene to haue scene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murderers hid in anie priue place: but at length coming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdned the chamberlains, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable

The king re-
warded his
friends.

The king
went to bed.

This chamber-
lains went to
banketting.

The suborned
seruants cut
the kings
throte.

The king his
buriall.

The poyse
boyers are
slaine.

Donwald
kept himselfe
amongst the
watchmen.

Donwald a
verie dissem-
bler.

Some fol-
lowe other
The mat-
ter suspected.

Whom he
suspected.

Culene

The king
had the
cause of
the
murder.
The
truth
answer
to
the
king.

The king
quired
the
prais
to
be
had.

The king
made an

The king
went to
armie
in
Murray.

A guiltie
science
is
left
am

Donwald
with his
certaine

The m
of the
reueale

The c
fores
ben an
inhab
slaine.

ble murder.

Finallie, such was his over earnest diligence in the severe inquisition and triall of the offenders herein, that some of the lords began to mislike the matter, and to smell forth shrewd tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authority together, they doubted to utter what they thought, till time and place should better serve thereunto, and hereupon got them awaie everie man to his home. For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murder thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie covered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outrageous winds arose, with lightnings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I have said) of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came unto Scone, there to receive the crowne according to the manner: but at his coming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such intemperate weather. Who made answer, that undoubtedly almighty God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highly for that wicked murder of king Duffe: and such is unlesse the offenders were tried forth and punished for that deed, the realme should see the iust indignation of the divine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greivous an offense. Culene hereupon required the bishops to appoint publike processions, fastings, and other godlie exercises to be used of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appealing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the use and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oath, before all the pères & nobles there assembled, that he would not cease till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe upon the false inhabitants of Murrey land, to the example of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to arm, followed their prince, taking his iournie without further delay towards Murrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approach, and the cause of his coming, were stricken with exceeding feare: but namely Donwald, being guiltie in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be forced to confesse the truth. Whereupon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anie other of his familie, saue a few such as he took with him, he secretly got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went aboard the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Norway: for this is the peculiar propertie of a guiltie conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to betraie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serve thereto. For this Donwald, whom no man (though some partly suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his masters death (by reason of his faithful service shewed towards him afore time) had he not thus sought to haue auoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detesting his abominable fact, and wishing him to be overwhelmed in the raging floods, so to pate the due punishment, which of right he ought, for his vile treason in murdering his naturall lord.

Culene being hereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Forres, flue all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his thre daughters were

taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoener could light upon them, should in anie wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon his examination confessed the whole matter, how by his procurement chiefe his husband was moued to cause the deed to be done, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Where would the multitude haue run vpon him and tozned him in peces, but that they were restrained by commandement of an officer at armes. The next day the residue for that night rested themselves, and in the morning took order for due provision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessours.

But as they were busie hereabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by thiptozacke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods provision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthy punishment for his demerits. Whereupon the inhabitants of the places next adioining took him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent forth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded: and being scarce returned, there came in diuerse lords of Rosse, bringing with them Donwalds foure seruants, which (as before is said) did execute the murder. Thus all the offenders being brought together vnto the place where the murder was both contriued and executed, they were arraigned, condemned, and put to death in manner as followeth, to the great reioicing of the people that beheld the same.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being throwen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut into quarters, and sent vnto the chiefest cities of the realme, and there set by aloft vpon the gates & highest towers, for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred blood of their prince. This dreadful end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be unreuenged. Those that were the takers of the murderers were highly rewarded for their paines and trauell therein sustained, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and also of all manner of payments belonging to publike duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in most pompous manner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both spirituall and temporall, with other of the meaner states. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had laine six moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or other wise, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and sound as though it had bene yet aliue, the skarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to proceed, so soon as it was brought about the ground, the aire began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake forth, shining more bright than it had bene sene afore time, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth ouer all the fields immediatlie thereupon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yere.

Within a few yeres after this, there was a bryde made

The murder is wholly confessed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken vp.

Donwald is taken prisoner

Donwalds foure seruants were taken also.

Donwald with his confederates are executed.

Rewards giuen vnto the takers of those murderers.

The bodie of king Duffe honorable buried.

Marvellous things are sene.

Some toiler than other. The matter suspected.

prodigious weather.

Culene.

The king asked the cause of the foule weather. The bishops answer vnto the king.

The king required publike prayers to be had.

The king made an oath.

The king went forth an arme into Murrey land.

A guiltie conscience accuseth a man.

Donwald getting him selfe awaie.

The murder of the king is reuealed.

The castell of Forres is taken and all the inhabitants slain.

Bilflos.

Whores eate
their owne
flesh.
A monstrous
child.
A sparhawk
strangled by
an owle.

972.

King Culene
did not conti-
nue as his be-
ginning was.

The follovers
his sensuall
lusts.

Guill doers
were not pun-
ished.

God counsell
was not heard

The kings
answer vnto
his graue
pæres.

He would not
displeafe.

made ouer the water in the same place, where the bo-
die had bene buried, and a village builded at the one
end of the bridge, which is called vnto this day, Bil-
flos, that is to say, the church of flowers: taking that
name of the wonder there happened at the remou-
ning of the kings bodie, as the same authors would
seeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a
rich abbey, standing with a verie faire church, conse-
crat in the honoꝝ of the virgine Marie. Monstrous
sights also that were seene within the Scottish king-
dome that yere were these: howles in Louthian, be-
ing of singular beantie and swiftnesse, did eate their
owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other
meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman
brought forth a child without eyes, nose, hand, or foot.
There was a sparhawk also strangled by an owle.
Neither was it anie lesse wonder that the sunne, as
before is said, was continuallie couered with
clouds for six moneths space. But all men under-
stood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe
was the cause hereof, which being reuenged by the
death of the authors, in maner as before is said; Cu-
lene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same
Duffe at Scone, with all due honoꝝ and solemnitie,
in the yere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had
ruled the Scottish kingdome about the space of foure
yeres.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with
righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope
of an other manner of prince, than by the admini-
stration which followed he declared himselfe to be:
for shortly after losing the reins of lascivious wan-
tonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giuing
a lewd example by his owne disordered doings, all
such as were inclined vnto licentious lining, follow-
ed their sensuall lusts and vnbridled libertie, aban-
doning all feare of correction more than euer had
bene seene or heard of in anie other age. For such
was the negligence of the king, or rather mainte-
nance of misordered persons, that whatsoeuer anie
of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests,
or anie of the commons, though the same were ne-
uer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment
vsed against them: so that all men looked for some
commotion in the common-wealth thereupon to in-
sue, if there were not other order provided therefore
in time. The ancient pæres of the realme also being
griued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of
his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the
realme was likelie to fall through his negligent be-
haviour.

Culene answered them, that he wist well inough
how young men were not at the first bozne graue and
sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads:
wherefore their first youthfull yeres could not be so
stable as they might be hereafter by old age and con-
tinuance of time. But as for such rigorous extreni-
tie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their
subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being
taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph,
Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might in-
curre by such sharpe seueritie helmed in the govern-
ment of the estate. Whereupon he was determined
so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be be-
loved than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he
thought) to retaine his subiects in due and most faith-
full obedience. His answer was such, that although
it seemed nothing agreeable for the preservation of
the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was
there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that
durst reproue the same, but diuerse there were that
praised him therein, as those that hated all such as lo-
ued the bright administration of iustice.

But such ancient counsellors as had trulie ser-

ued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the
former kings, Indulph & Duffe, mistaking the state
of that present world (wherein the youth of the realme,
namelie all such as were descended of noble paren-
tage, and bled to be about the king, followed their
wilfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through
want of correction to be worse and worse) departed
from the court, and withdrew to their homes, with-
out meddling anie further with the publike admini-
stration. In whose place there crept in others, that
with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such
sparks of god inclination as yet remained in the
king, if anie were at all; insomuch that in the end he
measured supreme felicitie by the plentifull intol-
eng of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He
fancied onelie such as could deuise prouocations ther-
vnto, and in filling the bellie with excess of collie
meates and drinks, those that could excell other
were chiefele cherished, and most highlie of him este-
med.

Wherevnto he was giuen vnto lecherie beyond
all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, wi-
dow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor
daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of
such villanie and violent forcings as were practised
by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest
hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre
past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leche-
rous lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he
might no more exercise his former lewennesse, he
toke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in
his presence, that his decayed lust might be the more
stirred by with sight of such filthinesse. This abhomi-
nable trade of life he practised for the space of thre
yeres together, giuing occasion of much spoile, ra-
uine, manslaughter, forcings, and rauishments of
women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish
transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by
authoritie of the former kings, for restraint of such
flagitious offenses) being put in vze, through negli-
gence of this monstrous creature.

So farre forth also increased the libertie of theues,
robbers, and other offenders, maintained by such of
the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull do-
ings, and were partakers with them in the same,
that if anie man went about to withstand them, or
refused to accomplysh their requests and demands, he
should be spoiled of all that he had, and hapilie haue
his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwise be mis-
led in such outrageous and violent sort, that it would
griue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare
of such enormities as were daillie practised in that
countrie. Howbeit, at length the death of king
Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings:
for falling into a filthy disease (through abuse of ex-
cessiue drinking and lecherie) called the wasting of
nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting
of his flesh, that he appeared more like vnto a dead
carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, insomuch that
his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable per-
sonages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused
a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they
determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some
other (whome they should iudge most meetest) to
reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing where-
fore this counsell was called, as he was going thi-
therwards, at Speffen castell, being almost in the
mid waie of his iourne, was murdered by one
Cadward the thane of that place, whose daughter he
had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This
end had Culene together with all his filthie sensuali-
tie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in
memozie with his posteritie, and is not like to be for-
gotten

Incient coun-
cellors leane
the court.

The youthfull
court follow-
eth their sensu-
all lusts.

A wicked
time of valage
sensuallnesse.

A lecherous
king.

Forcing of
women kind
exceeded.

A beastlie be-
haviour.

All honestie
spiled.

Robberie,
theft, &c. were
maintained.

Death made
an end of all.

Constitution.

A parliament.

King Culene
was murder-
ed.

976.

Kenneth.

In life is re-
served.King Hen-
ry was of
various li-
ning.He loved
strangers.He abhorred
slouth.He did puni-
sh offenders.A lesson
at Lanchester
of Lanerke.The glitic
waile.The king
suffered
these down.

The king
went to
saint Dun-
stons
The king
consulted
to walke
transgress
beyond
ment.

An assem-
bled at Sc-

Not
grace
laid in

gotten whilste the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the fifth yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 978, the nobles & great pères of the realme reioicing at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

Kenneth.

After that the bodie of king Colene was once conveyed unto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great pères assembled together at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolm the first, and brother unto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to doe to reduce the people from their wild and savage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent government of his predecessor) unto their former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottishmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transfoyme themselves to the viciage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberalitie, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but restraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other unto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He maintained amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorously all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of meanes. He took busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to applie themselves in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaye to a flourishing state.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misdoers of his subiects, he induezed himselfe by all meanes he could deuise to punish offenders against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of theues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Bile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certeine offenders were summoned to appeare. But at their coming thither, perceiving that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through perswasion of diuerse noble men unto whom they were of kin, they fled secretly their waies, some into the westerne Isles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safegard of their lines. The king perceiving that through the disioiall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a tittle, and licensed euery man to depart to their houses, his traitie onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Quintian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to doe. Here he inuented (by conference which he had with some of his priuie counsell) a deuise, whereby he might fetch againe the offenders unto iudgement: but this was kept close till the yere following, for doubt least if those lords which bare the good will had come to anie thinking thereof, they would by offering it haue disappointed his purpose.

At length, after a yere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble at Scone, as though it had beene to haue continued about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come together into the counsell chamber, he caused by some of his faithful ministers a host of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their captain, that in no wise he should stirre without his commaund. The next day that all the lords were assembled together, and then without delaye to erecte that which should be giuen him in commandement. On the morrow after the nobles coming together into the counsell chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euery one according to his degree about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselves round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one another, but durst not speake a word. Then the king perceiving their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to counsell at that time, and why he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onelie for the publike preservation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were together by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischief and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Colene, that danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scottish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the frauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaye, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where should the lord or gentleman haue thereupon to liue? So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as fled to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finally of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therefore he that loued the common-wealth, would not seeke onelie to defend the commons from such iniuries as theues and robbers daile offered them; but also would helpe to see iust execution done vpon the same theues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. The last yere (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I proposed by your helpe and counsell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes against all enemies and perturbours of the peace. At Lanerke was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was no signs of them that would come in, but contemptible disobedience our commandement kept them away, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue bene informed by some how diuers of you fauouring those rebels, by reason they were of your lineage, were of counsell with them, in withstanding themselves from iudgement.

The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, hath more persuaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withstanding, I haue put away all such further suspition out of my head, thinking you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fauours of the rebelles, but as defenders of the common-wealth, though you haue somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your duties, to shew your selues againe helping to apprehend the offenders, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction to your faith and duty, before in your hearts were

The king and lords sitting, the armed men stood forth.

The king put forth the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsal of all enormities

Lanerke, or Lanerke.

The king dissembled with these sayings.

The king dissembled with these sayings.

The king dissembled with these sayings.

were ante. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselves to haue those armed men which they saw the present, to be continuallie attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords gentle submission, with a large promise.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiving what his meaning was, first partlie excused themselves so well as they might of their cloaked dissimulation, and then falling downe upon their knees afoze him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearelie to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfullnesse accomplish his desire, in causing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The counsell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Tait, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was stricte kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heed thereunto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the streets, straightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The king went to Bertha.

Roges punished.

Intarious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great number of vagabonds were iudged to die.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The Danes seeke for reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arrive at the red head, or red Braies in Angus.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offenders as used to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue judgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceiued they must needs worke, if they minded the safegard of their owne liues. Hereof it followed also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number nere hand of five hundred such idle loiterers as used to liue by spoile and pillage, many of them being descended of famous houses: all which compante being condemned for their offenses to die, were hanged vpon gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idelie by other mens labours.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preservation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie foraine or inward trouble for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being sore grieved in their hearts for such displeasures as they had sustained in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Whereupon gathering an huge multitude of men together, they were imbarcked in vessels provided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arrive: & being once on land, to destroye all before them, except where the people should submit & yield themselves vnto them. This purpose being once got abroad, within short time arrived at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Braies, or red head, not far from the place where the abbey of Abirbroth, or Abirbrothoke was afterwards founded.

Here the Danish fleet first casting anchor, their captains fell in consultation what they were best to doe. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was

not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scottishmens hands being worse, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more overthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Again, the soile of that countrie was but barren, and in manner overgrown with woods (as it was in deed in those daies) with few towne & small habitations, and those so worse, that no man knowing the same, would vouchsafe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of corne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so many notable cities and towne inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not doe better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iourne was attempted by the counsell of their superiours, onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scottishmen, and not to attaine riches or anie dominion.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & readie to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the wartes of Northumberland it well appeared) would suerlie be readie to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so soone as it was known that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constrained to haue to doe both with the Scottishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should incounter but onelie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongst the Scots, with chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enemies there, then might they passe more safelie into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Whereupon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drew with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Oke, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare, so that with all speed for their safegard they got them into Mountros: but the towne being quicklie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after rased, castled and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Tait, all the people of the countries by which they marched fleeing afoze them. King Kenneth at the same time laie at Forsterling, where hearing of these greivous newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enemies. The assemblie of the Scottish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Tait. Here when they were come together in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Tait, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. When without further delay, he called with the whole armie, and marched straight towards his enemies, coming that night

The Danes consuit to go into England.

King Kenneth set his men in array.

The king hoped the Scots would be of assistance.

The king consuit for to saile into Kent.

They onelie sought reuenge.

The order the Scots battell arrayed.

The Danes had the advantage of little mountros.

The Scots begin the fall.

Some thought best to land in Scotland.

The Danes do land at Mountros.

Mountros taken, and all within was slain.

The Danes come to the riuer of Tait.

King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

They late fought before Bertha.

The two wings of Scots slain.

King Kenneth's two sons.

unto Lonscaith village not far distant from the river of Eate, famous ever after, by reason of the battell fought there neere unto the same. The Danes hearing that the Scots were come, detraied no time, but forthwith prepared to give battell.

Kenneth as soon as the sunne was up, beholding the Danes at hand, quicklie brought his armie into order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew their manhood, he promised to release them of all tributs and payments due to the kings coffers for the space of five yeares next ensuing: and besides that he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else lands so much worth in value to everie one of his armie, that should bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfully, and to remember there was no place to attaine mercede, for either must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they fled, in the end to looke for present death at the enemies hands, who would not cease till time they had found them forth, into what place soever they resorted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The Scots being not a little incouraged by the kings words, kept their order of battell according as they were appointed, still looking when the onset should be given. Malcolm Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieutenant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe governed the battell. The enemies on the other part had taken their ground at the foot of a little mountaine right afore against the Scottish campe. Thus both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, beholding either other a good space, till at length the Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the Danes would not come forth to anie even ground, advanced forward with somewhat more hast than the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and throwing of darts right freshlie.

The Danes being backed with the mountaine, were constrained to leane the same, and with all speed to come forward upon their enemies, that by joining they might avoid the danger of the Scottish mens arrows and darts: by this means therefore they came to hand-strokes, in manner before the signe was given on either part to the battell. The fight was cruell on both sides: and nothing hindered the Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of the Danes, ever as they might overcome them. Which maner being noted of the Danes, and perceiving that there was no hope of life but in viciozie, they rushed forth with such violence upon their adversaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constrained to retire and flee backe, the middle ward stoutly yet keeping their ground, but the same stood in such danger, being now left naked on the sides: that the victorie must needs have remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought of almighty God,

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued with a valliant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great ballancie in the middle ward, not destitute of the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enemies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to doe the like, hastied towards the battell, there to die rather amongst other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine alive after the discomfiture in miserable spallowme and bondage of the cruell and most unmercifull enemies. There was neere to the place of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with

ches and walles made of farse, through the which the Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enemies on heapes.

Here Haie with his sonnes supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselves overthwart the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor foe: but downe they went all such as came within their reach, therewith divers hardie personages cried unto their fellows to returne backe unto the battell, for there was a new power of Scottishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obtained of their most cruell adversaries the Danes: therefore might they chose whether they would be slaine of their owne felowes committing to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enemies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great ballancie of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had bene some great succors of Scots come to the aid of their king, and thereupon ceassing from further pursue, fled backe in great disorder unto the other of their fellows fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

The Scots also that before was chased, being incouraged herewith, pursued the Danes unto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Whereupon Kenneth perceiving his people to be thus recomforted, and his enemies partlie abashed, called upon his men to remember their duties, and now with their adversaries hearts began (as they might perceive) to faint, he willed them to follow upon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie undoubtedly should be theirs. The Scots incouraged with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie, that in the end the Danes were constrained to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scottish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the bzant of the battell, continuing manfullie therein even to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserved immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chiefe was the victorie atchieved. And therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the field and of the enemies campe (which they had left void) should be divided, the chiefe part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the multitude; the residue being divided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, according to the ancient custome used amongst this nation.

The king having thus vanquished his enemies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused collicke robes to be offered unto Haie and his sonnes, that being richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell, was contented to go with the king in his old garments whither it pleased him to appoint. So entering with the king into Bertha, he was received with little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people running forth to behold him, whome they heard to have so valliantlie restored the battell, where the field was in manner lost without hope of all recouerie. At his entering into the towne he bare on his shoulder the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie sword or battell-are might have bene to anie the most valliant warriour. Thus Haie being honored of all estates, within certaine daies after, at a court helden at Scoone, it was ordeined, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amongst the number of the chiefe nobles and peeres of the realme, being rewarded besides monie and other great gifts, with lands and revenues, such as he should choose sufficient

Haie staied the Scots from running away

The Scots were driven to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellows in great disorder.

Kenneth called upon his men to remember their duties.

The Danes forsake the field.

The spoile is divided.

Haie refused collicke garments.

The king came to Bertha.

Haie is made one of the nobilitie.

He had revenues assigned to him.

King Kenneth let his men in array.

The king exhorted the Scots unto valliantie.

The order of the Scottish battell array.

The Danes had the advantage of a little mountaine.

The Scots began the battell.

The two wings of the Scots fled.

Haie with his two sonnes.

sufficient for the maintenance of their estates.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulness of the soile, he did aske so much ground in those parts where the river of Taie runs by the towne of Arrore ouer against Fife, as a falcon would flie ouer at one flight. Which request being freely granted of the king, the place was appointed at Inshchire for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking his flight from thence, neuer lighted till he came to a great stone nere a village called Koffe, not passing foure miles from Dundee. By which meanes all that countrie which lieth betwixt Inshchire aforesaid, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Hare and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, doth cause the thing better to be beleued, and well nere all the foresaid ground still continueth in the possession of the Hares euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three scutcheons gules in a field of silver, a plowbrame added thereto, which he used in stead of a battell ere, when he fought so valiantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Hares their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath attained vnto great estimation of honor, and hath bene decorated with the office of the constableness of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succeeded. These things happened in the first yere of king Kenneth.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great businesse by forren enemies, yet by ciuill sedition the state of the realme was wonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Bernes of the weserne Isles invading Koffe, to the intent to haue fetched a bootie, were met withall by the waite and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this sturre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole state of the common-wealth, raised by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefeest lords of the Bernes, who was sonne vnto a certeine ladie named Fienella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernour of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two riuers, the one called Southesk, and the other Fortheske. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the castell of Delbogin to see his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a strife was begun amongst the seruicingmen, in the which two of Cruthlins seruants were slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlint declared by waite of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so slenderlie heard, and answered in such reprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the author of the busines, so that Cruthneths seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maister, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake forth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fienella, where she lay within the castell of Fethricarne, the chiefeest fortreffe of all the Bernes. Where being incensed through his mothers indignation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie received: so that assembling a number of his friends and kind-folks so secretlie as he might together, with a band of the inhabitants of the Bernes, he entereth into Angus, and comming vnto the castell of Delbogin in the night season, was suffered to enter by the keepers of the gate, nothing suspecting ante treason in the world, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenly oppressed, the house sacked and rased, not one that was found within the same being left aliuie. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlint amongst them which came with him. The next day likewise he for-

raied the countrie all thereabouts, returning home with a great bootie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselves together invaded the countrie of Bernes, there making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie void almost both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of those two countries pursue the warre one against another a certeine time, with daile incursions and wastings of either others countries, in such cruell wise, that it was thought the one of them must needs shortly come to vtter destruction, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king being informed of this mischiefe and great trouble, which was fallen out through sedition amongst those his subiects, he made proclamation by an herald, that those of Angus and Bernes, whom he understood to be culpable, should appeare within sixtene daies after at Scone, there to make answer afoze appointed iudges, to such things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The most part of them doubting to be punished for their offenses with Cruthlint their capteine, fled out of Bernes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being soze moued herewith, perceiued how readie the Scottish people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentlie used: and againe how they obeyed the magistrates best when they were restrained from their wild outrageous doings by due punishment and execution of iustice. He considered therefore that if he did not cause those seditious rebels which had thus disobeyed his commandements to be punished according to the order of the lawes, he should haue the whole realme shortly disquieted with ciuill warre and open rebellion. Wherevpon with all speed he caused earnest pursuit to be made after Cruthlint, and the residue of the offenders, the which at length being taken in Lochquhair, were brought vnto a castell in Galloway called Dounsinnam, where after iudgement pronounced against them, Cruthlint first, and then other the chiefeest stirrers on either side were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their superiours against their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houses.

For his equitie shewed in ministering iustice by the king, he was greatly praised, loued, and dread of all his subiects; so that great quietnesse followed in the state of the common-wealth, greatly to the advancement thereof, and so continued till the 22 yere of this Kenneths reigne. At what time the blind loue he bare to his owne issue, caused him to procure a defestable fact, in making away one of his neereest kinsmen. This was Malcolme the sonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths reigne prince of Cumberland, by reason wherof he ought to haue succeeded in rule of the kingdom after Kenneths death. Whereat the same Kenneth græuing not a little, for that thereby his sonnes should be kept from inheriting the crowne, found meanes to poison him. But though the physicians understanding by such euident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no suspicion at all was conceived that it should be his deed.

The clothes tunc also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement giuen by him vpon the first newes of his death, that his funerals should be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he shed

The countrie is forraied.

They of Bernes requite their iniuries.

The king made a proclamation by an herald.

The culpable should appeare at Scone.

The faultie men ran away.

The king was soze offended therewith.

The king minded to punish the disobedient rebels. Cruthlint taken with many more.

He is executed with certaine others.

The king was soze offended by his iustice.

Mr. Kenneth poisoned his cousin Malcolme.

The king was not suspected of this fact.

The poisoning of Malcolme is brought into suspicion.

Hare his request.

The falcon measured Hare his lands out.

Hare had armes giuen him.

Ciuill wars in Scotland.

In other commotion in Bernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to see his grandfather.

Two of his seruants were slaine.

They set vpon Cruthlint also.

Cruthlint was incited to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the castell.

tho for him, at all places where anie mention cha-
ced to be made of the lo: which the realme had suf-
fered by the death of so worthy a prince, made men
nothing mistrustfull of the matter, till at length some
of the nobles perceiuing the outward sorow (which he
made) to passe the true griefe of the heart, began to
gather some suspicion, that all was not well: but yet
because no certaintie appeared, they kept their
thoughts to themselves. About the same time came
ambassadors forth of England from king Edward
the sonne of Edgar (which after through treason of
his stepmother Esculda, was made a martyr) requi-
ring that sith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland
was deceased, it might please the king with the
states of the realme to chuse some other in his place,
who doing his homage vnto the king of England,
according as it was couenanted by the league,
might be a meane to confirme the same league be-
twixt the two nations for the auoiding of all occasi-
ons of breach thereof that otherwise happlie might
inise.

ambassadors
came from k.
Edward.

he required a
new prince to
be chosen.

The k. heard
a message
for his pur-
pose.

Kenneth at the same time held a counsell at
Scone, where hauing heard the request of these am-
bassadors, in presence of all his nobles, he answered
that he was glad to understand that king Edward
was so carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie
betwixt his subiects and the Scottishmen, according
to the articles of the ancient league in times past
concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for
his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and
therefore in rendering most heartie thanks vnto
him for his gentle advertisement, he purposed by the
advice of his nobles, and the other estates of his
realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince
of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and
thereupon required the ambassadors to be present on
the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles
should name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The
ambassadors hereupon departing forth of the coun-
cell chamber, were conueied to their lodging by di-
uerse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe
them companie.

The king re-
quested that
the crowne
might come by
inheritance.

the king re-
quested that
the crowne
might come by
inheritance.

he had come
enough to
waile in, to
gather praies
& reasons to
persuade this
matter, it be-
ing good of
it selfe.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about
to persuade the peeres, and other the estates of the
realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the cus-
tome and ancient order vied by their elders in cho-
sing of him that should succede in the gouernance of
the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in
possession. He vied so manie reasons as was pos-
sible for him to deuise in that behalfe, thereby to in-
duce them to his purpose, which was to haue an act
established for the crowne to go by succession, onelie
to this end, that one of his sonnes might inioy the
same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared
also that discommodities, seditions, and great incon-
ueniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone
in times past by election: for though it was ordeined
at the first that it should so doe, vpon a good intent
and great consideration, yet in procelle of time proue
and experience had shewed, that more hinderance
happened vnto the common-wealth thereby (beside
the danger euer insuing incidentlie vnto such issue
as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie
murthers, occasions of ciuill discord, and other wic-
ked practises were thoroughlie tried and considered,
the summe whereof he recited from point to point,
and so in the end with great instance besought them,
that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and
taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state
of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes common-
lie the order was, that the sonne should without anie
contradiction succede the father in the heritage of the
crowne and kinglie estate.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long

oration, which he handled after the pithiest sort he
could, but that diuerse of the noble men which were
there amongst other, being made paimie to the mat-
ter aforehand, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme
the son of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland,
that he might so haue an entrance to the crowne af-
ter the deceasse of his father. This motion by and
by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth
perceiuing, he required of the most ancient peeres
whome they would name to be prince of Cumber-
land, that there might be a meane to ratifie and con-
firme the league betwixt the Scots and English-
men, Constantine the sonne of king Collin, and
Grime the nephue of king Duffe by his brother Po-
gall: howbeit by the force of the former law they
might by good reason haue looked to haue had the pre-
ferment themselves.

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But yet perceiuing it was in haine to denie
that which would be had by violence (although they
should neuer so much stand against it) being first de-
manded of the herald what they thought, they an-
swerd (notwithstanding against their minds indeed)
that the king might order all things as should
stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought
most meet to bee prince of Cumberland, and to ab-
rogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in
deuising new ordinances for the same, as should
seeme vnto him and those of his counsell most requi-
site and necessarie. The multitude then following
their sentence, cried with loud & indiscreet voices,
to haue Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth cre-
ated prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Mal-
colme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices
of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in
place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe.
The daie next following, the ambassadors comming
into the counsell chamber, heard what was decreed
touching their request, and then being highlie re-
warded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they re-
turned into England, and Malcolme with them, to
be acquainted with king Edward, and to do his ho-
mage for the principallitie of Cumberland, as the cus-
tome was.

At the same time also there was a new act deuised
and made, the old being abrogated (by the appoint-
ment of the king) for the creation of the Scottish
kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather
consenting with silence, than greatlie allowing it ei-
ther in harts or voices, though some currisaours a-
mong them set forward the matter to the best of
their powers. The articles of this ordinance were
these. The eldest heire male of the deceased king,
whether the same were sonne or nephue, of what age
soeuer he should be, yea though he should be in the
mother from thence forth succede in the kingdome of
Scotland. The nephue by the sonne should be prefer-
red before the nephue by the daughter, in attaining
to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the bro-
thers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son.
The same law should be obserued of all such of the
Scottish nation, as had anie lands or inheritance
comming to them by descent. Where the king by this
meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule,
there should be one of the chiefe peeres of the realme
chosen and elected to haue the gouernance of his per-
son and realme, till he came to 14 yeeres of age. The
which foureteenth yeere of his age being accompli-
shed, he should haue the administration committed
to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons
of ech estate and degree should remaine vnder the
wardship of their appointed gouernours, till they came
to the age of 21 yeeres, and not till then to meddle
with anie part of their lands and livinges.

The peeres of
the realme did
soughtlye
grant to his
request.

The herald
required E.
Constantine his
voice first.

Constantine
his saying.

The multi-
tude wel pleas-
ed, cryed Mal-
colme.

A new act for
the succession
of the crowne.

Articles con-
clained in that
parliament.

King Kenneth ministered iustice trulie.

The good will of the nobilitie he bought with gifts.

The king had a gilty conscience.

A voice heard by the king.

The king confessed his sinnes.

The king taketh great repentance.

The king went to Fordune in pilgrimage. A park with wild beasts at the castle of Fethircarne.

Fenella was of kin unto Malcolme.

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fullie assured vnto him and his posteritie, and thereupon indued himselfe to win the harts of the people with bright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, as well in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he seeme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lordes and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most vnhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so cometh it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vquiet mind. And (as the same goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, uttering vnto him these or the like words in effect: 10
 "Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to do that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had bene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the iust vengeance of almighty God, shall suffer worthy punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou dost indenuour to assure vnto thine issue.

The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Houean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beseeching him of counsell, which waie he might obtaine pardon and forgiveness at Gods hands by worthy penance. Houean hearing how the king bemoaned his offense committed, he willed him to be of god comfort. For as the wrath of almighty God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiveness by these and sundrie other the like comfortable words of the bishop, studied vnfeinedlie to do worthy penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witness of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

It chanced hereupon, that within a short time after he had bene at Fordune, a towne in Pernes, to visit the reliks of Maladus which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the castle of Fethircarne, where as then there was a forest full of all manner of wild beasts that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Pernes and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made a waie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Crine, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuise of the king (as before is partly mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomack, long time before hauing conceived an inmost tall grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelie as well for the death of

hir sonne Cruthlint, as hauing some inkling also of the impossioning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certaintie therof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged.

She understood that the king delighted aboute measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compass hir malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, joining vnto hir owne lodging with, in the foresaid castell of Fethircarne. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finelle ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Hereunto was it hong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verie faire and coslie. Behind the same were there crossebowes set readie bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the midst of the house there was a goodlie brassen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of pretious stones, densed with such art and cunning, that so soone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remove it neuer so little anie waie forth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, as well of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the midst of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie: Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, lacinds, sapphires, topases, rubies, turkasses, and such like pretious stones, she had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the same, beseeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value worthy to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And here with she hirselfe withdrew aside, as though she would haue taken some thing forth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length remouing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so direalie vpon him, that striking him through in sundrie places, he fell doونه Marke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as soone as she beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, she got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where she had appointed hories to tarie for hir, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued hir, yer the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His seruants still waiting for his comming forth in the vtter chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doore softlie, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floore.

The clamor and crie hereupon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella cursed and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a deed: but the vnglacious woman was conured so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which the same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in government of the kingdome after Kenneths deceasse, increased that suspicion greatlie, for immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends together, and went vnto diuerse places requiring the lordes to assist

She was desirous for reuenge.

Fenella hir malicious intent.

Crossebowes readie bent, hidden.

Fenella had the king into the inner chamber.

The king was slaine with the crosse bowes.

Fenella escaped from them all.

His seruants looked for their king.

The doores broken open, they find him dead.

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got hirselfe into Ireland by the helpe of Constantine.

Constantine aspired vnto the crowne.

Constantine.

Constantine procured friends.

994. 10. M. 1000. H.

Marcellor says chame

The man appeared to be.

Scarlett cyne and tell. Trained times.

Practising was despised.

Malcolme (which free against Constantine.

God count was given him.

Yet other comen to given him.

Malcolme with an came to fight with Constantine. Constantine went with Malcolme.

assist him in attaining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (instituted in the beginning, and obserued till now of late, that Kenneth by his priuate authoritie had gone about to appropriate the same) ought to descend vnto him, as all the world verie well vnderstood.

Constantine procured friends, so on eche side, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceasse, in the 25 yere after that the same Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, and in the yere of our saluation a thousand iust, in the which yere (as is said) sundrie vnketh fights were sene as well in Albion, as in other places. The sea left vpon the sands on the coasts of Buchquane, an infinite multitude of fishes, the which lieng there dead, caused such a stinkie fauour, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people ensued. The mone appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terroze of them that beheld it. In the summer next following, corne failed, and cattell died so generallie, that if there had not bene more plentie of fish got than was accustomed to be, the people had bene famished in manie places. In Albion and also France it rained stones. But all these dreadfull wonders might not withdraue the Scottishmen from their wicked vices, wherevnto in those daies they were wholly giuen, though there wanted not diuerse vertuous men, as well bishops as other, that in their sermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughtie liuings: for otherwise vndoubtedlie such gristie fights and tokens as chanced in those daies, menaced some great mischief to fall vnto the whole nation. And shuerlie their wordes proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulnesse, being stubborne harted one against another, brought their countrie into danger of vtter destruction.

Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine (against the ordinance lately made) had usurped the crowne, as sone as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with such funerall pompe as appertained, he desired his fathers friends to giue him such faithfull counsell as they thought most expedient, which way he were best to worke for the appeasing of the fedition now begun, by reason of Constantines presumptuous attempt. There were some amongst that companie that toke it to be best, first to vnderstand the minds of all the pæres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit against the tyrant; least whilst Malcolme should seeke to deliuer himselfe from danger, he might happlie wind himselfe farther into trouble, than without extream perill of the common wealth he should be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it best suddenlie to go against Constantine before he made himselfe strong: for if they came vpon him yer he were prouided for their comming, manie of them that feigned themselves to be his friends, would forsake him, so sone as they saw anie power of his enemies at hand. And then should he either fall into their hands, or be driuen to flee the realme for safeguard of his life.

The fierce yong man following this counsell as the best to his seeming, & trusting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduise of men of skill, assembled together in all hast possible about the number of ten thousand men, with whome making towards Constantine with speedie forniess, at length he came into Louthian. Constantine being informed of all his aduersaries doings, had gotten together also an huge power, so that passing forth with the same to

incounter them, the brute which ran of his great number and puissance, caused Malcolme for verie feare that he should not be able in anie part to match him, to breake by his armie, and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reason wherof he had bene put to such hinderance and dishonour, as would not easilie haue bene reconered, had not Kenneth the bastard sonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the passages of the Forth, that Constantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then rose there great famine and penurie of vittells in both hostes, so that Constantine with great indignation was constrained to breake by his campe, and so to leaue his enterpryse for that season.

Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, wherevpon followed wastings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischief happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilings and robberies bled by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finally, there rose one mischief so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilst the Scottishmen were thus at diuision amongst themselves, renting and pulling in peeces their owne miserable native countrie, Edward king of England being oppressed with invasion of Danes, was glad to bue peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiving that his enemies ceased not daile to spoile and rob his subiects, he purposed to trie what he might do by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme consenting to Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason wherof the Danes doubting to be overmatched, after certeine light skirmishes, without anie great bloodshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselves with those lands which they had alreadie in possession, and to invade no further vpon the Englishmen; but contrariwise to be readie to fight in their defense, if anie foreine enemy sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilst Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the time to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which toke part with his aduersarie (the foresaid Malcolme) vnder his subiection.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to resist Constantines attempts) had got together an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Cratmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, thre miles from Edenburgh, purposing there to abide his enemies, if they minded to assaile him. Constantine herevpon halted thitherwards, and comming within sight of his enemies, streightwaies ioined battell with them; immediatlie wherewith there rose such an outragious tempest of wind, comming out of the east, & driving the sand in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to see about them to make anie defense against

Malcolme thought himselfe to sweate

Lacke of vittells caused Constantine to breake by his campe.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchased peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is readie to helpe king Edward against the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

King Constantine rentesd warre with Malcolme.

Constantine ioined battell with Kenneth the bastard.

King Con-
stantine is
slaine.

1002

Grime.

Grime vsed
liberalitie and
gentlenesse
towards Con-
stantines
friends.

Malcolme
prince of
Cumberland
is moued as
against
Grime.
A good coun-
sell.

Malcolme
sendeth prin-
ces to the lords
of Scotland.

Malcolme
his promise
vnto the
Scots.

Malcolme his
messengers
are committed
to prison.

Malcolme be-
ing offended
therewith, ga-
thered an ar-
mie.

Grime is of
greater force
than Mal-
colme.

Malcolme
would not
haue his peo-
ple to vnder-
stand the
trueth thereof.

His aduise a-
uailed not.

gainst their enemies that then pressed vpon them right eagerlie. By means whereof the discomfiture lighted vpon Constantines side, though neither part had ante great cause to reioise: for in the hottest of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to incounter together, and so fighting man to man, either slue other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint of the enemies sword, in the thirde yeare of his reigne, & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, & his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his predecessors.

Then Grime nephew to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Kenneth, gathered together the residue of Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the ouerthrow, supposing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was soe weakened, & therevpon he came vnto the abbey of Scone, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king, as lawfull successor vnto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to establish himselfe the more firmelie in the state, he shewed great gentlenesse towards all them that were friends vnto Constantine, and bestowed vpon them manie bountious gifts. Neither was his liberalitie shut vp from other that had fauored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highlie both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, whome he saw by no means could be wonne, he caused them to be proclaimed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enemies to the crowne.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland soe moued in his mind that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends together, requiring to haue their aduise, which way he were best to worke in this so great a matter. They counselled him in no wise he should despise the force of his enemies, but rather to assaile by all means to draw those nobles vnto his purpose, which were assitant vnto Grime. Wherevpon Malcolme following the counsell of his friends, sent forth secret messengers vnto those lords that toke part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promised faith, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would doe in renouncing their obissance vnto the usurper Grime, he promised so to gouerne the realme with equall iustice, that no estate in reason should find cause to mislike with his doings. Manie of the nobles by means of this message revolted from the said Grime soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to doe the like. But other & the greater number toke those that brought the message, & sent them as prisoners vnto Grime, who presentlie committed them to prison.

Malcolme soe offended therewith, by counsell of his friends, assembled an armie to go against them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his pursuants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed iournie, he heard by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onelie of all such of the Scottish nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them also of the wessterne Isles. Malcolme doubting least if the certaintie hereof were once bruted amongst his people, the same would increase the terror more than needed; he gaue commandement therefore that no maner of wight should be suffered to come into his armie, vntil he were first brought to his presence. But this deuise nothing auailed him: for thereby, that which he desired to be concealed and kept most secret, became the more manifest,

by reason that such as had some inkling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was in deed. For there rose a murmuring amongst them, that there was such treason contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioine with his aduersaries, he should not be in danger onelie of them, which he knew to come against him in Grimes host; but also of no small number of them which were in his owne armie, who vpon the sothing had determined to turne their speare points against him in Grimes quarell.

This rumoz passing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was first raised by certeine merchantmen, of whome there was a great number in Malcolms host, hauing more skill in buiseng and selling, than in anie warlike feats or enterprises. These at the first suing for licence to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miseries, in such dolefull wise, that all the campe was troubled with the noyse; insomuch that euen the old men of warre, and diuerse of the captains were not a little discomfited and amazed with such wailefull clamors. Malcolme being auertised hereof, thought not good to match in battell against his fierce enemies with his people thus assorted through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the most part of his host to depart for that time, and abroad onelie with certeine bands of his most faithfull friends nere to the water of Forth, to stop his enemies from passing ouer that riuier.

Whilist the realme of Scotland was thus disquieted and troubled with ciuill discord, Fothadus the great bishop of Scotland, a man of right approved vertue and clemencie, soe lamenting to see his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in peeces, got him into his pontificall vestures, with a multitude of other reuerend priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, in humble wise comming and presenting themselves before king Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderstand the cause of their comming. Then Fothadus answered, that he was come as the seruant of Christ, the author of all peace and concord, beseeching him by way of humble supplication to take ruth and pitie of the great trouble and miserie fallen to the realme, since the time he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the state of things being such, as if some redress were not found in all speedie wise, the utter ruine of the common-wealth must needs insue, by reason of the sundrie debates and factions daillie rising among the people of all sorts and degrees, so that murders, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & mischiefs were still put in practise without restraint or punishment, in such licentious sort that no man could assure himselfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owner. Neither was there anie hope of reformation so long as the ciuill wars lasted. Therefore if it might stand with the pleasure of king Grime in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condescend vnto some necessarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to undertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in such wise as should in no manner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honor and roiall maiestie.

Grime moued with the words of the bishop (who most instantlie besought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in respect of his owne suertie, which might not continue if his people were once destroyed, to remit part of his high displeasure) answered, that peace he could be contented to haue, so the same might be concluded with his honor saued: for suertie wars he neuer desired but onelie in defense

A brute speeche
in Malcolms
armie of trea-
son.

Merchant-
men authors
of the rumoz.

Malcolme ke-
cenceth the
most part of
his armie to
depart hence.
Malcolme in-
tendeth to
stop his eni-
mie from pas-
sing ouer the
Forth.

Fothadus se-
keth to take
vp the matter.

The fruits of
ciuill warre.

Fothadus
undertaketh
to conclude a
peace betwixt
the parties.

Grimes an-
swer to Fo-
thadus.

of

of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinaunces of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principallitie of Cumberland, and so thereupon breake vp his campe, and depart forth of the lands pertaining vnto the crowne, he would gladly come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to doe, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the vttermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce enemie.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, besought him to staie a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Grime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scottish common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likelihoode of substantiall reasons, how infortunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the vttermost. His tale being throughlie heard and well digested, wrought so with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraue into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like case breake vp his campe, and agree to haue a truce for thre moneths space, in which meane time they might by certeine commissioners appointed and authorised thereto, talke and common for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them.

Grime refused not this offer, and so thereupon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Fozfarr, there to take further aduise what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled together in communication at Scone, where within few daies after (chiefly through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Grime during his life time should inioy the crowne, and after his decesse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for ever, according to the ordinance & decree made & established by R. Kenneth. And whosoever should go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decree, should be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwixt Northian & Northumberland, and betwixt Chide and Westmerland, euen from the Almaine seas to the Irish seas, should presentlie remaine & be transported vnto the dominion & gouernment of Malcolme, with the which contenting himselfe, during the naturall life of Grime, he should continue in friendship with the said Grime, & so in no wise stirre or moue anie warre or debate, either against him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he should not onelie lose those lands which he now held, but also be deprived of all the right, title, claime, and interest which either he or his posteritie might make & pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themselves by solempne othes to performe euerie point and point in these articles compased, they laid armed aside,

and began to take order for reforming of all misdemeanours, which had happened within the land, by reason of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Howbeit, commandement was giuen by either of these princes, that their subjects should be still in a readinesse with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themselves against all sudden inuasions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other still in some mistrust, what countenance forer they shewed outwardlie. Yet notwithstanding, for the space of 8 yeares together, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

But Grime at length of a chaff & liberall prince, through long slouth and increase of riches, became a most couetous tyrant, and so corrupted in maners and conditions, that it passed the bounds of all reason and equitie: insomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerse of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by attainder, he oppressed the people by continuall exactions also each day more than other. His subjects being thus brought into extreamie miserie through his wicked and vniust gouernement, not knowing where to seeke for redresse, saue onelie at the hands of almighty God, the punisher of all sinne, besought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miseries, and to change the gouernment of the realme into some better state. The lords also hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings misgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambassadors from them, to require him to put alwaie from him such naughtie persons as by euill counsell had peruerterd his mind, & moued him to doe things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

One of these ambassadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings presence, declared to him that they were sent from the residue of the nobles and peeres of his realme, to admonish him of things pertaining to the suertie of his estate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through persuation of euill counsellors he suffered manie enormities to be committed by his ministers and officers against his subjects, to their vtter impoverishment and vndowing, the rebuke whereof did rebound vnto his dishonour; if it would please him to remoue out of his presence and seruaice all such disloiall persons as sought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he should win therby the loue of all his liege subjects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the same brought into such calamities; that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliuie; if reformation were not the sooner had against such extortioners as his seruants and officers did daily practise, and for the which no doubt he must needs answer, with the sword was committed vnto him, not to which couetous person; nor to oppress innocent and weak dealing people, but contrarie to punish and correct guiltie and vniust dealers.

When king Grime had heard what message these ambassadors had brought, he answered to the same with fained words, and willed them vnder the pretext of courtelie to a banquet, in purpose to haue put them all in prison: but they being aduertised thereof got them in all hast to their houses, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the residue of the nobles at the same time were assembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forward with prosperitie and hap as he wished, not ceasing from raising new payments and exactions still of

applied their studies to reforme misdemeanours.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities vnto detestable vices.

The common peoples prayer

The lords require Grime to reforme the misgouernment of his officers.

The office of the sword.

King Grime purposed to haue slaine the messengers.

Fothadus goeth vnto Malcolme.

Malcolms offer.

Grime is contented with Malcolms motion.

Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agreement.

The conditions of the peace betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

The warres being ceased, the princes

The lordes of Scotland arreare warre against Grime their king.

what mischief ensued.

Malcolme is required to relieve the Scottish estate.

Malcolme consenteth to make warres against Grime.

Grime assembleth an armie to encounter Malcolme. The camps nere the one to the other. Grimes policie.

Malcolmes request.

The battell betwixt Grime and Malcolme. Grimes part discomfited.

The end of king Grime.

his subiects, till at length he was advertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him; at which newes being sore kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had so rebelled against him. When followed more mischance and trouble than ever had bene sene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this civil dissention, castles were rased and overthrowne, towncs burned up, corne destroyed, fields wasted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the bitter eversion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all speed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subiects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Howbeit, he was no soner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came unto him, beseeching him to take pittie vpon his miserable and forne countrie, & to imploy his whole force to remoue away from the people such imminent destruction as daily hastened towards them, which to do they thought it was partlie euen his dutie, sith God had bestowed vpon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most plentifully appeared in him, not onelie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouernement of Grime and his unhappie counsellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme moued with these and the like persuasions of the Scottish lords, which daily resorted vnto him, resolved with promise of their support to lence warre against Grime in this so necessarie a quarrell, and so assembling a great puissance together, he did set forth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still vnto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterprise, offering by solenne othes to become his liegemen and subiects. Grime likewise being advertised of those newes, with all speed got together such people as he might assemble for the time, and comming forward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Grime supposing that he might take his enemies at some aduantage, if he came vpon them on the sudden, for that being given to deuotion, they would looke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose forthwith to assaile them.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being advertised thereof, sent vnto Grime, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Grime would in no wise assent thereto, but nedes would come on without stop or staie; whereupon both the armies rushing together met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Grimes side was put to the worse, and in the end cleerlie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Grime was taken alive standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eyes put out, and afterwards continuing so in great paine and languor certaine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9th yere of his reigne, and was buried in Colme.

kill, after the incarnation 1010 yeres.

After this victorie thus obtained by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, vsing manie gentle words toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne appertained vnto him, and that the warres which he had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scottish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Grime and his counsellors. When he had thus vttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike assembly to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scottish nobilitie comming together at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterlie refused to receiue the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approued, whereupon the lords bound themselves by solenne othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioicing of all the people present.

When the solemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and pères of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had bene assistant vnto his aduersarie Grime: and there vied the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to auoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rotes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the civil discord had sprung up among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discret persons, skilfull in the lawes and ordinances of the realme. Other offices pertaining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministred on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and by rightnesse, as had not bene heard of in anie age before him. Whilist the Scottish estate was gouerned in such happie wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauie, in purpose to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Englishmen.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, theued by sundrie overthrowes receiued at the enemies hands, as in being thasse taken prisoner, and in the end driven and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish beleafe, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortly after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arrived (as is said) in England, and chased king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined first to trie the chance of battell with his enemies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Wuse, nere to the banks whereof, not farre from Forke, he pitched downe

1004. To M.
1010. H. B.
Malcolme
swores to the
that were taken
prisoners.

A parliament
at Scone.

Malcolme
refuseth the
crowne but
vpon condition.

The ordinance
of king Kenneth
for the
succession of
the crowne is
confirmed.

Malcolme

Malcolme
agreeth the nobles
of his
realme.

Malcolmes
wisdom in
ordaining
officers.

Sueno king
of Denmarke
landed in
England.

Sueno converted
to the christian
faith in
Scotland.

Egeldred (or
as the Scots
write Eldred)
chased into
Northumberland,
getteth
aid from the
Scots.

Sueno
swore to
the Scots.

The bat
telle bet
wixt Gr
& S

The Cr
ime put
fight by
Danes.

Egeldred
captiue
by
fight.

Sueno
all imagi
on.

The nob
English
their har
pition
Sueno.

Under
condition
Sueno li
ed the
whomen
to in their
countrie.

do wone his tents.

Suenos met-
lage to the
Scots.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefites and pleasures received but latelie at the Scottismens hands, sent an herald at armes unto them, commanding them to depart their waikes home, and to refuse Egeldreds companie; either else to looke for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Forwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there ready bent to their destruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be staied and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought forth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of sword, if Sueno were so minded; who verie desirous to accept the offer, brought forth also his people in perfect order and well arraigned to fight, so that there was no staie on either part, but that together they shue most fiercelie, & in such eger wise, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but even at the first they buckled together at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leauing the Danes a verie deere and bloudie victorie. The murder also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a bote and passed ouer Duse, so escaping out of the enimies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

The battell
betwixt Egeldred & Sueno

The English
men put to
flight by the
Danes.

Egeldred es-
capeth by
flight.

Suenos cru-
ell imaginati-
on.

The nobles of
England
their humble
petition vnto
Sueno.

Under what
conditions
Sueno licen-
ced the Eng-
lishmen to liue
in their owne
countrie.

Thus Egeldred being vtterlie banquished and despairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie receiued of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Normans, that he married the ladie Emme, daughter vnto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles moze at large it doth appere. Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enimies, and now put in possession of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroyed all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succeed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humble before his presence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, besought him in most pitifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder that bondage and seruitude if should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castels, towne, or other sovereignties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne native countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he vied the victorie farre moze gentle, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrie, but in such wise, as by no meanes they should presume to beare anie armoz or weapon, but to applie themselves vnto husbandrie, and other seruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should resigne and deliuer all their castels, forts, and strong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their soueraigne lord and king; they should bring in (to be deliuered vnto his use) all their weapons and armoz, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and siluer, as well in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused this

proclamation was made that he should immediatly lose his life as a rebel and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie vrged. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to auoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yeeres.

Such tyrannie also after this was vied by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or temporall, but were vtterlie removed from the same, and some of them cast in prison and daile put in hazard of their liues. Finally, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euerie householder within the realme was constrained to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continuallie giue good watch what was said or done in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and roiall estate. This Dane by the godman of the house and his familie, for honoz sake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie idle person liued loitering, without the vse of some honest exercise to get his living withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

¶ Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agree not in all points with our English histories, yet with the historie of Scotland in this place seemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our histories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos inuading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scottish writers name Elfred, was driven to flee into Normandie. For when that Sueno lastlie returned into England, and constrained Egeldred so to forsake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yeere 1014 (as in the English histories ye may read moze at large) not hauing time to make anie such iournie into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterprize anie such exploit there, it was before this his last arrivall in England.

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foresaid Boetius. Sueno hauing spoiled the Englishmen of their liberties (in manner before remembered, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arrivall here he did in deed, he thought it necessarie, for the moze suertie of his estate in England, to conclude some peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they should not support anie Englishman against him. But forsomuch as he could not compasse his intencion here in, he furnished all the castels and fortresses on the sea-coasts, ouer against Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to resist all sudden inuasions that might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the prouision he could deuise to make moztall wars vpon the Scots: and the moze to annoie his enimies, he sent commandement vnto Olanus his lieutenant in Forwaie; and to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leaue into Scotland, to make warres on his enimies there.

Whereupon shortly after those foresaid capitaine arrived with a huge armie in the mouth of Spete, and landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitants of Spete fled out of their houses, with their

529. H.B.

The miserie
of the Eng-
lishmen vnder
the bondage of
the Danes.

The name of
lordaine how it
came by.

Sueno landed
here this last
time of his
coming
forth of Den-
marke into
England in
Iulie, in the
yeere 1013, &
departed this
life in the be-
ginning of
February, in
the yeere 1014

Sueno prepa-
red to inuade
the Scots.

Olanus, and
Onetus.

The Danes
land in Scot-
land.

The crueltie
of the Danes.

their wines, children, and goods (such as they could conueie awaie with them) into places where they thought to remaine most out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and spoile all be- fore them, as well churches and chapels, as other build- ings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were slaine without all mercie. Also all the strengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, these castles onelie excepted: that is to say, Elgin, Forres, 10 and Parne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and for that they trusted (when the same was wonne) the other two would yeeld without anie fur- ther defense, they first laid siege vnto this castell of Parne, inforcing themselves with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scottish king was come within fife miles of them with all the forces of his realme to giue them battell.

The castell of
Parne besie-
ged.

Malcolme
sendeth am-
bassadors to
the Danes.

The Danes
slee the am-
bassadors.

Incontinentlie hereupon they raised their siege, and hasted forth to meet him, with no lesse courage than if victorie were already present in their hands. Shortly after, there came vnto them heralds also from Malcolme, to vnderstand whie they had thus inuaded his realme with open and most cruell warre, having no occasion giuen by him or his subjects so to do: who scarcelie had done their message, but that they were slaine forthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being fore moued to vnderstand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of mes- sengers to be thus violated by the enemies, kept on his iourne with the more fierre courage, till he came to a meadow a little beside Killos, where he incam- ped for that night. Great noise and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euery man being desirous of battell, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Danes against their friends and countrymen: not withstanding on the morrow, when they saw their e- nemies in farre greater number, and in better order than euer had bene scene by anie of them before that time, their hart began to wax faint, hauing greater care which waie to saue their owne liues, than to giue the onset vpon their enemies.

The Scots
through feare
are astounded.

Malcolms
words to his
nobles.

Malcolme perceiuing such dread to be entred into the harts of his people, that they were now more like to run awaie than to fight, if he should bring them forth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus astoned at the first sight of their enemies, with- out further triall of their forces. ¶ At home (said he) ye are most hardie and valiant, where no danger ap- pareth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted (now that ye are come where valiance should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your worthie fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Loncart, vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obtained so famous a victorie of the selfe same nation, whose furious puiſſance ye seme now so much to feare: There hath bene triall made in battell with this enemy in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowne of our elders. What dishonours the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so mane of them losing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. ¶ We ought then (said he) to be of godd courage, rather than to faint now at need, considering ye haue to doe with those e- nemies, who are but the remnant of the other, which before haue bene vanquished and ouerthrowne by Scottishmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerse other

Loncart.

Albion the se-
pulture of
Danes.

places; yea and besides that, such as mounting warres now at this present without iust occasion, haue vio- lated the lawes both of God and man, deseruing thereby iust vengeance at Gods hands, the punisher of all such vniust offenders. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enemies, if we take manlie harts vnto vs, and shew our selues in valiant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appere what outra- 10 gious follie remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occasion of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must needs at length perish, than to the defense and preservation of your common countrie; why passe ye not forward, sith there is now no place nor time to take longer aduise in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enemy ready to ioinc?

The nobles moued with these words of their prince, began boldlie to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie whereupon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring ei- ther their owne forces or their enemies, they rush forth vpon them without anie order or good arate. W- laurus & Wnetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiously against them, boldlie incountred them with arrayed battels. Whereupon ensued a verie ter- rible fight, with great manhood shewed on both sides, nothing being let passe that might appertene to worthie captiains: the Scots inforcing themselves to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side, and the Danes doing their best indour by valiant hardinelle to saue their liues and honors on the other. At length, after huge murther & slaugh- ter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was sore wounded, & had his hel- met so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in man- ner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to be- siege & sworne the castell of Parne, with more force and violence than before.

The Scots
without order
rush forth to
battell.

The Scots
put to flight.
Malcolme is
wounded.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on e- ch side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing know- ledge of the ouerthrow and losse of the field, rendered the fortresse, on condition, that leauing all their ar- moz, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods saued. ¶ Nevertheless the Danes, contrary to their faith gi- uen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the wals, in most de- spitefull manner. Thus was Parne wonne by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murray land, and so garnished with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impregnable. ¶ Then those soldiers which kept Elgin and Forres, hearing that crueltie the Danes had thus vsed, fled out of those castles, and left them void without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioicing at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselves sure seates in Murray land, and thereupon sent backe their ships into Forwaie and Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wines and children. In the meane time they constrained such Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the corne growing abroad in the fields, vnto their use and commoditie.

The castell of
Parne ren-
dered by com-
position.

The Danes
breakers of
faith and pro-
mise.

Elgin and
Forres left
void.

¶ Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arrivall of new aid, his enemies might wax more puiſſant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of war- riors,

partly

The S
and W
one afte
another.

The S
forced to
flee.

Malcolme
prayer.

Topos
is to God
onr ladi,
saint M
for to be
them tog
according
the main
that time.

The Sco
sometimes
new batte

Wnetus is
slaine.

ons, and came in good order and most warlike arraie vnto **Forthblake**, a towne of **For**, where the first erection of the bishops see of **Abirden** was founded. Here the one armie comming in sight of the other, they were suddenlie both amazed. For the Scots having had too much experience of the crueltie shewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no small feare now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes being farre off from the sea side, and upon an unknowne ground, were more afraid of some guilefull practise, than of the open violence and force of their enemies. Yet neuertheless in the end, by the encouragement of the capitaine on both sides, they buckled together with great fiercenesse and most cruell malicious hatred on each hand.

In the first brunt three valiant capitaine, that is to say, **Kenneth of Gla**, **Crime of Stratherne**, and **Patrick of Dunbar**, rushing ouer fiercelie on their enemies, were slaine, and gaue occasion to manie of the Scottishmen to flee, but the place was such, that they could not well make their course anie waie forth, by reason of the narrownesse thereof, fenced on either side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also in trauerses were laid sundrie trees, as it had bene of purpose to impeach the passage, deuised in that sort (as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here though **Malcolme** like a valiant champion, did his best to staie them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preasse, till he came to the middelt of this place, where stood a chappell dedicated in the honor of **saint Moloche**, the which **Malcolme** beholding, cast by his hands towards heauen, making his praier on this wise. **Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to defend our native countrie granted to vs of thy benelolence, as now desitouse of all mortall helpe, and thus oppressed with the inturious inuasion of Danes, doe flee vnto thee in this our extreme necessitie, beseeching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable estate: reioyne (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull terror: from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the sweet refuge of mortall people in their distress and miseries: and thou saint Moloche to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the honor of you I here make a voto to build a cathedral church for a bishops see, to remaine as a monument, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your support our realme hath bene defended.**

Scarcely had **Malcolme** made an end of this praier, when diuers of the nobles with a loud voice, as though they had bene assured that his praier was heard, cried to their companies; Stand good fellows, for surely it is the pleasure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell against our enemies. Here vpon rose a wonderfull noise amongst the souldiers, each one encouraging other to withstand the enemies, and to fight in most manfull waie in defense of their countrie and ancient libertie, & forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon their enemies, making great slaughter on each side, without regard to their liues or bloodie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare receiued. Here with **Malcolme** with an ambushment of front warriors came vpon **Dnetas**, who was prancing vp and downe the field without anie helmet on his head, as though the Scots had bene already without reconerle clearelye discomfited, and so there was he beaten downe before his horse, and amongst the footmen slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes beholding the slaughter of their capitaine, staied from further pursue on the Scots. Whereof insued great boldnesse to the Scots, and discouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long space, the souldiers doing their best on either side, till

at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. **Malcolme** beholding the discomfiture of his people, & how his companion in authoritie was slaine, fled into **Forreth** land with a small companie about him.

The next day, **Malcolme** considering what a number of his most valiant capitaine he had lost in this battell, diuided the spoile of the field amongst his men, and ceasing from further pursue of the Danes at that time went into **Angus**, where he remained the residue of the waie within the castell of **Forreth**, taking counsell with his nobles touching the publicke affaires of the realme, and how to reconer his countrie of **Forreth** land out of the enemies hands. King **Sweno** hearing in the meane time how infortunatly his people had sped thus in Scotland at the battell of **Forreth**, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie armies, the one to be rigged in **England**, and to come forth of the river of **Thames**; and the other to be sent from **Denmarke**, one **Canus** a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be governor of all the men of waie that should come from both those parties.

The yeare next ensuing, both these fleets according to commandement and order given, arrived and met together within the mouth of the **Forth**, nere to **saint Ebbes** head. Here **Canus** going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent. **Canus** then plucking up the sailes, directed his course vnto the **Ile of Sketh**, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came once about, he passed from thence vnto the **Kedbyaies**, called in **Latine** *subrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. **Canus** being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of **Montros**, which a few yeares before had bene destroyed by the Danes, he reioiced not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place, where the Danes had earli vanquished their enemies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterprize and present expedition.

After this, he took his iourne through **Angus**, sparing no manner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all manner of other buildings publicke and priuat were consumed with fire. At his coming to **Beechme**, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be hastilie wonne, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the **Trinitie** (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so rased to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon an other. With these and the semblable cruelties, **Canus** raging both against God and man, was finallye aduertised that king **Malcolme** was come to **Dundee** with all the power of Scotland. Then suddenlye he took the next way towards the sea side, comming the next day following vnto a village called **Walbid**, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king **Malcolme** making all hast possible to succour his subiects, and preserue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of **Barre** two little miles from the place, where his enemies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them open battell.

But before he arraied his battels, he called his nobles and capitaine together, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with vile auarice, lining on the spoile and pilage

The Danes put to flight.

Danes hath into Forreth land.

Sweno prepa- rath a new ar- mie to inuade Scotland.

Canus ap- pointed cap- taine generall of the Danes.

Saint Ebbes head. The Scots kept off the Danes from landing.

Canus with his armie landed at the Kedbyaies.

Canus marcheth through Angus. The crueltie of the Danes.

The towne and church of Beechme destroyed.

King Malcolme hasteth forward to fight with the Danes.

Malcolmes oration.

The Scots and Danes are afraid of another.

The Scots were forced to fight.

Scots out order forth to ill.

Scots fight. colme is killed.

Malcolmes praier.

Upon that is to God, and our lady, and saint Moloche, for to be iouined them together according to the manner of that time.

castell of the rene- y com- on.

Danes are of and pro-

The Scots sometimes re- newed battell.

Dnetas is slaine.

lage got by theuerie, and not by anie iust warres: enimies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniuerslie to inuade, without hauing occasion so to do, saue onelie vpon an insurious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no maner of proprietie. He willed them therfore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their natie countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiancie of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it behoued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vncouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth stronglie ranged in good order to encounter the Danes, which likewise approached towards him in good array of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprizes, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthie attempts. The armies herevpon on both sides, fiercelie rushing togither, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certeine houres with such bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochtee ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of blood spilled in the same. Manie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would run themselves forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, inforcing their bittermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were scene to fall to the ground togither fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their harts, that thus were they wholie set on reuenge. At length yet the honor of the field remained with Malcolme.

Camus peccetuing the discomfiture to light on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slaine by them per he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camestone, where is an obeliske set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall fear of Camus was one Keith, a yong gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Aouthian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honor amongst Scottishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshallship of Scotland, to the high renowne and fame thereof, amongst the chieffest peers of the realme.

An other companie of the Danes flieng from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirleinmon, not pass foure miles from Brechin, where is set vp a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certeine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies

forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certeine Scottishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellows that mishap had fortuned. King Malcolme after he obtained this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongst his souldiers, according to the lawes of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian burfall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are scene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blown from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled vp sailes to haue passed into Murray land vnto Dlanus, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies togither, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchquhan, and through want of conuenable harbrough were in present danger to haue bene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the Firth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their bittels began to faile them, they set fue hundred of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some bottie or pzeie of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got togither a great number of beasts, with the which drabwing towards their ships, they were encountered by the way by Arnachus the thane of Buchquhan accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scottishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them some what to staie; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Arnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despight of their enimies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

This conflict was fought nere vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhan, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be scene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in forimer time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship board, vnderstanding what had happened to their fellows (because they returned not againe to the ships) so some as the wind came about for their purpose, hoised by sailes, and toke their course forthright towards Murray land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scottishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie overcome with anie aduerser fortune, made preparation in all speedie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke; to come from thence with a new fléete and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhan, and destroyed

The diuiding of the spoile.

Bones of Danes.

Arnachus thane of Buchquhan.

Danes slaine nere vnto Gemmer.

Sueno prepareth the third time to invade Scotland. Canute brother vnto Sueno, ap-

Camus exhorteth his Danes.

The nature of valiant hearts and noble stomachs.

A bloudie battell.

Malcolme winneth the field. Camus is slaine.

An obeliske.

The house of Keiths aduanced to honor.

Danes slaine at Abirleinmon.

pointe
fall to
gaird
Scot.

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rall to come a-
gainst the
Scots.

destroyed a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countrymen the Danes, which had bene there made late-
lie before.

King Mal-
colme deter-
mination.

Malcolme sore kindled in wrath by these injuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatlie decayed, yet did he assemble an armie with all speed he could deuise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to state them with often skirmishes and light incounters, but in no wise to leopord with them in anie pitcht field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the over-
throw, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the enimies. For the space therefore of fiftene daies together, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge murder of their countrymen and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the towne and villages, burning and blasing on each side before their faces, they came to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their enimies, protesting plaine-
lie, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

The Scottish-
mens request
vnto their
king for li-
cence to fight.

Malcolme perceluing the earnest minds of his people to encounter their enimies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beseeching them to remember their honors and duties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they enforced themselves to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well nere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots, who were so feeble and faint with long fight & slaugh-
ter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this bloodie battell, they lodged here and there in seuerall places, at ad-
uenture as well as they might.

The onset is
giuen.

The Scots
loan the name
of victorie, ra-
ther than vic-
tory it selfe.

On the morrow after, when it was understood on both parties, what losse they had sustained, their minds were conuerted rather to peace than to re-
new battell, because they were not of power longer to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as toke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was con-
cluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Murrep land, Buchquhan, and all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres should clearely cease betwixt the Danes and Sco-
tishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others enimies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed forth for the main-
tenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then used by both the people: for the Danes late-
lie before that season had also received the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemn othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes resigning by the pos-
session of such holds and places as they held in Murrep land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scottish dominions, got him to his fleet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke.

Peace conclu-
ded for want
of power to
mainteine
battell.
The articles
of the peace
betwixt the
Danes and
Scottishmen.

The holds in
Scotland de-
liuered by by
the Danes in-
to the Scottish
mens hands.
Canute retur-
neth into
Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie vnto full peace, thought nothing so good as to per-
forme the articles of the agreement accorded be-

twixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedica-
ting the same in honor of saint Olauus patron of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called enen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be ouercast with sands, an other was cted in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Sco-
tish chronicle) beheld in the yere 1521, which seemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of com-
mon stature (as he auoucheth) whereby it should ap-
peare, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies.

A church
builded.

Crowdan,
what it sig-
nifieth.

Bones of
Danes.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, caused publike praers generallie to be made throughout the realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He toke order also, that churches should be repaired, which by the enimies in time of the warres had bene destroyed. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme to be used and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assem-
bly of all the estates of his realme to be called at Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Bertha now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting forth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme won much praise a-
mongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his name.

Publike
praers.

The repa-
ring of chur-
ches.
The restoring
of lawes and
iustice.

A parliament
at Bertha.

After this, supposing it most honorable to ad-
uance the blood of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parliament at Scone, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongst the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the main-
tenance of the crowne, common entries onelie ex-
cepted, with the mountaine wherin the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chappels. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue suffici-
ent wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, gran-
ted vnto him and his successors for euer the custodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leaving them vnder the age of 21 yeres: and in the meane time till the same heires came to the said age, they agreed that the king and his successors should intoy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, yelding vnto him or his successors one yeres rent in name of a reliefe; and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers deceasse, then also should they marrie at the kings appointment, or else compound with him for the same.

A parliament
at Scone.
Diuidion of
the realme in-
to baronies.

The ward-
ship of heires
granted to
the king.

Marriage of
wards.

Thus ended the parliament for that season, with great joy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberall bountifullnesse towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had
declared

declared such benevolent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as befoze is exprested. Neither did Malcolme forget the tow which he made at Purthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same tow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and indowd it with the lands & possessions of these three places, Purthlake, Cleometh, and Dunmeth, with all ecclesiasticall irrisolutions and tithes appertaining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Purthlake, till the daies of king David the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

Malcolme thus hauing purchased rest from further troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to be set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, containing the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be gouerned: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be giuen vnto the chancelor, secreta-
rie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, treasurer, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie doings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthie fame: neuertheless his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, couetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had bene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he surmized feigned matter by vntue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefe nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inlopy their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offenses.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such cruelty vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie meetings secretly appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inkling thereof about they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safeguard of his life vnto Glamis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he befoze had wrongfullie put to death. These murderers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finally came to the loch of Forfar, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ice brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finally drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawne forth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse townes of the realme, and there hong by for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Crine, and after the incarnation of our Sauour 1034 yeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

In this season was scene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth

made therewith in the midst of Striueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adjoining to the riuer of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had bene scene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of saint John Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

After Malcolme succeded his nephew Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in marriage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Isles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that marriage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doda, was married vnto Sinell the thane of Glamis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not bene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought most worthie the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and manners of these two cousins to haue bene so tempered and interchangeablie bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a worthie king, and Makbeth an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offenders, manie misruled persons took occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Wanquo the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioied the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharplie such as were notorious offenders, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much ado to get atwaie with life, after he had receiued sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after he was somewhat recouered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offenders were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finally slue him also.

When doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanour against the kings regall authoritie, they should be inuaded with all the power the king could make, Makdowald one of great estimation amongst them, making first a confederacie with his nearest friends and kindred, took vpon him to be chiefe capteine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grievous offenses lately committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing taunts this Makdowald uttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle monks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He

Duncane.

Duncan king of Scotland.

Makbeth.

Duncan of too soft a nature.

Wanquo the thane of Lochquhaber.

A manie amongst the people of Lochquhaber.

A sergeant at armes slaine by the rebels.

Makdowald offereth himselfe to be capteine of the rebels.

The see of Purthlake, otherwise Abirden.

The booke called Regia maiestas.

Malcolme waxeth auaritious. Couetousnesse and age arising together.

Malcolmes cruelty to purchase riches.

The conspiracy of the Scottish nobles against Malcolme.

Malcolme slaine at Glamis.

The murderers drowned.

31. H.B. 1040. H.B.

Strange sights.

Makdowald offereth himselfe to be capteine of the rebels.

The sonne of the king's daughter.

Makbeth.

Makbeth's rebellion.

Makdowald's rebellion.

Makdowald's rebellion.

Makdowald's rebellion.

Makdowald's rebellion.

Justice of the king.

used also such subtil persunations and forged allurements, that in a small time he had gotten together a mightie power of men: for out of the wessterne Isles there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themselves to assist him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came no small number of Bernes and Galloglasses, offering gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should please him to lead them.

Malcolme thus hauing a mightie puissance about him, incountered with such of the kings people as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and discomfiting them, by mere force toke their capteine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off his head. This overthrow being notified to the king, did put him in wonderfull feare, by reason of his small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a councell, he asked of them their best aduise for the subduing of Malcolme & other the rebels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it happeneth) were sundrie opinions, which they vttered according to euerie man his skill. At length Malcolme speaking much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slacknesse in punishing offenders, whereby they had such time to assemble together, he promised notwithstanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and vnto Banquo, so to order the matter, that the rebels should be shortly vanquished & quite put downe, and that not so much as one of them should be found to make resistance within the countrey.

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent forth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his comming put the enemies in such feare, that a great number of them stole secretly awaie from their capteine Malcolme, who neuertheless enforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Malcolme, with the residue which remained with him: but being overcome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell (within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at length when he saw how he could neither defend the hold any longer against his enemies, nor yet vpon surrender be suffered to depart with life saved, he first slew his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yielded simple, he should haue bene executed in most cruell wise for an example to other. Malcolme entring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcasle of Malcolme lying dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no pece of his cruell nature with that pitifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so sent it as a present to the king, who as then late at Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to be hong vpon an high paire of gallowes.

Them of the wessterne Isles suing for pardon, in that they had aided Malcolme in his traitorous enterprise, he fined at great sums of monie: and those which he toke in Lochquhaber, being come thither to beare armor against the king, he put to execution. Whereupon the Islanders conceived a deadlie grudge towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a bloudie tyrant, & a cruel murderer of them whom the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Malcolme being kindled in wrathfull ire against them, had passed over with an armie into the Isles, to haue taken vengeance vpon them for their libellous talke, had he not bene othertwise persuaded by some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Islanders, seeking to auoid his displeasure. This was iustice and law vttered against to the old accustomed course, by the diligent heares of Malcolme. Immediatlie whereupon Malcolme came that Sueno king of Norway was attired in life with a puissant armie, to subdue the

whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it maie be the better perceived, what this Sueno was, I will somwhat touch from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being also king of Denmarke and Norway, had three sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he made king of England, the second king of Norway, and the thirde king of Denmarke. Harold intoted not the same dominion of England past three yeeres after his fathers deceasse, but was slaine by Etheldred or Egeldred, whom his father Sueno had chased into Normandie. But the same Etheldred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mightie host, and sleaing Etheldred, recovered the kingdome to the use of the Danes: but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Etheldred, surnamed Ironside, maintained the warre against Canute for a season, till at length by both their consents they agreed to fight a combat singularie man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who should reigne as king over the Englishmen.

In this fight when they had continued a long space, and shewed right notable proofes of their manhood: Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased almighty God, that thou shouldest thus trie the force of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it be likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldest enjoy part of the realme: go to therefore, I receiue thee as partner with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be contented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs with out any more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted this condition of agreement, supposing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubtfull trial of losing the whole: for he had receiued a wound at Canutes hands, though Canute understood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion hereafter might be offered, whereby he might with out all trouble come to enjoy the whole. Hereupon either of them leapt beside their wearied horses in that fierce & earnest fight, & embracing each other became good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of England that lieth ouer against France was assigned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Etheldred, with hir two sonnes (which she had by the same Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting least this concord betwixt Canute and Edmund should turne small to hir aduancement.

But now touching the arrivall of Sueno the Norwegian king in life (as before is exprest) ye shall vnderstand, that the pretense of his comming was to reuenge the slaughter of his vncle Canus, and other of the Danish nation slaine at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sueno was such, that he neither spared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degree soeuer they were. Whereof when R. Duncane was certified, he set all thoughtfull and lingering delaires apart, and began to assemble an armie in most speedie wise, like a vertie valliant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and thoughtfull person, constrained by necessity, becommeth vertie hardie and active. Therefore when his whole power was come together, he diuided the same into three battels. The first was led by Malcolme, the second by Banquo, & the king himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the Scottish nobilitie.

The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered,

This agreeth not with our English writers.

Harold that reigned king of England, was not the son of Sueno but of Canute and was not slaine, but died of naturall disease. See more hereof in England. Canute king of Denmarke, Edmund Ironside.

Canutes words to Edmund Ironside.

The diuision of the realme of England betwixt Canute and Edmund Ironside.

Alured & Edward the sons of king Etheldred.

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norway.

Duncane bestrereth himselfe in assembling an armie.

The Scottish armie diuided into three battels.

Sueno ban-
quisheth the
Scots.

Suenos com-
mandement
to spare fire
and sword.

Duncane fled
to the castell of
Bertha.

Sueno belie-
geth king
Malcolme.

Fained trea-
tie.

Spiced cups
prepared for
the Danes.

The Danes
ouercome
with drinke,
fall asleepe.

Malcolme af-
saileth the
campe of the
Danes, being
ouercome
with drinke
and sleepe.

The slaugh-
ter of Danes.
Sueno with
ten other es-
caped.

came vnto Culros, where incountering with the eni-
mies, after a fore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno
remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots
discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by
this battell, that they were not able to make long
chase on their enemies, but kept themselves all night
in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assem-
bling together againe, might haue set vpon them at
some aduantage. On the morrow, when the fields
were discouered, and that it was perceiued how no
enemies were to be found abroad, they gathered the
spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according
to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by com-
mandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt
either man, woman, or child, except such as were
found with weapon in hand readie to make resi-
stance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme with-
out further bloodshed.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane
was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Malcolme
was gathering a new power to withstand the incur-
sions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & com-
ming to the said castell, laid a strong siegeround a-
bout it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus environed by
his enemies, sent a secret message by counsell of
Banquo to Malcolme, commanding him to abide
at Inchuthill, till he heard from him some other
newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained
communication with Sueno, as though he would
haue yielded by the castell into his hands, vnder cer-
teyne conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to
put his enemies out of all suspicion of anie enterprise
ment against them, till all things were brought to
passe that might serue for the purpose. At length,
when they were fallen at a point for rendezing by the
hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell in-
to the campe great provision of vittels to refresh the
armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the
Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of
sustenance manie daies before.

The Scots hereupon toke the iuice of mekil
woot berries, and mixed the same in their ale and
bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great
abundance vnto their enemies. They reioicing that
they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfie
their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after lusti-
greedie wise, that it seemed they stroue who might de-
uour and swallow by most, till the operation of the
berries spread in such sort through all the parts of
their bodies, that they were in the end brought into
a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was impossible
to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane sent vnto
Malcolme, commanding him with all diligence to
come and set vpon the enemies, being in easie point
to be ouercome. Malcolme making no delate, came
with his people to the place, where his enemies were
lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards ente-
red the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides
without anie resistance, that it was a wonderfull
matter to behold, for the Danes were so heauie of
sleepe, that the most part of them were slaine and ne-
uer stirred: other that were awakened either by the
noise or other waies forth, were so amazed and dizzie-
headed vpon their waking, that they were not able
to make anie defense: so that of the whole num-
ber there escaped, no more but onelie Sueno him-
selfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to
his ships lieng at rode in the mouth of Tyle.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard
what plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent
vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be par-
takers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fel-
lowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceiued
how through lacke of mariners he should not be a-

ble to conueie awaie his nanie, he furnished one ship
thoroughlie with such as were left, and in the same
sailed backe into Forwaie, cursing the time that he
set forward on this infortunate iourne. The other
ships which he left behind him, within three daies af-
ter his departure from thence, were tossed so toge-
ther by violence of an east wind, that beating and
rushing one against another, they sunke there, and
lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the
great danger of other such ships as come on that
coast: for being couered with the cloud when the tide
commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some
part of them appeere aboue water.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost,
is yet called Drownelow lands. This ouerthrow re-
ceiued in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie
displeasing to him and his people, as should appeere,
in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no
knights were made in Forwaie, except they were
first swozne to reuenge the slaughter of their coun-
triemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The
Scots hauing toone so notable a victorie, after they
had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused
solemne processions to be made in all places of the
realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God,
that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enemies.
But whilst the people were thus at their processions,
word was brought that a new fleet of Danes
was arrived at Kingorne, sent thither by Canute
king of England, in reuenge of his brother Sueno
ouerthrow. To resist these enemies, which were
alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie;
Malcolme and Banquo were sent with the kings au-
thoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power,
incontred the enemies, slue part of them, and chased
the other to their ships. They that escaped and got
once to their ships, obtained of Malcolme for a great
summe of gold, that such of their friends as were
slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint
Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old se-
pultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene
grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the manner
of burying noble men still is, and heretofore hath
bene used.

A peace was also concluded at the same time be-
twixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some
haue written) in this wise: That from thenceforth
the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to
make anie waies against the Scots by anie manner
of meanes. And these were the waies that Dun-
cane had with foren enemies, in the seuenth yeere
of his reigne. Shortly after happened a strange and
vncouth wonder, which afterward was the cause of
much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as yeshall
after heare. It fortuned as Malcolme and Banquo
iournied towards Forres, where the king then laie,
they went sporting by the waie together without o-
ther companie, saue onelie themselves, passing thro-
ugh the woods and fields, when suddenly in the
middell of a laund, there met them three women in
strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of
elder world, whom when they attentuelie beheld,
wondering much at the sight, the first of them spake
app said; All hail Malcolme, thane of Glammis (for
he had lately entered into that dignitie and office by
the death of his father, Sinell). The second of them
said; All hail Malcolme, thane of Cowper. But the third
said; All hail Malcolme, that hereafter shall be king
of Scotland.

Then Banquo: What manner of woman (saith
he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me,
whereas to my fellow here, besides high officers, ye
assigne also the kingdom, appointing forth nothing
for me at all. The first of them (saith she) is the
muse

Sueno saith
with one ship,
leaving the re-
sidue of his
nanie behind
him.
The fleet of
the Forwaie-
ans sunke by
vehement rage
of winds.

Drownelow
lands.

The oth that
knights toke
in Forwaie,
to reuenge the
death of their
friends.
Solemne pro-
cessions for
victorie got-
ten.

A power of
Danes arrive
at Kingorne
out of Eng-
land.
The Danes
banquished by
Malcolme and
Banquo.

Danes buried
in St. Colmes
Inch.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt Scots
and Danes.

The prophesie
of three wo-
men suppo-
sing to be the
sweerd sisters
or feeries.

The prophesie
of three wo-
men suppo-
sing to be the
sweerd sisters
or feeries.

Things to
be done at

Banquo th
father of ma-
nie kings.

The thane o
Cowder con-
demned of
treason.
Malcolme
made thane o
Cowder.

Malcolme
banquished by
he might at-
tine the kin-
dome.

The daugh-
ter of Sueno
marie of For-
thumberland
sleight to king
Duncane.

Malcolme
banquished by
he might at-
tine the kin-
dome by
type.

Prophetes
more then
told to fall at-
tempts.

women deli-
uous of high
chare.

Malcolme
banquished by
he might at-
tine the kin-
dome.

Malcolme
banquished by
he might at-
tine the kin-
dome.

Duncanes
buriall.
1046. H. B.

"mife greater benefits vnto thee, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in ded, but with an vnluckie end: neither shall he leaue arise issue behind him to succedd in his place, where contrarilie thou in ded shalt not reigne at all, but of thee those shall be bozne which shall gouerne the Scottish kingdome by long order of continuall descent. Herewith the foresaid women banished immediatlie out of their sight. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantastieall illusion by Macbeth and Banquo, inasmuch that Banquo would call Macbeth in test, king of Scotland; and Macbeth againe would call him in sport like wife, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that these women were either the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destiny, or else some nymphs or feeries, indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromanticall science, because euerie thing came to passe as they had spoken. For shortly after, the thane of Cawder being condemned at fores of treason against the king committed; his lands, livings, and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Macbeth.

giving to Banquo at

Banquo the father of manie kings.

The thane of Cawder condemned of treason. Macbeth made thane of Cawder.

Macbeth remember how he might attaine the kingdome.

The daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, wife to king Duncane.

Macbeth which way he may take the kingdome by force.

Prophesies made them to unlawfull attempts.

women desirous of high estate.

Macbeth death king Duncane.

Macbeth usurper the crowne.

Duncane buried. 1046. H. B.

The same night after, at supper, Banquo iested with him and said; Now Macbeth thou hast obtained those things which the two former sisters prophesied, there remaineth onelie for thee to purchase that which the third said should come to passe. Whereupon Macbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began then to deuise how he might attaine to the kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he must tarie a time, which should aduance him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe in his former preferment. But shortly after it chanced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them called Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were thereby to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, immediatlie after his decesse. Macbeth fore troubled herewith, for that he saw by this means his hope fore hindered (where, by the old lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should succedd were not of able age to take the charge vpon himselfe, he that was next of blood vnto him should be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a lust quarell so to doo (as he took the matter) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of title and claime, which he might in time to come, pretend vnto the crowne.

The words of the three weird sisters also (of whom before ye haue heard) greatlie encouraged him herewith, but speciallie his wife lay fore vpon him to attempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious, burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name of a quene. At length therefore, communicating his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst whom Banquo was the chiefe, vpon confidence of their promised aid, he slew the king at Cawders, or (as some say) at Botboluane, in the first yeare of his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of such as he had made priuie to his enterprize, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed king, and forthwith went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he receiued the inuestiture of the kingdome according to the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in kinglie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and conueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulture amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauour, 1046.

Malcolme Canmore and Donald Bane the sons of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they

might well know that Macbeth would seeke to bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme remained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of Ethelred recouered the dominion of England from the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Malcolme by way of most friendlie entertainment: but Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderlie cherished by the king of that land. Macbeth, after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, used great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme, thereby to win their fauour, and then he saw that no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all enormities and abuses, which had chanced through the feeble and slothfull administration of Duncane. And to bring his purpose the better to passe without any trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtil way to bring all offenders and misdoers vnto iustice, soliciting sundrie of his liege people with high rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most oppressed the commons, to come at a day and place appointed, to fight singular combats within barriers, in triall of their accusations. When these thanes, barretors, and other oppressors of the innocent people were come to darren battell in this wise (as is said) they were freight waies apprehended by armed men, and trusted vp in halters on gibbets, according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue of misdoers that were left, were punished and tamed in such sort, that manie yeares after all these and reidings were little heard of, the people inioieng the blisfull benefit of good peace and tranquillitie. Macbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by any disorderd persons within his realme, was accounted the sure defense and buckler of innocent people; and hereto he also applied his whole indoeur, to causing men to exercise themselves in vertuous maners, and men of the church to attend their diuine seruice according to their vocations.

He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, because through them and their seditious attempts, much trouble daily rose in the realme. He appealed the troublesome state of Galloway, and slew one Macgill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed nothing of the regall authoritie or power. To be brieue, such were the worthie doings and princelie acts of this Macbeth in the administration of the realme, that if he had attained thereunto by rightfull means, and continued in brightness of iustice as he began, till the end of his reigne, he might well haue bene numbred amongst the most noble princes that aie where had reigned. He made manie wholesome lawes and statutes for the publike weale of his subjects.

Lawes made by king Makbeth set forth according to Hector Boetius.



That is within orders of the church, shall not be compelled to answere before a temporall iudge, but be remitted to his ordinarie.

The tenth part of all fruits that increase on the ground, shall be giuen to the church, that God may be worshipped with oblations and prayers.

He that continueth obstinatlie in the curse of the church by the space of one whole

Malcolme Canmore and Donald Bane flee into Cumberland land.

Malcolme Canmore receiued by Edward king of England. Macbeths liberalitie.

Macbeth studieth to aduance iustice.

Macbeths policie.

Strait liuice.

A kinglie endeavour.

Iustice ministered without respect of persons.

Liberties of them that haue taken orders.

Cithes to be paid to the church.

Persons accursed.

whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enemie to the commonwealth: and if he perseuere with indurated mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The order of knighthood.

He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oth to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the communaltie. And he that is made king, shall be sworn in semblable maner.

Eldest daughters.

The eldest daughter shall inherit his fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

The kings gift.

No man shall intore anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance.

No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

Judges.

No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporall court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

All conventions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Retainers.

He that is retained or becommeth a sworn man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it: and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

Raisers of the kings people, or unlawfull assemblies.

He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they doo that assemble together by his procurement.

Waiters vpon other men.

He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publike assemble, as a retainer, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

Keeping of horses.

A horse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vse than for tillage and labozing of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

Counterfeit soles, with minstrels and such like.

Counterfeit soles, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing: if they refuse so to doo, they shall be drawn like horses in the plough and harrows.

Possession of lands.

Though the sonne chance to be put in possession of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards convicted of treason committed against the kings person.

Dowrie of wives.

All such women, that are married to anie lord or baron (though he haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his deceasse, and the remanent shall go to his heires.

Marriage of lords and barons.

All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and roomes lie nere together.

All armour and weapon hozne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.

Wearing of armour.

Such as be appointed gouernors, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy within those limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.

Captains.

Buying of lands.

And if anie of the said capteins or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their roomes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or coperteners to occupie the same office.

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These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortly after, he began to shew that he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the prycke of conscience (as if chancelier euer in tyrants, and such as attaine to anie estate by vnrightheous means) caused him euer to feare, lest he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessour. The words also of the three weird sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquo. He willed therefore the same Banquo with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to mete with the same Banquo and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

Makbeths counterfet zeale and equitie.

Makbeths guiltie conscience.

40

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancemedlie (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth would haue had it to appeare) but even vpon a prepenesed deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales. ¶ But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if (according to the order which I find obserued in the Scottish historie) I shall in few words rehearse the originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquo, that they which haue inioied the kingdome by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be knownen from whence they had their first beginning.

Makbeths deuise to slea Banquo and his sonne.

Banquo is slaine, but his sonne escapeth.

Fleance Banquos sonne fleeth into Wales.

The line of the Scottish kings.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortly after by his courteous and amiable behaviour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnrneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtlesie in the end

Fleance daughter of prince of Wales his daughter. Fleance is slaine. Walter the sonne of Fleance.

His being by.

The stout which appearing in water from his childhood.

Walter fled into Scotland.

Saint Margaret.

Walter son with an arrow to daunt rebels.

Walter married the daughter of Scotland.

Flane Stewart.

The iouen into the hole land. Alexander Stewart. Walter Stewart.

Alexander Stewart son of Walter. Robert Stewart.

John Stewart and James Stewart.

Walter the son of Walter.

King Robert the second.

John Stewart the son of Walter.

end suffered him to get hir with child; which being once understood, hir father the prince conceived such hatefull displeasure towards Fleance, that he snatched him, & held his daughter in most vile estate of servitude, for that she had consented to be on this wife deflowered by a stranger. At the last yet, she was delivered of a sonne named Walter, who within few yeares proved a man of greater courage and ballancie, than anie other had commonlie bene found, although he had no better bringing up than (by his grandfathers appointment) among the baser sort of people. Howbeit he shewed ever euen from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certaine stoutnesse of stomach, readye to attempt high enterprises.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie taunting words which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch objected that he was a bastard, and begotten in unlawfull bed; wherewith being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran upon him and slue him out of hand. Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and comming into Scotland to seeke some friendship there, he happened into the companie of such Englishmen, as were come thither with queene Margaret, and behaued himselfe so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highlie esteemed amongst them. Not long after by such means attaining to the degree of high reputation, he was sent with a great polver of men into the westerne Isles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliuer the same from the tyrannie and iniurious oppression there exercised by diuers misgouerned persons; which enterpryse according to his commission he achieved, with such prudent policie and manhood, that immediatlie upon his returne to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland, with assignement to receiue the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

This Walter Stewart had a sonne named Alane Stewart, who went after with Godfreie of Bullogne duke of Lozaine, & Robert duke of Normandie sonne to king William the bastard that conquered England, into the holie land, at what time they with other westerne princes made the great iourne thither, in the yeare 1099. Alane had issue Alexander Stewart, that founded the abbey of Passeie of saint Benedicts order. Walter Stewart, whose valiantie was well notified at the battell of Largis, as hereafter shall be shewed, was the sonne of the said Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantlie in defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the other named Robert Stewart got the lands of Terbolwtoun, and married the heire of Crukeistounie, from whom descended the earles of Leuenor and Dornlie. Moreover, the aboue mentioned Alexander Stewart that founded Passeie, had diuerse mo sonnes, as John and James, with sundrie other. Howbeit they toke new surnames by the name of those lands, unto the which they succeeded. The afore recited John Stewart, after the death of his brother James, married the heire of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hir Walter Stewart that inherited the lands of Bonkill, Kanfrew, Kothelsaie, Bute, and Stewartoun, after that his father the forernamed John was slaine at Falkirke.

He married Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second of that name. This Robert the second toke to wife one Isabell Mure, a damsell of right excellent beautie, she was daughter to sir Adam Mure knight, and brought forth issue, three sonnes and three daughters. The eldest sonne hight John Stewart otherwise named Robert, who succeeded im-

mediatlie after his fathers deceasse in gouernance of the crowne. The second called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland under the name of gouernour, for the space of fiftene yeares. The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Haubermot. The eldest daughter was married to James that was the sonne and heire of William earle of Dowglas. The second daughter was married to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murray. He begot on hir one onelic daughter, that was married to the Dowglas, and so Dowglas came to the earldome of Murray. The third daughter was married vnto John Eoun, that was after made lord of Glamis.

Moreover, the foresaid Robert that was the first of the Stewards which ware the crowne in Scotland, married Eufame daughter to the earle of Ross, and got on hir two sonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and David earle of Stratherne. This Walter solicited Robert duke of Albanie, to sea David Stewart duke of Rothsaie. And after that James the first was returned home forth of England, he did what he could to moue him to sea all the linage of the said duke still being in hope after the dispatch of his kinsmen to come to the crowne himselfe, which hope moued him to procure his nephue Robert Stewart, and Robert Graham his daughters son, to sea king James the first also, for the which crime the same Walter was after conuicted and destroyed with all his sonnes. His brother David earle of Buchquhane died without issue, and so the hands of both these brethren returned againe to the crowne, without anie memorie of their blood. Of Robert Stewart duke of Albanie, came duke Murdo, who married the earle of Lennor daughter, and got on hir three sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Duke Murdo himselfe with his two first sonnes were slaine at Striueling by king James the first, & the third brother James in reuenge thereof burnt Dunbertane, and was after chased into Ireland, where he deceased without issue. Robert the third of that name married Annabill Drommond, daughter to sir John Drommond of Strobhall knight, and got on hir David and James. The first died in Falkland, and the other attained the crowne, and was called James the first, and married the ladie Jane daughter to John Beauford erle of Summerfet in England. He had by hir two sonnes bozne at one birth, Alexander and James. The first died yong, the second attained the crowne, named James the second. James the first had also six daughters, of the which the eldest was giuen in marriage to the Dolphin of France, the second to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Feir, the fourth to the lord of Dalkeith, the fift to the earle of Huntley, and the sixt had no succession. James the second married Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three sonnes, and two daughters.

The first succeeded him in the kingdome, and was called James the third: the second named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and married first the earle of Morketies daughter, and got on hir Alexander, that was afterward bishop of Murray, and then parting with hir went into France, where he married the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on hir John Stewart duke of Albanie, that was gouernor of Scotland manie yeares in the minoritye of James the fift. The third sonne, John Stewart was earle of Spar, whose chance was to be slaine in the Cannogat in a bathat. The first daughter of James the second, was married to the lord Woid, who begot on

Duke of Albanie, Alexander Stewart, sonne to king Robert the second.

John Dunbar.

Eufame.

Walter and David sonnes to king Robert. Robert duke of Albanie. James the first.

Graime or Graham.

Duke Murdo.

King Robert the third.

David and James, sons to king Robert the third.

John Beauford earle of Summerfet.

James the first and his issue.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

James and Alexander.

Duke of Albanie the gouernor of Scotland. The lord Woid.

Fleance de-
scended the
prince of
Wales his
daughter.
Fleance is
slaine.
Walter the
sonne of Fle-
ance.

His bringing
up.

The stout sta-
mich appa-
ring in Wal-
ter from his
childhood.

Walter fleeth
into Scot-
land.

Shunt Mar-
garet.

Walter sent
with an armie
to haunt re-
bels.

Walter made
lord steward
of Scotland.

Alane Ste-
ward.

The iourne
into the holie
land.
Alexander
Steward.
Walter Ste-
ward.

Alexander
Steward the
sonne of Wal-
ter.
Robert Ste-
ward.

John Ste-
ward and
James Ste-
ward.

Walter inher-
itor of Bon-
kill, &c.

King Robert
the second.

John Ste-
ward other-
wise named
Robert.

Scaring of
mour.

apteling.

nting of
ids.

akbeths
interfere
le and es-
tie.

akbeths
lie confes-
e.

akbeths
ise to sea
mquho and
sonne.

nquho is
ne, but his
ne esca-
e.

ance
mquhos
ie fleeth
Wales.

e line of
Scotth
ys.

The lord
Hamilton.

Lord Erich-
ton.
James the
third and
his issue.

James the
fourth.

Macbeth's
death.

This crueltie
caused throzgh
feare.

The castell of
Dunsinane
bulded.

Macduffe
thane of Fife.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Spangumrie, and a daughter that was married to the earle of Calsels. After the death of the lord Boid, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, she was likewise married to the lord Hamilton, and by that means was the house of the Hamiltons honored with the kings blood. The other sister was married to the lord Creichton, of whom came small succession worthie to be mentioned. James the third married Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which marriage was borne James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanie, and John Steward earle of Mar, but these two died without issue.

James the fourth married Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seventh of England, and begot on hir James the fifth, who marieing first the ladie Magdalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yere next after hir coming into Scotland, and then shortly after the said James the fifth married the ladie Marie de Lorein, duchesse of Lonuile, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie queene of Scotland, that toke to husband Henrie Steward lord Dornlie, by whome she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland. But to returne unto Macbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall understand that after the continued slaughter of Banquo, nothing prospered with the foresaid Macbeth: for in maner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence; and such as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surmised caualation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after blood in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as he thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his use, whereby he might better mainteine a garrad of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruelly oppress his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he bulded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunsinane, situate in Colozie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well nere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Strermond, and Cunedale, as it were lieng vnderneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stufte necessarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Macbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Macduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull provision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bee giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done, which he refused to do, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partly understood) no great good will, would laie violent hands vpon him, as he had done vpon diuerse other. Shortly after, Macbeth coming to behold how the worke went forward, and because he found not Macduffe there, he was

fore offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeye my commandments, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Macduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great, either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the three saries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heed of Macduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroye him.

And suerlie hereby he had he put Macduffe to death, but that a certein witch, whome he had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane canie to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie Macbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might do what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beleued it was impossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other impossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to do manie outragious things, to the greivous oppression of his subiects. At length Macduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Macduffe, but that Macbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Vidua. For Macbeth had in euerie noble mans house, one lie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was said or done within the same, by which sight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Macduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where Macduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Macbeth most cruelly caused the wife and children of Macduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Macduffe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Macduffe was already escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase he might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruelly executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his coming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Macbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intolerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they sustained at such a castifes hands.

Malcolme hearing Macduffes words, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for more compassion and verie ruth that pearced his sorrowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Macduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Macbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some oc-

Macbeth is
offended with
Macduffe.

Macbeth's
confidence in
wizzards.

Malcolme
Cammore
answereth.

Macbeth
answereth.

Lynx eyes
and Vidua's
ears.

Macbeth
for.

Macbeth's
crueltie bled
against Mac-
duffs familie.

Macduffe es-
capeth into
England vnto
Malcolme
Cammore.

Macduffes
words vnto
Malcolme.

Couer
neste
of all n

Dislike
and de-
thies

Malcolme
sighteth.

caution ministered, whereby they might be reuenged of these notable injuries, which they daillie sustained by the outrageous crueltie of Makhbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorrowfull for the oppression of his countrie men the Scots, in manner as Makhuffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that might busiedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Makhbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue some further triall, and thereupon dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth.

Malcolme
Commence his
answer.

I am trulie verie sozie for the miserie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer so great affection to relieue the same, yet by reason of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. First, such immoderate lust and voluptuous sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I should seeke to defloure your maids and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperancie should be more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makhbeth now is. Wherevnto Makhuffe answered: This surlier is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue lost both liues and kingdomes for the same; neuertheless there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore followe my counsell. Spake thy selfe king, and I shall conueie the matter so wisely, that thou shalt be so satisfied at thy pleasure in such secret wise, that no man shall be aware thereof.

Makhuffe
answer.

Then said Malcolme, I am also the most auaritious creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I should seeke so manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would leaue the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by surmized accusations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; and therefore to shew you what mischief may insue on you through mine insatiable couetousnes, I will rehearse vnto you a fable. There was a fox hauing a sore place on him ouerset with a swarme of flies, that continually sucked out his blood: and when one that came by and saw this manner, demanded whether she would haue the flies dyuen beside him, she answered no: for if these flies that are already full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased away, other that are emptie and sellie an hungred, should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my blood farre more to my greauance than these, which now being satisfied doe not much annoy me. Therefore saith Malcolme, suffer me to remaine where I am, least if I attaine to the regiment of your realme, mine inuincible auarice may proue such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now grieue you, should seeme easie in respect of the immeasurable outrage, which might insue through my comming amongst you.

A fable of a
fox.

Couetous-
nesse the root
of all mischiefe

Makhuffe to this made answer, how it was a far worse fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all mischief, and for that crime the most part of our kings haue bene slaine and brought to their final end. Yet notwithstanding followe my counsell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches enow in Scotland to satisfie thy greedie desire. Then said Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of leasings, and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioise in nothing so much, as to betraie & deceiue such as put anie trust or confidence in my words. Then sith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, veritie, trust, and iustice, with the other laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onlie in soothfastnesse, and that lieng utterlie ouerthreweth the same; you see how unable I am to gouerne anie prouince or regi-

Dissimulation
and dealing
in lies.

on: and therefore sith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the rest of my other vices, I praye you find this to cloke this vice amongst the residue.

Then said Makhuffe: This yet is the worst of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore saie: Why unhappy and miserable Scottishmen, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, each one aboute other! We haue one cursed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behauiour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing worthe to inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onlie auaritious, and giuen to insatiable lust, but so false a traitor withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie word he speaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for euer, without comfort or consolation: and with those words the blackish teares trickled downe his cheeks verie abundantly.

Makhuffe
exclamation.

Makhuffe
weepeth.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme took him by the sleeve, and said: Be of good comfort Makhuffe, for I haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue tested with thee in this manner, onlie to proue thy mind: for diuerse times heretofore hath Makhbeth sought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more slow I haue shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same. Incontinentlie hereupon they embraced each other, and promising to be faithful the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best prouide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect. Some after, Makhuffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addrest his letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come hither into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recouer the same out of the hands of the wrongfull usurper.

Malcolme
comforteth
Makhuffe.

Makhuffe &
Malcolme im-
brace each o-
ther.

Makhuffe
writeth let-
ters to his
friends in
Scotland.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such fauor at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thousand men to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprize, for recouerie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles diu into two seuerall factions, the one taking part with Makhbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Whereupon ensued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes: for those that were of Malcolmes side, would not leopord to ioine with their enemies in a pight field, till his comming out of England to their support. But after that Makhbeth perceiued his enemies power to increase, by such aid as came to them south of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Dunisnane, and to fight with his enemies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends aduised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Fles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & reueine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which shal daillie from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he belieued he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunisnane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was bozne of anie woman.

Siward earle
of Northum-
berland.

The nobles of
Scotland di-
uided.

Makhbeth re-
coileth.

Makhbeth is
counseiled to
flee into the
Fles.

Makhbeths
trust in pro-
phesies.

Malcolme

Branches of
trees.

Macbeth set-
teth his men
in order of bat-
tell.
Macbeth fle-
eth, & is pur-
sued of Mac-
duffe.

Macbeth is
slaine.

1057. Io. M.
1061. H. B.
8. H. B.

Malcolme

A parliament
at Forfair.

Thanes
changed into
earles.

Surnames.

Malcolme following haffilie after Macbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come close, lie and without sight in this manner within view of his enemies. On the morrow when Macbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first marvelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunstane castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Neuertheless, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doe valiantlie, howbeit his enemies had scarcelie cast from them their boughs, when Macbeth perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streit to flight, whom Macduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfannine, where Macbeth perceiuing that Macduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horse, saying; Thou traitor, what meanest it that thou shouldest thus in batne follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on there fore, and receiue thy reward which thou hast deserued for thy paines, and therewithall he lifted vp his sword thinking to haue slaine him.

But Macduffe quicklie auoiding from his horse, yer he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saying: It is true Macbeth, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizards haue told thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: therewithall he slept vnto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Macbeth, after he had reigned 17 yeres ouer the Scottishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie woorthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.

Malcolme Cammore thus recovering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord 1057. Immediately after his coronation he called a parliament at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Macbeth, advancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speciallie those that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Wenteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Murray, Cathnes, Kossle, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue bene heard of amongst the Scottishmen (as their histories doe make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken vp at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seiton, Lauder, Malwane, Meldrum, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libbertoun, Strachquhen, Cargill, Kattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Wirtoun, Menzeis, Abercummie, Lillie, with manie other that had possessions giuen them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Durward, and Banerman. Also the proper names of manie valiant capteins were turned into generall surnames, as Kennedie, Graham,

Hate, with diuerse other so long here to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath done manie times since, that new surnames haue worne the old out of vse.

In the foresaid parlement thus holden at Forfair, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie holesome ordinances establisshed, both appertaining to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. In reward also of Macduffes service, who (as ye haue heard) chieflie aided him to the attaining of the crowne, he honored him and his posteritie with three sorts of priuileges. First, that the earle of Fife for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should giue battell to his enemies, the same earle should lead the vauntgard of his host. The third, that the linage of Macduffe should inioy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and comes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (treason onelie excepted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expressed.

Iohannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted vnto this Macduffe and his posteritie, was this, that for euerie gentleman that anie of them should hap to kill by chancemedlie, and not vpon pretended malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redeeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murderers were wont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the kinbor, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Macduffes priuilege. But this third priuilege, together with the other two former grants, the said Maior soze repproueth, and not without cause, as may appere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murder, which by this meanes nourishing secret hatred and malice in their hearts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slea whom they liked.

It was ordeined also at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themselves, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserued death should suffer execution: and also draw-wells, wherein women that were condemned should be dooined, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vsed in Scotland. Moreover, all the lawes that Macbeth had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilst Malcolme was busied in setting orders amongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the sole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the cosen of the late mentioned Macbeth, was conuicted with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Macbeth vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appease this businesse, was Macduffe earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incounting with Lugtake at a village called Cullen in Bogdale, slue him, and confiscated his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

After this, the realme continued in peace certaine yeres, till it chanced a great number of thanes and robbers assembling themselves together at Cotbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countries of Mers and Louthian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their capteine, with six hundred of his companie,

robbers of
countrie.

Patrike
Dunbar
of Dunbar.

The head
these of
giuen in a

A conspirc

The man
courage of
Malcolme

He more
of in Eng

Gibbets and
draw-wells.

Macbeths
lawes abrogat-
ed.

Lugtake.

Lugtake
crowned at
Scone.

Lugtake is
slaine.

A band of
thanes.

Patrike
Dunbar van-
quisheth the
thanes and

The que-
stion

robbers of the
countrie.

Patricke
Dunbar earle
of March.

The head of a
thefe of felion
given in arms

A conspiracie.

The manlie
courage of H.
Malcolme.

He more her-
at in England

Wil. Malm.

Hector Boet.

The queenes
terme.

companye, and took fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrie of those peblers, with losse of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: so that for his manhood herein shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne. Wherbyes giuen to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March should purge Herts and Louthian of all theues and robbers. In memorie wherof, he was commanded to beate in his armes a fellows head sprinkled with blood.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this act should haue bene executed, he calleth the chiefe authoz of the conspiracie apart into a certeine ballie, which was closed on euery side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reprouing him verie sharpelie, for that he had so traitorously conspired his death, whose preservation he ought chieslie to haue wished, considering the manifold benefits he had receiued at his hands. And herewith leaping from his horse, drew his sword, commencing the other likewise to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most worthy of life, by open force of knightlie prowesse. The conspirator hearing these words, as a man altogether affrighted, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings feet, beseeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who seeing him thus penitent, bad him arise, and said; I am content heretvpon to forgive thee, so that thou be not of counsell hereafter in anie such traitorous practise.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, great and marvellous chances came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine took on him the kingdome. But William bassard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length invaded the land, and sleaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Elized archbishop of Yorke. Here ye haue to vnderstand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephue Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers deceasse) he and his brother Edwine had bene sent awaie, as in the historie of England it appereth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperoz Henrie, named Agatha, sister to the queene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scotch writers doe so affirm. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Christen.

King Edward ment that his nephue the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthy of admiration) bitterlie refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his uncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whilist his uncle king Edward was yet liuing. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it seemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recover it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolke there: but by contrarie winde he was driven to thore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the queenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he

heard of the arrivall of this ship, and understood that they were that were aboord in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to visit them for honors sake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whose asore time he had found so much gentlenesse and friendship.

Finallie, when he understood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the lone and friendship he could deuise; and in the end considering the excellent beutie, wisdom, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in marriage, wherunto Agatha gladly condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemble of all the nobles of Scotland, this marriage was made and solemnized after the ordanes of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuised. H. William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might breed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, for the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To prevent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foresaid Edgar, by reason wherof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obtaining livings at his hands, remained there continuallie during their liues, leaving to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whom were these, Lindeise, Glans, Kamfeie, Lowell, Lothis, Prestorne, Sandlands, Willart, Solwis, Warolaw, Martwell, with diuerse other.

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with queene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoun, Fottingham, Effart, Meluill, Bothwike, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Frafeir, Sinclaire, Roswell, Howtray, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bois, Betoun, Tallefer, and Bothwell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. But to the order of the historie. It is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie reliques of saints, and (amongst other) that blake crosse which king David gaue vnto the abbete of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he bestowed at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proscription of these Englishmen, William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatening that if he refused to deliuer him, he would surely fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms commoditie.

But Malcolme, though he understood that he should be sure of wars at H. Williams hands for his deniall; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his masters request was unreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this answer from king Malcolme, proclaimed open warre against Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland took part with H. Malcolme, for that he was their earles sisters sonne. Wherevpon H. William sent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to invade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came bassilie into that countrie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorously slaine by his owne soldiers.

Malcolme
Conquerors
sister to
Edgar
Duchess
of
Scotland.

1067. H.B.

Englishmen
fled into Scot-
land.

Surnames of
Englishmen
in Scotland.

Surnames
of Hungari-
ans.

Surnames of
Frenchmen.

The blacke
crosse.

William con-
queror threat-
ning king
Malcolme.

Malcolms
answer.

Open warre
proclaimed by
William con-
queror.
Northumber-
land taketh
part with H.
Malcolme.
Roger a Nor-
man capteine
or rather earle
Roger (as I
take it.)
Sle in Eng-
land.

But

The earle of
Gloucester.

Gospatrikz
saith Simon
Duncl.

Wdo bishop of
Bateur and
earle of Kent.

Malcolms
enterprise a-
gainst his en-
emies.

Robert the
sonne of wil-
liam conque-
rour.
Newcastell
upon Tyne
fortified.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt William
Conquerour,
and Mal-
colme Cam-
moze.

The roicrosse.

Waltheof.

Steward earle
of Northum-
berland.

Rebellion in
Galloway.

Walter the
sonne of Fle-
ance.

Malglaue.

Walter crea-
ted high ste-
ward of
Scotland.

A new rebel-
lion in Mur-
rey land.

But king William nothing discouraged with this overthrow: sent one Richard earle of Gloucester (whome amongst all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, against whome were sent the earles of March and Pentecoth, who defended the countrie right manlie from the inuasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take anie advantage of them. King William aduertised hereof, wared wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done against his enemies, whereupon he sent a new power thither with all speed, under the leading of his brother Wdo, who was both bishop of Bateur, and earle of Kent. By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was soze spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine. But as Wdo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giuing an onset vpon his enemies, slue a great number of them, and recouered all the bottie which Wdos men had got in the countrie, and so right toisfull of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anie time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe nere to the riuer of Tyne, attempted no notable enterprise, sauing that he repaired and newlie fortified the towne of Newcastle, which standeth vpon the same riuer of Tyne, and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings vnder these conditions, that king Malcolme should inioy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Tweed, Cumberland, and Stainmoze, and to doe homage to the K. of England for the same. In the midst of Stainmoze there shall be a crosse set vp, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roicrosse, that is, the crosse of the kings. Moreover, it was concluded that Waltheof or Woldosius (as the Scottish writers name him) the sonne of Steward earle of Northumberland should marie king Williams neece, bozne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by anie maner of prerogative or means, for the space of twentie yeares next ensuing.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, hapened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Island men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were anie thing resisted. Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolme, Walter the sonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a convenient armie, who at his coming into Galloway, first gaue the people of that countrie an overthrow, and slue their chiefe capteine Malglaue. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Isles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified euen at commandement. For which high prowes and diligence in this peece of seruice shewed, he was created by Malcolme high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie euer since haue bozne that surname, euen vnto these our daies.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murrepland men, procuring them of Rolfe and Cathnes, with diuers other to ioinc with them in confederacie, did not onelie sea the kings seruants, and those that were appointed vnder him to see in

strice ministered, but through support of one Makmurcanie, whome they chose to be their capteine, they also wasted and destroyed the kings possessions, with more crueltie than euer had bene heard of before. Wherefore to punish these traitorous attempts, Makduffe was sent with an armie into Mure. But the traitors doubting least they should not be able to withstand his puissance, thought nothing more available than to stop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himselfe in good season into Doninusk, where he was aduertised, that in maner all the north parts of Scotland with the Isles, were confederat with the Murrepland men against him. The king astonished something at these newes, bowed to giue the baronnie of Doninusk (which he vnderstood to be lands pertaining to the crowne) vnto the church of saint Andrew in Fife, if it might please God to send him victorie ouer his enemies.

At length comming vnto the water of Speie, he beheld his enemies on the further side, in greater number; and in better furniture for armes than he thought had bene possible to haue found in all Scotland: he perceived also that his standard-bearer began to shrink, and not to shew the like cheerefull countenance as he ought to haue done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gaue it to Sir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obtained sundrie faire lands and possessions, to him and to his heires for euer: but his surname was afterwards changed, and called Skringgeour; of the which is descended a noble house, continuing yet in great honor in the same surname and office. When the king was once passed the water, and the armies on both sides readie to haue ioined, through mediation of bishops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on these conditions: That the commons that tooke part with the rebels, should returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to submit themselves to the kings pleasure, their liues and lands saued. Howbeit manie of them were kept in perpetuall prison during their liues, and all their goods confiscated to the kings vse.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (speciallie by the good admonishment and exhortation of his wife quene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himselfe in maner altogether vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by prouiding for the poze, and such like godlie exercises: so that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be brieife, herein there seemed to be in maner a certaine strife betwixt him, and that vertuous quene his wife, which of them should be most seruent in the loue of God, so that manie people by the imitation of them were brought vnto a better life. Agatha and hir daughter Christine also, by the example of these two holie liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuat and solitarie life, wherein they gaue themselves wholie to diuine contemplation. Farthermoze, Malcolme by the setting on of the quene his wife, ceased not to let his inuoz wholie to the advancement of the christian religion, and to restore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predecessors. Therefore whereas before his time, there were but foure bishops sees in Scotland, as saint Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, and Murrelake, and two of them, that is to say, saint Andrews and Murrelake remaining onelie in god reparation (the other being decayed) he restored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermoze erected two other of new, as Murrey and Cathnes, placing men of singular vertue and purenesse of life in the same.

Makduffe

The kings
bow.

Standard
bearer.

Sir Alexan-
der Carron.

A peace com-
cluded.

The submis-
sion of gentle-
men.

King Mal-
colme through
exhortation of
his wife, gi-
ueth himselfe
to deuotion.

A godlie strife

Agatha and
Christine re-
nounce the
world.

Bishops sees
restored and
newlie created
by king Mal-
colme.

But to proceed. It is said, that such outrageous riot entered at this time, and began to grow in use among the Scottishmen, together with the language and maners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, fleeing out of their countrie, were daily received as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is shewed) that divers of the nobles perceiving what discommoditie and decay to the whole realme would infuse of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that this venomous infection spread so fast over the whole realme, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobrietie of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedie in time, before hope of redresse were past, that the people might be againe reduced unto their former frugalitie, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day, and then desiring no superfluous meates and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiously dressed or served forth with sauces, but onlie feeding to satisfie nature, and not their greedie appetites.

Although this their sober fare, with the exercising of their bodies herewith in continuall trauell, they grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their offspring are found to be in these daies: for they were more in resemblance like unto giants than unto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and limbs, pressing upon their enemies like unto fierce lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any danger, for that they exceeded all humane strength and power. Hereupon king Malcolme took great paines to have redressed this infective poison, and utterly to have expelled it forth of his realme. Howbeit the nature of man is so prone and readie to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit; yet after they had once tasted the sweet poisoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to restrain their licentious desires. And yet those corrupted abuses and riotous superfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in excess with things used in our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of man was not so overcome with the abuse of superfluities, as it is now adaies; for then though they were gone from the ancient sparseness of diet, they yet did not eat past twice a day, and had but two dishes at a meale: but now the greedie taste of mens insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit, or whatsoever may be gotten, is unneeth able to quench their gluttonous appetit & ravenous gormandizing; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left unsought to satisfie the same, as though they were worthy of most high commendation that may devour most: wherein they may be liklie compared to greedie wolues and corporants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a follie: for the infection is so entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor searing, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you destroye the whole nation, than remove this vice.

In the meane time whilst things passed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 1086. H.B. 1087. About which time king Malcolme caused the old church of Durham to be plucked downe and builded up a new, beginning even at the first stone. In which season, one Egilwin or William (as the Scottish writers say) was bishop of that see, and prior of the abbey was one Turgot, who afterward was made bishop of saint Andzeus, and wrote the lues

of quene Margaret and Malcolme his husband in the Scottish tong. Afterward he decessed in saint Andzeus, but his bodie was brought unto Durham, and there buried, because he was first prior thereof. King Malcolme by persuation of this Turgot, builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordeining from thenceforth that the common sepulture of the kings should be there, in like maner as it had bene afore time in the Ile of Jona at the abbey of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which were devised and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife quene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their lues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, established by king Ewin the third, appointing halfe a marke of silver to be paid to the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is used to be paid yet unto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwise by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the use of their bodies all the first night after their marriage. King William surnamed the Red, the second sonne of king William the Conqueror, and successor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots should enjoy a great portion of the north parts of England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before any denouncing of warre by him made, invaded Northumberland, and took the castell of Anwik, putting all such to the sword as were found in the same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits attempted by his ennemy, leuied a great host of his subjects, and coming with the same into Northumberland, besieged the said castell of Anwik. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to have made surrender, a certeine English knight conceiving in his mind an hardie and dangerous enterprise, mounted on a swift horse without armor or weapon, having a speare in his hand, upon the point whereof he bare the keies of the castell, and so issued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scottish campe. They that guarded, mistrusting no harme, brought him with great noise and clamour unto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came forth of his pavilion to understand what the matter ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receive the keies which he had brought. And whilst all mens eyes were earnest in beholding the keies, the Englishman ran the king through the left etc, and suddenly dashing his spurres to his horse, escaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, he yielded up the ghost. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midst of his armie.

It is said, that king William changed the name of this adventurous knight, & called him Perceus, for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the eye, and in recompense of his service gave him certeine lands in Northumberland: of whose those Perceus are descended, which in our daies have enjoyed the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the slaughter of their king, brake up their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbey of Wymouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it afterwards to be taken up, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded with another mishap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt

The church of Dunfermling

The sepulture of the Scottish kings.

King Ewins law abrogated or rather altered.

William Rufus.

The castell of Anwik won by the Englishmen.

The castell of Anwik besieged by the Scots.

An hardie enterprise.

King Malcolme is slain.

The name of the Perceus had no such beginning, for they came forth of Northumberland at the conquest. Eric of Northumberland. King Malcolme buried at Wymouth.

Edward prince of Scotland died.

Riot and superfluous there brought into Scotland.

The lamentation of the Scottish nobles for the intemperate surfeiting begun to grow in use in their countrie.

The ancient sparseness of diet amongst the Scots.

Sober fare causes strength and hugeness of bodie.

Mans nature prone to vice.

The greedie taste of mens insatiable lust.

Men compared to wolues & corporants.

The church of Durham built by king Malcolme & Turgot.

Quene Margaret died.

1097. H. B.
The Ides of
October H. B.
Strange
wonders.
A huge tide.

Godwins
sands.

Thunder.

Trees and
corne burnt.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of
R. Malcolm
Cannmore.

Donald Bane

Donald Bane
fled into the
Fles.
Donald Bane
returneth into
Scotland.
His covenant
for the gift of
the Fles to
the king of
Norwaie.

The respect
that the people
had to receive
Donald Bane
for their king.

R. Malcolm's
sons sent for
into England
by Edgar
their uncle.

hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from Anwik, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first of the bloud roiall that had his bones laid in that place. Quene Margaret being aduertised of the death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in Edenburgh castell, hir disease increased throug griefe therof so vehementlie, that within thre daies after she departed out of this life, vnto an other more full and blessed. King Malcolm was slaine in the yere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of Nouember, and in the 36 yere of his reigne.

In the same yere, manie vncouth things came to passe, and were seene in Albion. By the high spring-tides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie towne, castles, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceassing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were earle Godwins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and ever thens haue bene called Godwins sands. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that peece of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he tratorously contriued. Poore soules of castles and towne in Pursey land, were ouerthrowne by the sea tides. Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations. In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trees and corne were burned by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

In the daies of this Malcolm Cammore, liued that famous historiographer Marianus a Scottishman borne, but professed a monke in the monastrie of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanish priest, but dwelling in Scotland, florished about the same time, and wrote the Scottish historie, whome Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolm had by his wife quene Margaret (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life saint Margaret) six sonnes, Edward (as is said) was slaine: Ethelred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an holie life in England: the other thre were named Edgar, Alexander, and David. There be that write how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his vnkle Donald Bane, when he invaded the kingdome, and vsurped the crowne, after the deceasse of his brother king Malcolm, and so then was Edgar next inheritor to the crowne.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Fles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of Hakbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolm was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the king of Norwaie, vnto whom he covenanted to giue the dominion of all the Fles, if by his means & furtherance he might obtaine the crowne of Scotland. Hereupon landing with an armie in the realme, he found small resistance, and so with little adoe receiued the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous maners and superfluous gouerning brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing enough to receive this Donald for their king, trusting (because he had bene brought vp in the Fles with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the English likerous delicats) they should by his seuerer order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

As soone as Edgar Etheling brother to Quene Margaret was aduertised that Donald Bane had thus vsurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretly for his thre nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Da-

uid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept them anie long while, but that a knight whose name was Dugan or Dugar, accused him of treason, alledging how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmize remained not unpunished, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to darraigne battell with Dugan, in defense of Edgars innocencie, slew him within lists. After that Donald had receiued the crowne at the abbey of Scone, he perceiued that some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, the wing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolm's children, than vnto him: and therefore he cast out a word amongst his familiars, that yet it were long the nobles should repent them of their doing, if they applied not them selues the more to his opinion.

Which words being marked, and deeply imprinted in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his great displeasure. For shortly after came Duncane the bastard sonne of king Malcolm out of England into Scotland, supported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the kingdome, and to expell Donald out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance. Now when Donald approached with his puissance, in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his people did forsake him, and drew vnto Duncane's side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that should haue aided him, was constrained for his refuge to flee againe into the westerne Fles: and so Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had bene trained the most part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had small skill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By reason whereof Scotland was shortly filled with new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Donald Bane being aduertised of all those things, that thereby happened in Scotland, solicited Hakpender erle of Bernes to take his part, and by some meanes to slea R. Duncane, which enterprise Hakpender taking in hand, at length (in Pentecost) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him. But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of the peoples fauor, that more reioiced than were soie for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his vnkle Donald was restored againe to the kingdome, chiefie by support of the forenamed Hakpender, after his nephew the foresaid Duncane had reigned one yere and an halfe, where Donald himselfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephew) the space of six moneths, and now after he had recouered the kingdome, he continued in the regiment thereof thre yeres, not without great trouble and intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords maligning his aduancement, sought occasions daily to depose him.

In the meane time the Flandmen made some stirre, neither did the warres with England cease, (though without anie great exploit or enterprisse worthie of remembrance) saving a few light skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At length came Magnus king of Norwaie with a great fleet, and sailing about the westerne Fles, gathered all the strengths within them in most defensible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, vsurping the dominion as soueraigne lord of the same Fles: and at the same time ordeined those lawes and con-

Dugar or
one Digen
accused Ed-
gar Etheling
of treason.

Dugan is
slaine within
lists.

Donald
threateneth.

Duncane
Malcolm's
bastard
sonne.

Duncane is
crowned king
of Scotland.

Duncane
lacketh skill in
ciuill gouerne-
ment.

Hakpender
erle of Bernes
sleith king
Duncane.

Donald Bane
is restored to
the crowne.

Magnus R.
of Norwaie
cometh into the
westerne Fles

Edgar &
Malcolm
son is sent

Edgar &
beth mell-
gers to Da-
uid.

Donald
eth Edgar
mellenger

Edgar &
beth mell-
gers to Da-
uid.

Saint
berts ba-

R. Duncane
miscom-
and chal-
to the F.
R. Duncane
is taken

Edgar

Edgar &
crowneth
annoint

I print
for the S.
with his
be anno

Edgar &
first ann-
king of
land.
The pal-
into the
land.

Robert
of Nor

Henric
sleith
Englan

situations which are used there amongst the inhabitants even unto these daies. The Scottishmen having great indignation, that the Isles being ancientlie parcell of the crowne, should be thus alienated from the same, sent orators unto Edgar (who was, as ye haue heard, the fourth sonne of king Malcolm) desiring him most instantlie to come into Scotland, to recover his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the usurpers hands.

Edgar taking deliberate aduise touching this request, first sent ambassadours unto Donald, promising that if he would be contented to restore unto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull succession, he would gladlie reward him with great lordships and reuenues in Louthian: but Donald was so farre from minding to doe him reason in this behalfe, that causing them which brought this message to be put in prison, he finallye sue them. Then Edgar by counsell of his vnckle Edgar Etheling, purchasing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, set forwards toward Scotland. At his coming to Durham, he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he toke with him the banner of saint Cuthbert, he should haue victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbey church, where first hearing diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid banner, and caused it to be borne before him in that iournie. Nevertheless king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chased into the Isles, where he was taken and brought unto Edgar. Some say that when the battells were readie to haue ioined, his men beholding the banner of saint Cuthbert spied against them, immediatlie forsooke him, so that he being destitute of succour, fled, in purpose to haue saued himselfe in some one of the westerne Isles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is said) unto Edgar, by whome he was (howsoever the hap of his taking chanced) cast immediatlie into prison, whereit he shortly after died. The victorie thus atchieued, Edgar went unto Edinburgh, and from thence unto Dunfermeling to visit the sepulchures of his mother and brethren.

Afterwards coming to the abbey of Scone, and assembling the lords of the realme, he received the crowne, and shortly after was anointed by the archbishop of saint Andrews named Godfricke, in the yere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchased a little before his death of Urbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland should be anointed. This priuilege was confirmed afterwards by pope John the second of that name. The first king that was anointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforesaid. About two yers before this, Edgar recovered the crowne of Scotland, was that generall passage made into the holie land vnder Godfricke of Bullongne, and other christian princes.

Amongst them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Normandie went, and should haue bene created king of Jerusalem, had he not at the same time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was slaine by chance, through glancing of an arrowe shot at a dere in the new forest; and then hoping to succeed him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he saw to be more trauell than gaine. But at his coming home, he found that his youngest brother Henrie surnamed Beauclerke, was placed in the kingdom of England, and so was duke Robert his hope frustrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthie (as most men thought) for that he refused so necessarie a dignitie, wherein he might haue serued the com-

mon cause of the christian common-wealth. Unto Henrie Beauclerke in the second yere of his reigne king Edgar married one of his sisters called Maule. The other named Marie he coupled with Eustace earle of Bullongne: in which mariage was borne a daughter that was the onlie heire of the same Eustace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when she came to womans state, was married unto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Poiteigne in France, nephew to Henrie Beauclerke by his sister. The king of England Henrie, had issue by queene Maule, two sonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eustace and Maule.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to shew some token of thanks towards saint Cuthbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his vnckle Donald, he gaue unto the monks of Durham the lands of Colbingham: and to the bishop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwick. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. I doe not find that Edgar had anie warres anie waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a paince rather reuerenced than dread amongst his subjects for his singular equitie and vpright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 1107.

After the deccasse of this Edgar, succeeded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valiance in pursuing of theues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murray land and Ross, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his prayers, and diuine seruice, after the maner of his parents, supposed he would proue no great quickie iusticier: but punishing offenders, and thereupon most presumptuously they began to rob and rease on eith side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex, insomuch that the pong infants sinking vpon the murderers, being about to execute their detestable crueltie, passed by the sword as well as the resisters: such rooted malice remained in their beastle hearts, which vpon rehearsing their old grudges they now accordingly shewed. King Alexander therefore aduertised hereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and captiues, strooke off their heads. As he returned backe through the country, there came a woman vnto him weeping in most lamentable sort, who fell vpon his knees at his feet, beseeching him to pittie his case, hauing lost both his husband & sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the master of Mernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murdered as well the one as the other. The king moued with this detestable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horse, and would not mount vp againe, till he had saene the author of that heinous trespass, hanged vp on a gibbet. After his coming into Cotwrie, he toke in hand to finish and make vp the castell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of theues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great disquietnes of all the countie. He gaue also to the maintenance of that house certaine lands, which the earle of Cotwrie had giuen him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Whilist he was thus busie about the furtherance of that worke, diuerse of those theues that were accustomed to liue by robberies in those parts, perceiving that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne vnto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises his death, and winning by rewards and promises

Maule kind
Edgars sister.

Eustace earle
of Bullongne.

The lands of
Colbingham.
Canulph bishop
of Durham.

Edgar rather
reuerenced
than dread.
1107. 10. Ma.
1109. H.B.

Alexander.

Theues of
Murray land
and Ross.

The crueltie
of theues.

Execution.

The earle of
Mernes son.

A righteous
iusticier.

The castell of
Baledgar.

Treason of
conspirators
to haue slaine
the king.

mises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuclish practises, they entered one night through a priuite into his lodging, in purpose to haue slaine him as he slept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, started out of his bed, and caught a sword which hong nere at hand, wherewith he slue first his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then dispatched six of the other traitors (which were already entered his chamber) with singular force and manhood: the other fearing least with the noise, his seruants that lodged within the house should haue bene raised, and so haue hastied to assaile them on the backs, fled in all haste possible. Neuertheless, such pursute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & upon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were encouraged to worke that treason which they had gone about, by sundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finally, the matter was so handled with them, that they disclosed the names of those that had thus procured them to the treason. Whereupon the king gathering an armie, he marched forth to pursue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spae, the conspirators had gotten together their power, & were lodged on the further side of the same water, to stop him from passing ouer.

The king seeing them thus assembled to impeach his passage, sent his banner-man sir Alexander Carron with a cholen part of his armie to passe the water, and to fight with his enemies, where, by the hardie onset of the said sir Alexander, they were quickly put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chase, suffered death, according as they had well deserved. The realme after this execution done on these offenders, continued manie yeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron also for that he was slain in the kings fight that day to fight most manfully, in slaying diuers of the rebels with a crooked sword which he had in his hand (of which sort manie were used in those daies) he was highlie rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named Sheringeour, that is to say, an hardie fighter. He had also his armes increased with a rampant lion holding a crooked sword, as is to be seene in the armes of his posteritie vnto this day, & other there be that say he got the surname of Sheringeour, because he slue an Englishman in a singular combat. The principall of this surname in our time held the constablership of Dundee, bearing in his armes a crooked sword in fashion of an hoke.

After that king Alexander had appeased the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he set in hand to repaire the abbeye of Scone, wherein he played regular canons, dedicating the church in the honour of the Trinitie, and saint Michael. Not long after this also, he charnted to come into saint Colmes Inch, where he was constrained to abide three daies together through violent rage of weather and tempests: and because he found some reliefe of meate & drinke, by means of an heremit that dwelt within the same Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to saint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbeye of regular canons, in the honor of saint Colme, endowing it with sundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that house. He also gave to the church of saint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, so named, for that a great boze was slaine vpon the said ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tusks of this boze do hang in chaines vpon the stalles of the quier in saint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thicke-

ness. Moreover, the abbete of Dunfermling was finished by king Alexander, and endowed with sundrie lands and possessions.

Whilest king Alexander was thus occupied in building and reparing of religious houses, his brother David liued in England with his sister quene Maude, & through fauour which the king his husband bare towards him, he obtained in marriage one Maude, daughter vnto Mordosius, or rather Malt the of earle of Huntingdon and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Judith that was neere vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the said Mordosius or Malt the of had no other issue to inherit his lands, David in right of his wife Maude inioined the same, and was made earle of Huntingdon and Northumberland, and had issue by his wife a son named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntingdon, and some part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after shall appere. Maude the daughter of king Henrie Beauchelerke, was married vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Cusene, the residue of the issue which the same Henrie Beauchelerke had by his wife (surnamed for his singular bounteousnesse, the god quene Maude) in comming forth of France to repasse into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of each estate and degree. Their mother the said Maude was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceased also, and was buried in Dunfermling besides his fathers sepulture, in the 17 yere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Christ 1125 yeres.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kindred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John Cumming, a man of great prowesse and baliance, obtaining of the king in respect thereof, certaine small portions of lands in Scotland. The house of these Cummings rose in processe of time thus from a small beginning to high honor and puissance, by reason of the great possessions & ample reuenues which they afterwards attained. At length (as often happeneth) the importable height of this lineage was the onelie cause of the decaye and finall ruine thereof, as in the sequelle of this historie ye may at full perceiue. Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewise the order of White monks, the author whereof was one Radobert. About the same time liued that holie man Richard de sancto Victore, a Scottishman borne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloister of the abbete of saint Victor, being a brother of the same house.

It now to proceed with the historie. After the deceasse of Alexander the fierce and first of that name, his brother David came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This David, according to the example of his noble parents, set his whole care about the due ministring of iustice, to the honor of almightie God, and the welfare of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie forraine enemies, so long as king Henrie Beauchelerke liued. Therefore hauing opportunitie of such a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and vied to sit in hearing of iudgement himselfe, speciallie concerning poore mens causes and matters; but the controuersies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he understood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the partie wronged, according to the value of his losse and hindre-

The abbete of Dunfermling.

David brother to king Alexander.

Mordosius earle of Northumberland and Huntingdon.

The lands of Huntingdon and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland.

The death of king Alexander.

1124. H.B.

The beginning of the Cummings.

Knights of the Rhodes, White monks.

Richard de sancto Victore.

David. David is crowned king of Scotland.

The care of king David for the poore.

A righteous iudge.

Bankettin cheer banished.

King David built 15 abbeies.

The name of the abbete builded by king David.

Foure bills for erecting Scotland.

Holie rood house builded.

Liberalitie king David toward the church repaired.

The church enriched, and the crowne impoverished. The late king James the first. A poore fatall lo. Maior. 60000 pound in lands given to the church.

Superfluous possessions the church.

The kings manhood.

The water of Spae.

Sir Alexander Carron. The rebels are banquished.

Sheringeour.

The abbete of Scone.

Saint Colmes Inch.

The abbete of saint Colmes Inch builded.

Lands named the Boarrinke. Boze tusks.

hinderance, with the goods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

Thus in the first years of his reigne he did manie things to the advancement of the common-wealth, and banished such banketting cheare as was used amongst his people after the example of the Englishmen, perceivinge the same to breed a great wake-ning & decaye of the ancient stoutnesse of stomach, that was wont to remaine in the Scottish nation. He builded to the number of fiftene abbeies, part of them in the beginning of his reigne before the warres were begun which he had with the Englishmen, and part after the same warres were ended. The names of those abbeies are as followeth: Holie rood house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Petwobottell, Holmcultrane, Dundyanane, Cambuskenneth, Kinlois, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland; also two nunries, the one at Carleill, and the other at north Bertholke: with two abbeies beside Petwobottell, the one of saint Benedicts order, and the other of white monkes. He erected also foure bishop-riks within his realme, Kelso, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, indowing them with rich rents, faire lands, and sundrie right commodious possessions. Moreover he translated the bishops see of Purthlake unto Aberdeen, for sundrie aduised considerations, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

He was admonished (as the report goeth) in his sleepe, that he shuld build an abbeie for a religious order to liue in together. Whereupon he sent for workmen into France and Flanders, and let them in hand to build this abbeie of canons regular, as he was admonished, dedicating it in the honoꝝ of a crosse (whereunto he bare speciall deuotion) for that vertie strangelic it slipped into his hands (on a time) as he was pursuing and following of a hart in the chase. But inough of these monkish deuises. Manie prudent men blame greatlie the vnnecessary liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he used towards the church, in diminishing so hugelic the reuenues of the crowne, being the cause that manie noble princes his successors haue come to their finall ends, for that they haue bene constrained though want of treasure to mainteine their roiall estates, to procure the fall of sundrie great houses, to possesse their lands and liuings; also to raise payments and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impoverishment of the realme. And sometime they haue bene constrained to invade England by warres, as desperat men, not caring what came of their liues. Otherwhiles they haue bene inforced to stampe naughtie monie, to the great preiudice of the common-wealth. All which mischiefes haue followed since the time that the church hath bene thus enriched, and the crowne impoverished.

Wherefore king James the first, when he came to king Dauid his sepulture at Dunfirmling, he said, that he was a soze saint for the crowne, meaning that he left the church ouer-rich, and the crowne too poore. For he took from the crowne (as Iohn Maior writeth in his chronicles) 60 thousand pounds Scottish of pecrelie reuenues, wherewith he indowed those abbeies. But if k. Dauid had considered how to nourish true religion, he had neither indowed churches with such riches, nor build them with such roialtie: for the superfluous possessions of the church (as they are now used) are not onelic occasion to euill prelates to liue in most insolent pompe & corrupt life, but an assured net to draw gold and silver out of realms. But now to retorne where I left, touching the historie, ye shall note that (as I said before) Dauid had by his wife Mauld inheritor of part of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a

sonne named Henrie, who married the earle of Marrens daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as descended of most noble blood both French and English. On whom he begat three sonnes, Malcolm, William, and Dauid; also three daughters, Adhama, Margaret, and Mauld. But now in the meane time, whilst the estate of the common-wealth in Scotland stood in high felicitie, vnder the prosperous gouernement of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie losse. For the queene his wife the foresaid Mauld deceased in hir flourishing age, a woman of passing beautie and chasticite, which two points (as is thought) commend a woman aboue all the rest. King Dauid therefore took such grieffe for hir death, that he would neuer after giue his mind to marie anie other, but passed the residue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1132.

Whilst these things came thus to passe in Scotland, Henrie Beauchelke king of England, caused all the nobles of his realme to take their oths, that after his deceasse they shoulde receiue his daughter Mauld the emperesse for their soueraine ladie and queene. She was as then returned into England; for hir husband the emperour was latelic before deceased. King Dauid also took his oth, and therefore when king Stephan (who usurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceasse against the said emperesse) sent vnto king Dauid to come and do his homage for the earldomes of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bound to do) with intimation that if he refused, king Stephan would invade him with open warre; king Dauid answered, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for those lands vnto the emperesse Mauld, which he minded not to breake for the threatening words of anie new intrusions. King Stephan moued with this answer, sent a power of men to the borders of Northumberland, (which as then was vnder the dominion of the Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrie. They that had the charge of this enterprise, entering into the lands of their enemies, put all to fire and sword that came in their way. The Scots kindled with that displeasure, roded into England, and did the like displeasures and hurts there. For the yeare after, the earles of March, Penteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, against whom came the earle of Gloucester, and giuing them battell at Northalerton, lost the field, and was taken prisoner himselfe, with diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan therefore, constrained to redeeme the captiues, gaue not onelic a great summe of monie for them; but also made resignation of all such title, claime, or interest, as either he or anie of his successors might make or pretend to the countie of Northumberland and Cumberland. Notobett his nobles were no sooner returned home, but that repenting him of that resignation, he gathered his puissance againe, and entering into Northumberland, fought with the Scots that came forth to resist him, and obtaining the victorie, took a great part of the countrie into his possession.

King Dauid, to redresse these iniuries, gathered a mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to erpell the Englishmen out of all the bounds of his dominions, or else to die in the field. But shortly after, Churthane archbishop of Yorke came vnto Roxburgh, called in those daies Marken, to treat for peace, where a truce was concluded for three moneths, with condition, that the Englishmen shoulde deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henrie king Dauid his sonnes. But for so

Earle of warren.

The issue of Henrie.

Queene Mauld deceased.

1132.

Mauld the emperesse.

R. Stephan.

Homage is required.

The English men invade Northumberland.

The Scots make rodes into England

The earle of Gloucester Robert was against king Stephan, but there might be some other happie vnto whome king Stephan had giuen that title.

A resignation. R. Stephan repenteth.

Roxburgh in old time Marken. A truce.

The abbey of Dunfirmling.

Dauid brother to king Alexander.

Goldofingrie of Northumberland and Huntingdon.

The lands of Huntingdon and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland.

The death of king Alexander.

24. H.B. The beginning of the minings.

rights of Rhodes, attemonks hard do Ro Vidore

Dauid. I and is owned king Scotland.

care of Dauid the poore.

lighteous.

Banketting cheare banished.

King Dauid built 15 abbeies.

The names of the abbeies builded by king Dauid.

four bishops see erected in Scotland.

Holie rood house builded.

Liberalitie in king Dauid toward the church reproved.

The church enriched, and the crowne impoverished. The fateng of King James the first. A soze saint. Jo. Maior. 60000 pounds inlands giuen to the church.

Superfluous possessions of the church.

King David
inuaeth
Northumber-
land.
King Ste-
phan passeth
vnto Rox-
burgh.

much as this couenant was not performed on king Stephens side, king David inuaeth that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan moved herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant arate vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constrained to returne without achieving of anie worthy enterprise.

The yeare next insuing, a peace was talked vpon, the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and saint Andrewes on the part of king David. But Paul quene of England, the daughter of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and nece to king David by his sister Marie, was the chiefe dower in this matter, to bring them to agreement. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, laie at Duresme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say David, lay at Petocastell, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the countie of Northumberland and Huntington should remaine in the gouernement of Henrie prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king David. And for these lands and seignories the forenamed prince Henrie & his successors, princes of Scotland, should doe homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subiects, k. Stephan returned into Kent, and king David repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus passed the first three yeares of king Stephens reigne. In the fourth yeare came Paul the emperesse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare.) But whilest England was sore tormented with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarels of these two persons, no small sorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king David, who died at Kelso, and was buried in the abbey church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoaned aswell of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrees of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him three sonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprovidend of heires.

The king also being mortified from the world, toke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the lawe of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaseth him, as by daily experience is most manifest. Wherefore that king David weied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heauie and sorrowfull for the losse which he and they had sustained by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succeeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a rotall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

Howe great your fidelitie and care is, which you

beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now doe I plainelie see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceased sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you esteeme to be sore afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for

this time due yielding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoeuer thing I haue in the world, the same is readie to doe you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your coming hither, in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender yowth, that I should worship with all reuerence the most wise creator and prudent gouernor of all things; and so thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the same is provided and ordeined to some good vse by his high and vnsearchable counsell. And therefore whilest day and night I haue and doe reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoeuer hath chanced either touching aduersitie or prosperitie, good hap or bad, the same hath seemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equall and thankfull mind, and interpreting them to the best, farre more light than they commonlie seeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with vse I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to receiue the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath bene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first seene my father, more deere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitable than greatlie desired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatal necessitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like maner. My brethren that were so louing, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whome I esteemed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So verelie standeth the case, that no man might yet at anie time avoid the violence of his force when he cometh, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankfull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortall, if we our selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioisse, that God by his singular fauour hath granted to me such a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was worthy to be beloued whilest he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whome he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither doe I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortly to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried vp to rest among that fellowship of heauenlie spirits, where I shall

A peace.

Couenants of
agreement.

Homage.

k. Stephan
returneth.
Carleill was
repaired by
William Rufus
king of
England, about
the yeare
of our Lord,
1092.

The death of
Henrie prince
of Scotland.
1152.

Prince Henrie
his issue.

The lawes
of nature.

Oration.

His parents
godlie instruc-
tions.

Losse of
friends.
His father.

His mother.

His brethren.

His wife.

Death cannot
be dispensed
with.

why we
ought to take
the death of
our children
and friends
patientlie.

Agall
forme o
rie p
med p
scotla

Carle
thumbe

Henrie
emper
sonne
neth the
of king

scotla
the
nobles

The
tion of
David
nobles

King
depart
of this

115

cc shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife,
and sonne in far better estate than here I knew
them. Therefore that I may repeate it once againe,
I reioise: (I say) to haue obtained in my sonne, by
the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by
faith, he is already in that place to the which all we
do earnestlie wish that we may attaine, and do in-
deuour by all means, that when the time cometh
in which our soules are to be losed forth of these
fraile bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be
found worthy of that compaignie, in which our confi-
dence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining.
Except anie man may thinke that we are so enui-
ous, that therefore we do lament, because as yet
we sticke fast ouerwhelmed and drowned in such fil-
thie miers, and cumbered in such thornie thickets and
bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of
all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by follow-
ing the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons
that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that
at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come
to the place where we do reckon that by diuine
power he is already arrived.

After that the king had made an end of his ora-
tion, and thanks given to God for his bountifull
magnificence, they rose from the table, and depar-
ted to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling
at the kings high prudence and goodlie wisdom.
Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before
mentioned prince Henrie, proclaimed in his place
prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most
parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and
other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to
receiue the oths of all the barons for their allegi-
ance in his name. William the second sonne of
prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland
by the foresaid nobles, and there proclaimed and cre-
ated earle of that countrie. Then went king Da-
uid himselfe vnto Carlisle, where he met with Hen-
rie the sonne of the emperesse, who receiued the order
of knighthood there at his hands. This was a little
before that the same Henrie came to an agreement
with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to
the possession of halfe the realme of England, and
promised by oth of assurance (as the Scottish writers
say) that he should neuer go about to take the coun-
tries of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Hun-
tington from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortly after was king David taken with a sore
disease and maladie, which continued with him to the
end of his life. And so when he perceiued himselfe
to waxe faint and feeble, he required to be borne in
to the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the
Lords bodie and bloud, with most solemn reue-
rence; and then being brought againe to his cham-
ber, he called together his nobles, and commending
to them his young nephues, the sons of his son the
forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them
after an other, most instantlie desiring them in the
honor of almightie God, to seeke the preservation
of common quiet, to the aduancement of the publike
weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the
29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if
he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior
saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfermling, after
the incarnation of Christ our Saviour 1153 yeares.

How farre this prince king David excelled in no-
ble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue
thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to
go about in few words to comprehend that, where-
in if I should spend much time, I were not able in
anie wise worthilie to performe. For where in such
cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue
may seeme to be omitted through fault of the writer.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his
singular pittifull regard, which he had toward the re-
liefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues,
he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious
rule and misordered customes, that his whole fami-
lie was giuen onelie to the exercise of vertue. No
riotous banquetting nor surfetting there was vsed
amongst them, no lasciuious word heard come forth
of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wanton signes
shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concu-
piscence. All the words, works, and whole demeanour
of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing
moued to stirre strife or sedition, but all things or-
dered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the
chaîne of brotherly love seemed to haue linked them
all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their mai-
ster king David vnto them and all other, to direct
and frame a perfect and godlie life after.

King David being dead & buried (as is before
said) Malcolme nephew to him by his son Hen-
rie succeeded in the estate. He was but 13 yeeres of
age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie
and vertuous conditions were such, that all men
conceiued a good hope that he would proue a right
noble and worthy prince. He was nourished and
brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie,
that delisting in chaff conuersation and cleanness of
bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his
life, and without mariage: therefore he was surna-
med Malcolme the maid. About the time of his en-
tring into the possession of the crowne, there was a
great dearth through all the bounds of Scotland. And
sone after followed a sore death both amongst men
and beasts, though it was not perceiued that the
disease whereof they died was anie thing conta-
gious.

Hereof did one Somerleis the thane of Argyle
take occasion to attempt an higher enterpryse than
 stood with the baseness of his linage and estate: for
considering that the one halfe of the realme was
consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe nere
hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it
an easie matter for him, now whilst the king was
vnder yeeres of ripe discretion, to vsurpe the gover-
nance of the realme into his owne hands, and so as-
sembling together an huge compaignie of such as in
hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, hee
came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest,
stealing and spoiling all such in his way as went a-
bout to resist him. But his presumptuous enterpryse
was shortly repressed: for Gilchrist earle of Argile
lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist So-
merleids attempts, incountred with him in battell,
& slue 2000 of his men. Somerleis hauing receiued
this ouerthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into
Ireland, and so faded his life.

Henrie the second of that name king of Eng-
land, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his
domesticall enimies, feared least he being imbold-
ened therewith, should note attempt somewhat a-
gainst the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of
his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme,
commanding him to come by to London, there to
do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumber-
land, Northumberland, and Huntington, in which
and some as his grandfather king David had be-
fore done vnto his predecessor Henrie the first, with
certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him
all the said lands. King Malcolme obeyed this com-
mandement of king Henrie: but yet vnder confu-
sion (as the Scottish writers affirme) that it should in
no manner wise preiudice the franchises and liber-
ties of the Scottish kingdome. At the same time king
Henrie had warres against Lewes the first, king of
France.

This singular
pittie toward
the poore.

King Dauids
court.

King Dauids
seruants.

King Dauids
example, a rule
of godlie life.

Malcolme

The educati-
on of king Mal-
colme.

A dearth.

A death not
contagious.

Somerleis
thane of Ar-
gile gorth a-
bout to make
himselfe king.

Somerleids
crueltie.

Gilchrist sent
with an armie
against So-
merleis.

Malcolme
summoned to
do homage.

Malcolme
goeth with
king Henrie
into France.

Malcolme

France,

Malcolme the
sonne of Hen-
rie procla-
med prince of
Scotland.

Earle of Nor-
thumberland.

Henrie the
emperesse his
sonne recei-
ued the order
of knighthood.

The exhorta-
tion of king
David to his
nobles.

King David
departeth out
of this life.

1153.

parents
the instruc-

of
his
father.

mother.

brethren.

wife.

cannot
be opened

We
to take
each of
children
then do
little.

France, and so passing ouer into that realme, constrained king Malcolme to go with him in that fornie against his will, notwithstanding that he had a safe conduct fraile to come and go. In this vofage king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and at length besieged the cite of Tholouse.

Tholouse besieged.
King Henries meaning.

In all which enterprizes he had Malcolme present with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that thereby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might finally be dissolved. But in the end king Henrie hauing lost diuers of his noble men by sicknesse, returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland; who at his comming home, sent the bishop of Murrey, and one of his secretaries vnto the see of Rome, as ambassadors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius the third of that name, to recognise the obedience which he owght to the Romane see. Shortly after also, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was sore rebuked by his lords, in that he had borne through his owne follie, armes against the Frenchmen their old confederate friends and ancient allies: but king Malcolme excused the matter with humble words, saying he came vnto warlike into king Henries hands, and therefore might not chuse but accomplish his will and pleasure at that time; so that he supposed verelie the French king would take no great displeasure with his doings, when he once vnderstood the truth of the matter.

Ambassadors sent to Rome.

A parlement at Scone.
K. Malcolme reprimed by his nobles.
K. Malcolmes excuse.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of this grudge betwixt the Scottish lords and their king, thought to renew the same with more displeasure, and thereupon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto York, to a parlement which he held there, where at his comming he was burdened with a right grievous complaint surmized against him by king Henrie, for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen all the secrets of the English armie, when he was with him in France, at the aboue remembred tourney, alledging the same to be sufficient matter, for the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which he held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington. And though king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons declared those allegations to be vntue and vniustlie forged, yet by king Henries earnest inforcing of the matter, sentence was giuen against him, by the generall consent of all the estates there in that parlement assembled. And moreover, to bring king Malcolme in further displeasure with the nobles, king Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Malcolme returned backe into his countrie, how he had of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right, title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands, supposing by this means to make king Malcolme farre more odious to all his lieges and subiects, than euer he was before.

Fond dealing and not likelie to be true.

Sentence giuen against K. Malcolme at York.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his countrie, not vnderstanding anie thing of that subtil continued policie and slanderous report, was besieged within the castell of Bertha by the thane of Cressall, and diuerse others. But after it was knowne how euill king Malcolme had bene used, and most vntuallie slandered, they desired pardon of their offense, as induced thereto by vntue reports, which once being granted, they brake by their siege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like true and most obedient subiects. But king Malcolme sore moued for that he was thus iniuriously handled by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to be made of all such things as had bene wrongfullie taken from him, and so detained by the Englishmen,

proclaimed open warres against them. At length, after sundrie harines done, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certaine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where (to be brieft) it was finally concluded, that K. Malcolme should receiue againe Cumberland and Huntington: but for Northumberland, he should make a plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his successors for euer.

A conclusion of agreement

For the which agreement he ran so farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they might become an easie preie vnto the Englishmen, they remained quiet for a time. Notwithstanding after, there arose another peece of trouble, though lesse in outward appearance, by reason of the small power remaining in the author, yet dangerous enough, considering it was within the realme it selfe. One Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiving he might not by secret practise atchieue his purposed intent (whatsoever the same was) determined by open force to assaie what luckie success fortune would send him; hoping that those which through feare late as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so soone as they saw anie commotion raised by him to occasion them thereto. Whereupon he assembled together a great companie: but before he could worke anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilchrist earle of Angus (whose faithfull valliance was before manifested in the suppression of Somersleids rebellion) discomfited his power, in three sundrie bickerings, & chased Angus himselfe into Whiterne, where is a place of sanctuarie privileged for the safeguard of all offenders that flee thereto for succour in the honor of saint Martin.

K. Malcolme hated of his people.

Fear of outward enemies causeth quietnesse at home.

Angus the thane of Galloway raiseth a commotion: vpon what occasion whither make not anie mention.

Angus discomfited by Gilchrist.

Whiterne a place of sanctuarie.

Angus besieged in whiterne.

Angus yielded himselfe to the king.

Angus became a canon.

A rebellion moued by the Murreis. Gilbo capteine of the rebels.

The crueltie of the rebels.

Gilchrist discomfited by the Murreis.

The Murreis are overthrown.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre round about it, to watch that he should by no means escape a waie; so that at length wearied as it had bene with long siege, he yielded himselfe to the king, who taking his sonne to pledge for his god abearing in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should please him: but the most part of his lands and liuings were confiscat to the kings vse. Whereupon when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as he had done before, he became a canon in Holie rood house, and there ended his life (as it is reported.) It was not long after the pacifying of this trouble, but that a new rebellion was raised: for the Murrey land men, by the prouocation of their capteine called Gilbo, wasted with fire and sword the countreies of Rosse, Botwell, or Bongdale, Mar, Careoch, Buchquhane, and the Mernes, in more cruell sort than anie forreine & most barbarous nation would haue done; insomuch that when the king sent diuers of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of their rebellious doings, they slue those messengers, contrarie to the law of nations.

To punish such iniurious attempts, the aboue named Gilchrist was sent with an armie into Murrey land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the knowledge of his approued prowesse, met him in the field, and put him to flight. Whereupon the king himselfe, supposing that his presence was needfull to encourage his people after this overthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had sent forth before, with displayed banner, ouer the riuer of Speie, nere to the mouth whereof he fought with the enemies, and in the end (after sore and long fight continued with great slaughter and bloodshed) he gaue them the overthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties shewed in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to all other his subiects that should go about to attempt the

Open warres proclaimed against the Englishmen.

the like, he commanded that none of those of Murray land should be saved (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation should passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Murray land men being destroyed according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their houses, that the countrie should not lie wast without habitation.

In this meane time, Somerleid the thane of Argle, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ireland, vpon trust of the hatred into the which Malcolm was run, with the most part of all his nobles and commons, though this slaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Murray land, he thought to assaie fortunes chance once againe, and so therevpon returned with certeine Berneis and naked men into Scotland. But this last enterprise of his came to a more vnluckie end than the first, for being banquished in battell at Kenfrow, he lost the most part of all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, according to that he had iustlie merited. Malcolm having thus subdued his aduersaries, and being now in rest and quiet, he set his mind whole to gouerne his realme in vpright iustice, and hauing two sisters mariable, he coupled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the younger called Adhama he married with Florens earle of Holland.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scottish nobilitie, where when they were assembled together in the councell-chamber, Arnold archbishop of saint Andrewes stood by, and by a berie pitthie oration, toke vpon him to aduise the king to change his purpose touching his vow, which (as appeared) he had made to liue chaste. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not onlie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should take a wife (by whome he might raise by seed to succeed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that he might not chuse a more perfect state of life (considering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his ordinances might erre or be deceived. Againe for pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more delectable to him, than to haue a womanly ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of griefe and gladnesse, the being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woe, an helpe both in sickness & health, remedie to all wange anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spirits being wearied or in anie wise faint through tedious trauell and care of mind.

When he shewed he what an also children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre supplie their houses as lieutenants in defense of their countries, to the no small terror of the enemies. Wherefore sith men are not borne onelie for their owne weale, but also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he ought to persuaide with himselfe to alter his purposed intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie, and to take a wife to the great joy and comfort of his subjects, sith it was commendable both before God and man, and so necessarie withall and profitable, as nothing might be more. But these and manie other most weightie reasons could nothing moue his constant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeres affianced his virginittie vnto Christ, trusting that God would so provide, that the realme should not be destitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it should please his diuine maiestie to take him hence to his mercie from amongst his subjects. Thus brake by that councell without anie effect of the purpose for the which it was called.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolm fell sicke, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof he sought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England, which being brought to passe, he set workemen in hand to laie the foundation of saint Kewles abbeie, which afterwards bare the name of saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, being a goodlie pæce of worke, and verie costlie, as may appere at this day by the view thereof, he assigned forth certeine rents for the sustentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the maintenance of superfluous chere, but yet sufficient for their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the canons of that abbeie liued in those daies in most devout deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate lusts and sensuall pleasures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without respect to auarice, or enlarging the possessions and reuenues of their house. He founded also the abbeie of Couper of the Cisterciens order, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie possessions. Finally, being vered with long infirmittie, he departed out of this life at Jedburgh the 12 yere of his reigne. A certeine comete or blasing starre appeared 14 daies together before his death, with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yeres. In the daies of this Malcolm, Roger archbishop of Yorke, constituted the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into Scotland, because he was a man highlie defamed for his couetous practising to enrich himselfe by vnlawfull meanes.

After Malcolm succeeded his brother William, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion. Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadores vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the earldome of Northumberland, sith it appertained by god and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance. King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, he should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he reasonable could with or demand. Herevpon king William went into England, and so came to London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, he required the restitution of Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the assent of all the estates of his realme make restitution thereof. Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he promised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it came to passe that his demand were found to stand with reason, he would do therein according to conscience, when time expedient should serue thereto.

About the same season, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, and caused king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iourne. For king William would not disobeie his commandement at that present, in hope to attaine in quiet and peaceable manner his suite touching the restitution of Northumberland (as the Scottish writers doe affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceived no comfort to recouer his lands, he got licence with much adoe to returne home: and so coming backe into England, passed through the realme with

A peace concluded with England. The Abbeie of saint Andrewes builded.

Superfluous rents of abbeies, prouocations to inordinate lusts.

The abbeie of Couper founded. The death of king Malcolm. A comete.

1185.

Roger archbishop of Yorke the popes legat.

William surnamed the Lion. Ambassadores sent to the king of England.

King William is required to do homage.

King William's request for the restitution of Northumberland. The answer of king Henrie.

King Henrie sailed into Normandie. King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.

conclusion
of his
ple.
are of out-
rd enemies
seth quiet-
le at home.
The Mur-
ries destroyed
Somerleid
returneth in-
to Scotland.
Somerleid
banquished at
Kenfrow.
Somerleid is
hanged.
King Mal-
colme's sisters
married.
The oration
of Arnold bi-
shop of saint
Andrewes.
Matrimonie
instituted by
God.
The pleasure
of marriage.
The commo-
dities by a
wife.
Children an-
d.
When not
borne for them
selves.
Commenda-
ble before God
and man.
Malcolm
might not be
persuaded to
take a wife.

King William
scale of justice.

Scotland
more indurated
by domestic
theeves
than by for-
eigne enemies.

Ambassadors
sent to king
Henrie.

See more
thereof in
England.

A portion of
Northumber-
land restored
to the Scots.
King William
received a
peace of North-
umberland
with his right
sister to the re-
sidue.
King Henrie
repenting him
selfe of that
which he had
delivered to
the Scots
sought new
occasions of
warre
with
England.

King William
invadeth
Cumberland.

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole endeavour to understand the state of the common-wealth of his subjects, and speciallie he took order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties done by theeves and robbers, which undoubtedly was one of the most profitable acts that he could devise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theeves and robbers were equalie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which daily grow by open warre against anie forren nation, it may well appere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as live by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enemies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this prince was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to repress the licentious outrage of such arrogant theeves and private murderers, than if he had slain manie thousands of forren enemies.

When he had once cleared the realme of those misgoverned persons, he sent eilsones his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to have Northumberland restored unto him, with notice given, that if he might not have it with favour, he would assaie to recover it by force. King Henrie perceiving that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else have open warres with the Scots, by advice of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather King Malcolm had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he received not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due unto him (so saie the Scottish writers) but so as his entire right might allwaies be saved as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yerres after, king Henrie feeling what hinderance it was for him to forbear the commodities of those lands, which were thus delivered up to the Scottish kings use, repented him of that bargain: and therefore to find some occasion to recover the same againe, he procured his subjects that dwelled upon the borders, to make forreins into the lands pertaining to the Scots, so to provoke them to battell.

Complaint of these injuries being brought unto the warden of the Scottish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken away by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but for so much as he could have no towardlie answer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on each side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it insufficient to defend themselves as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterprise in revenge of the displeasures done by the Scots. Warre was also at hand, and thereupon they ceased on either part from further invasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit achieved, worthy to be remembred; saving certaine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders, as they saw occasion to serve thereto.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Sir Crist, whose approved ballance often shewed in the time of king Malcolm, had advanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned unto the conduct of one Rowland the kings cosen, who was also lieutenant of the horsemen. The middle ward or battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might have time and leasure to assemble their power, sent unto

king William, offering unto him, not onlie large summes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further invasion, but also redresse of all manner of injuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be procured. But king William for answer hereunto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he first given the occasion, as one that was ever willing to live upon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of blood, but that he would gladlie cease from all further attempts.

The Englishmen having received this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to worke such feates as they had imagined, addresed forth other ambassadors unto king William, with diverse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scottishmen at some advantage, they conveyed their whole power in the night season nere unto the place where the same Scottishmen late in campe, & dividing themselves into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were up, and then to shew themselves to the enemies, to traine them forth to battell: the other companie was laid close in a ballie not farre off, to take the advantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approached so nere to the enemies campe, till they came even within sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangeness of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anye assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid: but anon encouraging one another, they boldly issued forth upon their enemies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weak resistance, and at length fled away, to the intent to easie the Scottishmen to breake their arraie of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie guarded with a small companie about him. Then the ambushment lieng in the ballie, brake forth upon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselves about, and manlie abode their enemies, so earnestlie laing it to their charge, that in fine they drove them backe, and constrained them to flee in good earnest, which they themselves had but onlie counterfeited to do before.

King William perceiving his people thus distressed, and himselfe inclosed on each side amongst his enemies, after he had assaied to breake forth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his endeavour could by no meanes prevaille, and that the enemies made onelie at him, he yielded himselfe. There was not much blood spilled on either side at this overthrowing, for the one part in the beginning of the fraye (as ye have heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush late, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking forth of the ambush, abode the brunt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiving they could do no good, they made the best shift they could each man for himselfe, to escape the enemies hands. The king being thus taken of his enemies, was conveyed to king Henrie over into Normandie, where he was as then remaining. The yere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Saviour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

Other writers report the manner of his taking, not altogether agreeable with that which we have here above remembred, who declare how King William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumber-

The offers of
the English-
men.

The answer
of king Wil-
liam.

The English
men take by
policy to ban-
quish the
Scots.

The English
men retire of
purpose.

The king selfe
but weaklie
guarded.

The Scots
constrained to
flee.

King William
yieldeth him-
selfe prisoner.

King William
conveyed into
Normandie.

1174.

Discord of
writers.

Wilhel-
Parvus.

Captain
the Eng-
lishmen.

W. Par-

Guillel-
mum
filius
Regis
Anglorum.

North-
land
Engli-

David
Hunt-

The his-
tory
of the
king of
land
Rog. Ho-
Mauh.

Northumberland, not ceasing till he came to An-
 wike, where he staid for a time to haue had battell:
 but in the meane while the Englishmen laie close to-
 gither without noise or appearance, in such wise that
 no Scottishman could haue vnderstanding where
 they were. At length king William wearied with
 long tarieng thus at Anwike, and seeing no enemies
 to appeere, determined to wike some exploit yet be-
 fore his returne, and thereupon sent forth the most
 part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to for-
 reie the same, keeping no great companie about
 him, till the returne of the other thus sent forth.
 Whereupon incontinentlie a great ambushment of
 Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited
 Scottish ensignes, and were not once suspected for
 Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them
 on ech side, and so finallie taken and led awate per a-
 nie Scottishman with thereof, saue a few which were
 left (as is said) with him for the time. In deed Wil-
 helmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbete of
 Wiblington in Northshire, in that his booke which he
 writes of the Norman kings of England, affirms
 how there were not manie more than about thre
 score horsemen with king William, while he was
 thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past
 foure hundred horsemen, which toke vpon them that
 enterprife; whose capteins (as he reciteth) were
 these: Robert de Statenuill, Ranulfe de Glanuil,
 Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerse other.

The same author writeth, that after the taking of
 the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots:
 for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge
 against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was
 present amongst them, they durst not vtter their
 malicious intentions; but now that he was thus ta-
 ken from them, so manie of the English Scots as
 fell into the hands of the Irish, paid derelie for the
 bargaine, being cruellie murdered and slaine: so
 that the residue were constrained to get them out of
 the waite into castles and towres, where they might
 be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that be-
 cause there was no great slaughter made at the ta-
 king of king William, the warres notwithstanding
 continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the
 two before specified chieftains Gilcriff and Rowland
 stoutlie withstood the Englishmen, and beat them
 backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumber-
 land. At length a peace was taken, during the time
 that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder
 these conditions, that Northumberland should conti-
 nue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and
 Cumberland (with the earledome of Huntington) to
 remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the
 Scottishmen.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William
 thus at Anwike, his brother David earle of Hun-
 tington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into
 Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme,
 till the king his brother might be redeemed. So some
 therefore as he had once established the realme in
 good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of
 saint Andewes, with diuerse other noble men, ouer
 into Normandie, to take order there with R. Hen-
 rie for the ranfome of the king his brother, which was
 agreed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that
 king William should become and acknowledge
 himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, a-
 gainst all men for the realme of Scotland and his o-
 ther lands; and for the same should doe fealtie to the
 said king of England, as to his liege soueraigne lord,
 in like sort as other his liege people were accus-
 tomed to doe. And further, he should also doe fealtie vnto
 the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (sa-
 uing alwaies the faith which he ologht the king his

father.) And in like manner it was couenanted and
 agreed, that all the prelates of Scotland, and their suc-
 cessors, should recognise their wonted subiection to
 the church of England, and doe fealtie to the king of
 England, so manie of them as he should appoint.
 And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and
 their heires for their part, should doe their homage
 and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to
 the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as therevnto
 should be required.

Moreover, the king of Scots should paie for his
 redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling,
 the one halfe to be paid in hand: and for sure pai-
 ment of the other halfe, the earledomes of Cumber-
 land, Huntington, and Northumberland should be
 deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage,
 till the time that the same summe was paid. And
 for the more suertie of these couenants, and that the
 Scots should moue no warre against the English-
 men, foure of the strongest castles within Scotland,
 that is to saie, Berwike, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, &
 Strueling, were deliuered into the Englishmens
 hands. These things being thus ordered the eight
 day of December 1175, & the king restored home,
 there followed a new strife in Scotland, for Gilbert
 of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischievous
 person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force,
 made great slaughter of all them that withstood his
 desire. And because his brother reproued his do-
 ings, he put out his eyes, and cut off his hands. A-
 gainst this Gilbert was Gilcriff sent with an ar-
 mie by the king. There was fought a sore battell
 betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed
 Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellows,
 such commonlie as for murder and other heinous
 crimes by them committed were in danger of the
 lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired
 a change; but yet in the end, Gilcriff with multitude
 wan the field of them, and slue more in the chase
 than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got
 ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into
 Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter
 somewhat otherwise, as thus; In the armie of king
 William (saith he) when he was taken nere vnto
 Anwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Wared,
 that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with
 them a great retinue of their countriemen. These
 were the sonnes of Fergusius, sometime lord of that
 prouince; after whose decesse the king of Scots that
 is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie be-
 twixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest bro-
 ther found himselfe much grieved to haue anie part
 of those lands (which were his fathers) giuen from
 him; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands,
 he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother,
 till it fortun'd the king to be taken. And then deli-
 uered of the feare which had staid his mischievous
 purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cru-
 ellie murdered him, after no common maner; but
 rather martyred him in beastlie wife, so to satisfie
 the instinct of his diuelish nature. And immediatlie
 after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciseth
 great slaughter of men on each hand. But his bro-
 ther had a sonne called Rowland, which prouing a
 valiant yong gentleman, boldlie resisted his uncles
 rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers
 friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trou-
 ble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recozdeth) till by the fore-
 said Gilcriff the murderer was expelled, as before
 is exprest. In the yeare following came Hugo car-
 dinall of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into
 England, with authoritie to reforme the English
 churches, in such cases as were thought requisite;
 and after he had made an end there, to doe the like in
 Scotland.

The prelates
 of Scotland
 doe fealtie to
 the king of
 England.
 The earles
 and lords doe
 homage vnto
 him.

King William
 ranfomed.

Foure castles
 deliuered to
 the English-
 men in pledge.

1175.
 Gilbert of
 Galloway re-
 belleth.

Gilbert of
 Galloway
 banquished by
 Gilcriff.

Wilhelmus
 Paruus.

Hugh card-
 nall of saint
 Angelo the
 popes legat.

Wilhelmus
 Paruus.

Capteins of
 the English-
 men.

W. Paruus.

Gilcriff and
 Rowland re-
 sist the Eng-
 lishmen.

Northumber-
 land vnder the
 Englishmen.

David earle of
 Huntington.

The king of
 Scots doth
 fealtie to the
 king of Eng-
 land for Scot-
 land.
 Rog. Houed.
 Maub. West.

The bishops of Scotland summoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

Gilbert a learned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

Gilbert bishop of Cathness.

Wonders.

Haile.

The sun darkened.

Thunder.

The foundation of the abbey of Arbroth, or Abirbrothoke.

1178.

The abbey of Dunblane founded.

Ambassadors to the pope.

A rose of gold.

Gilcriff murdered his wife upon suspicion and adulterie. The kings indignation against Gilcriff.

Gilcriff proclaimed traitor.

Bedus the brother of Gilcriff.

Scotland. When he had therefore finished with England, he cited all the bishops of Scotland to appeare before him at a day prefixed at Northampton. They came according to his appointment, and being assembled there in consistorie, he went about in most earnest wise to persuaide them to receiue the archbishop of Yorke for their metropolitan. But one Gilbert a young man, howbeit singularly well learned, and for his holiness of life much commended (as Hector Boetius writeth) being sent of purpose by king William vnto this conuocation, to foresee that nothing were concluded in the same, prejudiciall to the ancient liberties and franchises of the realme of Scotland, did argue so stiffly to the contrarie, that the cardinall left off the pursute of such manner of matter, and brake vp that counsell without determination of anie thing in that behalfe.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cause and liberties of the Scottish clergie, was afterwards made bishop of Cathness, and finally after his departure out of this transitorie life, registred for his suposed perfect holiness of life among the number of saints. The chiefest cause that moued the Scottish cleargie to withdraue their obedience from the primasie of Yorke, was the dissention and continuall enmitie betwixt the two nations for superiortie in temporall causes. The same yeare that this counsell was holden at Northampton, sundrie vnbeketh wonders were seene in Albion. On thosumday being the feast day of the natiuitie of saint John the Baptist, there fell such a storme of haile, that it killed manie sheepe and small cattell: people that were out of houses, and from vnder couert anie where abroad, were beaten to the earth with violence of that storme. The sunne in September about noontide was darkened for the space of two houres together, without anie eclipse or cause naturall by interposition of clouds. In Northshire was such terrible thunder with strange lightening, that manie abbeies and churches were consumed with the fire.

About this season, the abbey of Arbroth was built in most magnificent wise, and endowed with lands and reuenues in such ample sort, that few houses within the bounds of Albion might compare therewith. The church was dedicated in the yeare of Grace 1178, by king William, in honoz of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie, with whome (as is said) he had great familiaritie in time of his young yeares. At the same time the abbey of Dunblane was founded by Adhama the mother of king William, and shortly after she had built it, she died. Not long after, king William sent as ambassadors John bishop of saint Andrews, and Keignald abbat of Arbroth vnto pope Alexander the third, to present vnto him his obediensce, according as he thought good with his duetie. The pope seeming to reioise thereat, sent shortly after vnto the king a rose of gold, filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges concerning the libertie of the church of Scotland. At the same time Gilcriff, hauing his wife in suspicion of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards strangled hir in a village called Maris, not past a mile from Dundee. The king (for that she was his sister) took such indignation therewith, that he seized vpon all his lands and goods, purposing to haue put him to death if he might haue got him into his hands: but when he saw he could not be found, he proclaimed him traitor, and rased his castell (where in he had dwelled) quite to the ground, in such wise that vnneth remaineth anie token at this day where it stood. This Gilcriff had a brother that hight Bedus, who before this mischance had got the lands of Ogilvie: of whome the house of the Ogilvies took

their beginning, that after came to great authoritie in the court, though at this time (through Gilcriffs offense) his whole familie was nere hand destroyed. About this time also, the queene, king William his wife, deceased. A daughter which he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in mariage vnto the earle of Laon: but he himselfe after the deceasse of this his first wife married Emengard, daughter to Richard vicount of Beaumont that was sonne to a daughter of king William the Conquerour. By this mariage and alliance, the peace was newlie confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in such wise, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to the other, by means whereof Gilcriff, that before was fled into England, was constrained to returne into Scotland, disguised in poore weed, with two of his sonnes, and there passed forth his life a long time in great miserie amongest the woods and in out places, vnknown to anie man what he was, by reason of his poore and simple habit. Somewhat before the aboue remembred mariage, Henrie king of England at the motion of Hugh bishop of Durham rendered by the castell of Edenburgh into k. William his hands.

About this time the Souldane named Saladine prospered hugely against the christians in the holie land, making such cruell slaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all christian hearts were moued to pitifull commiseration and dolorous teares: in so much that Henrie king of England vowed to go thither with an armie to relieue the common necessitie of the christian publike weale, and had gone in deed, if he had not bene hindered by the conspiracie of his sonne, whome latelie before he had caused to be crowned king, that went about to vsterpe the sole administration to himselfe now in his fathers life time. About the same time William went with an armie into Kosse, against Hakulsen and Hakbein, two captains of the westerne Isles, which vsed vpon occasion to passe ouer into Kosse, Cathness and Murrey land, spoiling and wastling those countries; when they heard of anie power comming against them, they would straight returne to their ships, and repasse againe into the Isles. But at this time, the king had sent forth a naue to burne all those vessels, wherein the robbers had passed ouer and had left at anchor, by reason whereof when they were inclosed in on euerie side by the king, and taken prisoners, they after had suffered death on the wheele, according to the manner of the ciuill law.

The king in his returne from this iournie, came by the abbey of Abirbrothoke, to view the worke of that house, how it went forwarde, commanding them that were ouersers and maisters of the works to spare for no costs, but to bring it vp to perfection, and that with most magnificence. After his departure from thence, he took the way toward Bertha, and by aduenture espied where Gilcriff was dwelling by turfes, together with his two sonnes. And though he knew not what they were, yet he mused to see two such goodly young men, as by resemblance they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in such toiling and base labour. Incontinentlie herewith Gilcriff with his bald head came afore him, and falling downe on his knees at the kings feet, said: If there be anie mercie in thee (most ruthfull prince) for them that are brought through their offences into extreme miserie, hauing suffered condigne punishment for the same; I beseech thee for the loue that Christ had to all sinfull people, not sparing to shed his most precious blood for their redemption, to haue some pittie & compassion on me, & these my poore & miserable sons, which with me haue suffered much griefe and penurie, not hauing deserued the same by anie crime by the m

The house of the Ogilvies

The earle of Laon.

Emengard, 1186.

The peace confirmed with England.

The miserable state of Gilcriff.

The castell of Edenburgh restored.

Saladine the Souldane.

King Henries purpose to go into the holie land against the Saracens hindered by rebellion of his sonne.

Hakulsen and Hakbein captains of pirates.

Death on the wheele.

Abirbrothoke is builded.

Gilcriff asketh pardon of the king in vnnknown habit.

Gilcriff murdered his wife

The king's indignation against Gilcriff

Gilcriff proclaimed traitor

Laws by king William against them

them committed.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickling from his eyes, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: I am Gilcriff (noble prince) the most sorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy blood, and was therefore distressed of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a time, till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constrained to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we have lived by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our lining with treuell of hand thus in digging and delving of clods. Therefore if anie ruth or pittie haue place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, haue mercie on our sorrowfull estate, and remit the offense, whereby thou maiest not onelie purchase great honor and fame by example of pittie, being highlie renowned for that vertue amongst all nations, but also win great merit afore God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moued by these words, and remembering the good service which Gilcriff had imploid so oftentimes afore in defense of the realme; and againe pitying his case, to consider from what degree of honor he was fallen into the deepest bottome of extreme miserie, he took him whole to his fauour, and not onelie forgave him his former offenses, but also restored vnto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometimes appertained vnto them, except so much as the king had alreadye giuen vnto the abbeie of Abirbrothoke. Gilcriff euer after persevered in due obedience to his prince. And for so much as his eldest sonne deceased before him without heires, that his younger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was vnmeet for marriage, he gaue the most part of his lands after his owne deceasse vnto the said house of Abirbrothoke. His younger sonne also, no lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gaue the residue of his lands therevnto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of S. Catharine within the church of this abbeie, as the superscription of their tomes sheweth.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the advancing forward of the building of Abirbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused iustice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserved. He made also sundrie new lawes for the restraining of theues and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Rome, he obtained of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were contained the bishops sees of Saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dublaine, Brechin, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Cathness) was declared exempt from all other forein iurisdiccions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdict or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolicke see of Rome should specially appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obtained was at the popes palace of Laterane, the

third Ides of March, and first parte of the said pope Clements government. Shortly after, to wit in the yere 1198, died Henrie king of England, after whom succeeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceased before his father.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared himselfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and hereupon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendered into their hands the castles of Roxburgh, Berwik, and Sterling: and moreover that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he took him prisoner. He also deliuered the eariedomes of Huntington and Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the castles and holds within them, should be in the keeping of his captains and souldiours, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the soure castles laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he receiued in hand at that present towards the charges of his iourne. When king William had thus receiued his lands and castles by surrender, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, who thereupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance deuised by king Malcolm the first, went with him also in that voyage with five hundred Scottishmen, or rather five thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

As the christian armie late at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scottishman boone, was within the towne retained in seruice among the Saracens; for being convict of felonie in his native countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their tong verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countreman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by some good aduventure to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had bene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinentlie he called to the same Durward, desiring vnder assurance to talke with him. After certeine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yet bitterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to giue entrie at a certeine houre vnto earle Dauid, and to all the christian armie, vpon condition that earle Dauid would see him restored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle Dauid came with a great power of men to the gate before reherfed, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinentlie with great noise and clamour brake into the midst of the citie.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiving the citie thus woone, entered the same, and shortly after wan a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres woone from the Saracens, chieflie by means of the Scottishmen. But now touching their returne from this voyage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were achieved there, I passe ouer to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, that in that terrible tempest, in the which king Richards nauie was dispersed in his comming homewards (as in the

The death of Henrie king of England.

Richard.

The castles of Roxburgh, Berwik, and Sterling: rendered to king William.

Earle of Huntington. Scots with king Richard in the holie land.

The siege of Acres. Oliuer a Scottishman.

John Durward.

Earle Dauid entered the citie Acon.

Earle David
taken prisoner
He is re-
deemed.

He went to
Scotland.

Arrived at
Dundee.

The name of
Dundee.

Procession
was holden.

A church
built.

Privileges
granted to the
towne of
Dundee.

The abbey of
Lundoch.

Adders with-
out hurt.

King Richards
returne into
England.

The gift of
king William
to king Ri-
chard.

A brute raised
that the king
was dead.

the historie of England is more at large expressed) the ship also that earle David was in, chanced to be throtene on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redeemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, hee hired a vessel at Sluis, therewith to returne into Scotland; but being losed a litle off from the shoare, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that droue him, not without great danger of life, nere to the coasts of Fozwaite and Shetland.

Here in the midst of this extreame icopardie (as hath bene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honor of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arrived at length in Dale water beside Dundee, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arrived before that time hight Aledum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundee, which signifyeth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had bene dead, he came speedilie vnto Dundee to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, insomuch that he caused publicke processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle David, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honor of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundee, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbey in that place it shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as hee should thinke good. There were also manie priuileges granted the same time vnto Dundee, which indure to this day.

Earle David not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbey called Lundoch, for monks of the order of saint Benedict. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singulartie. For whereas that house standeth in a ballie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adders; yett both no man catch hurt by any of them, insomuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without any skath or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperor of Almanie) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, toke his brother earle David with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had vnscindlie conceived for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at that great charges he had bene, aswell for furnishing of his boiage, as also for redeeming of his libertie.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were straight way put in an vntrue belief, that he was dead: and causing it to be bruted abroad, began to exercise all kind of misdeemeanors by inua-

ding the poore and simple people, with spoilings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie alieue, but also recovered of his infirmitie, and comming homewards, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Mkenie, vnto the vttermost boundes of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort guiltlesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offenses.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Isles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eyes first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallies. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a seed. In the yere next ensuing was more dearth felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scottish called a boll, was sold for fise crownes; and yet in the yere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sauour 1199, was more plentiful abundance than euer had bene seen afore. The same yere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yere also died Richard king of England, & his brother John succeeded in his place. About thre yeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yere came a legat from the pope sent to him, William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in manner of a diademe of purple hne, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturday should be kept as holidaie from none forthward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing any bodilie worke from saturday at none, vntill mondaie in the morning.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage vnto king John, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Possumberland. Immediatlie thereupon king John willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And because he refused so to do, king John made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great bottie of goods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lords had not compelled him, John to make restitution of all the goods so taken; because they thought it not expedient in any wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being already in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreover, from the Twelfth tide till Februarie, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

After the end of winter, king John hauing made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

Herald thane
of Cathnes
succourer of
rebels.

Iustice not
desisture of
mercie.

The thane of
Cathnes
taken.
Seuerer pun-
ishment.

Great dearth

1199

Alexander the
prince of
Scotland.

A legat sent
from the pope,

A hat.

Defender of
the church.

Saturday af-
ter none to be
kept holie.

King William
did homage to
king John of
England.

A castell on
the towne.

A peace est-
ablished at y-
betwixt the
kings John
and William.

The concern
of the peace

Scottish by
ges deliue-
ring John

A surrender
made to a

A child be-
y John, will

Churches
dowed by
William.

The erect
of the tow-
Argyle.

The tow-
Bettha d-
ned by inu-
nation.

The king
dang-er of
bowning

a castell in Northumberland ouer against Berthke, vpon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with the Scots. King William being aduertised thereof, sent his ambassadoys vnto king John, requiring him to desist from such attempts, and not to take any occasion of new trouble: but forsomuch as he received no towardlie answer againe from k. John, he assembled a power, & coming to the castell which king John had caused to be builded, he ouerthrowe the same, and rased it to the earth. King John soe offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his coming to the borders, he found his aduersarie king William ready to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken by betwixt them, so that on either side the armies were dissolued, & both the kings repairing to Berke, established a peace there, with these conditions, that Margaret and Isabell daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yeres then next ensuing were once expired, should be coupled in marriage with Henrie and Richard the sons of king John, vpon this paction and couenant, that if the one died, the other should succeed to the crowne. For the which it was couenanted, that king William should giue a right large dowry. Also the castell which king John had builded, and king William rased, it was agreed that it should remaine so defaced, and neuer after againe to be repaired. For the sure performance of these articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto king John. In that assemblee there at Berke, king William also surrendered into the hands of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland; to the intent he should assigne those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Alexander, and he to do homage for the same, according to the maner and custome in that case provided, for a knowledge and recognition that those lands were holden of the kings of England, as superior lords of the same. During the abode of these two kings at Berke, there was brought vnto them a child singular beautie, sonne and heire to a gentleman of great possessions in those parties, being soe vered with diuerse and sundrie diseases; for one of his eyes was consumed & lost through an issue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands was dyed by; the one of his feet was so taken, that he had no vse thereof; and his tong likewise that he could not speake. The physicians that saw him thus troubled with such contrarie infirmities, iudged him incurable. Neuerthelesse, king William making a crosse on him, restored him immediatlie to health. By reason whercof, manie believed that this was done by miracle, through the power of almighty God, that the vertue of so goodlie a prince might be notified to the world.

After his returne from Berke into Scotland, he indowed the churches of Melbottell, Melros, Holie rood house, Dunfermling, and Aberdeen, with manie faire possessions, as the letters patents made thereof by him beare manifest testimonie. He also erected one new bishopps see called Argyle, giuing thereto sufficient lands towards the maintenance and sustentation thereof. After this, coming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies, but there chanced such a flood, by reason of the rising and inundation of the two riuers, Taie & Almond, that through violence of the streame the towne wals were bozne downe, and much people in the towne drowned, yet they could make any shift to saue themselves, insomuch that though the king with his wife, and the most part of his familie escaped out of

that great danger and leoparde, his yongest sonne yet named John, with his nurse and twelue other women perished, and twentie other of his seruants beside. There was heard such clamor, noise, & lamentable cries, with bitter rozings and dreadfull shrieks, as is vsed in time when any towne is suddenly taken and surprised by the enimies: for as the comon prouerbe witnesseth, Fier & water haue no mercie: and yet of these two, water is more terrible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of man able to resist the violence of inundations, where they suddenly breake in.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha was thus destroyed and ouerfloved with water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Berth, by a man of that name that sought the ground where the same towne was builded. Furthermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king granted sundrie beneficall priuileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the sooner rise in riches and wealth. The first foundation thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Saviour 1210 yeres, but the name was changed afterwards, and called saint Johns towne, which name it beareth even vnto this day. About the same time there rose effones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gotherd the sonne of Makulzen (of whose rebellion ye haue heard before) spoiled with often incursions and rodes the countrie of Kesse, and other bounds thereabouts. His companie increased daillie more and more, by repaire of such number of rebels as came vnto him out of Lochquhaber, & the westerne Isles. King William, to repress these attempts, sent forth the earles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of Buchquhane, hauing six thousand in their companie, the which encountering with the enimies in set battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gotherd their chiefe capteine prisoner, brought him vnto the king, who caused both him and diuerse other which were likewise taken prisoners, to lose their heads. Gotherd himselfe was soe wounded, before he was taken; so that if his takers had not made the more speed in the conuelling of him to the king, he had died of his hurts before execution had thus bene done on him accordinglie as was appointed.

About this time arose the dissention and variance betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent the third, for that the English cleargie refused to aid the said John with such summes of monie as he demanded of them. Shortly after, William king of Scotland, wornie with long age, departed out of this world at Strueling, in the 74 yere of his age, and in the 49 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of Christ 1214 yeres. He was buried in Aberbrothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The yere afore his death, two comets or blasing starres appeared in the moneth of March, verie terrible to behold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yere next following, there was a colt in Northumberland that calued a verie monstrous calfe; for the head and necke resembled a verie calfe in deed, but the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were seene also two mones in the firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and in shape naturallie horned, as ye see the monie in hir increasing or waning. King William in his life time founded the abbete of Balmernocht, but his wife queene Ermengard indowed it with lands and possessions after his decesse. In the 46 yere of this king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie order were sent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberdeen, to conuert the same into an abbete for them

R. i. to

John & kings
son drowned.

The towne of
Berth builded

Freedom
granted to the
towne of
Berth.

Saint Johns
towne.
Gotherd man-
ued a rebellion
in Cathnes.

His companie
increaseth.

The earles of
Fife and Atholl
sent against him.
The rebels ouer-
throwne.
Gotherd taken
and beheaded.

The dissention
betwixt the
pope and king
John.
The cause.

The death of
king William.

1214.

Two blasing
starres.

A monstrous
calfe.

Two mones.

The abbete of
Balmernocht
founded.

A castell ouer-
throwne.

A peace esta-
blished at York
betwixt the
kings John
and William.

The covenants
of the peace.

Scottish hos-
tages deliuered
vnto king John.

A surrender
made to a vife.

A child healed
by k. William.

Churches in-
dowed by king
William.

The erection
of the see of
Argyle.

The towne of
Bertha drown-
ed by inun-
dation.

The king in
danger of
drowning.

Rebeld thane
Cathnes
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Justice not
attaine of
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Alexander.

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone. A time of mourning.

A parlement at Edinburgh

Confirmation of officers.

The office of the constable.

The lands of Forfair giuen to the old quene. A princelie appointment.

Dissention betwixt king John and his nobles.

King Alexander passeth to London.

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The best approved writers affirme that Lewes went not ouer into France, till after the death of king John. Lewes and king Alexander accursed. A counsell at Rome.

After the deceasse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie; which being finished, he went vnto Abirzothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the funeral obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that yere, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole yere. The first parlement which he called, was holden at Edinburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances deuised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had borne offices vnder him, should still intoy the same. Namelie he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancelor, and Alane of Galloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw bloud of another by violence within two miles of the court.

When this parlement was ended, because the old quene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman quene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castles & townes of Forfair, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen forth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie citie and god towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres insued, as in the English historie doth appere. The barons made lufe both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to abstaine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and shortly after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires pertaining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leauing their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The French king aduertised thereof, came downe to Bullongne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the covenants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enemies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortly whereupon, king John died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succeeded him. And in the meane time had the pope accursed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that fauoured their cause against king John, which curse was pronounced in a generall counsell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceasse of king John, returning homeward with his

armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie with out anie annoyance by the waie, through meanes whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenly inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some aduantage, in straieng abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so moued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Shortly after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication aboute remembred, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their fauours, whereupon he accursed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, inso much that in the end Lewes was constrained to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon agreement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came king Henrie with an armie into Scotland, soze indamaging the countrie: but so soone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 12000 men of armes, verie perfectlie appointed and furnished with armes and weapon as was requisite, and the king of Scots but onelie five hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scottish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with ares, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beleueing, that to lose this present life here in his defense, was an assured waie to be saued in an other world.

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Forthumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat downe manie castles and strengths, which the Englishmen held. Then marching through the countrie vnto Carlisle, he took that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, lateng siege vnto Forham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchiued enterprizes in that iournie. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got off sons his people together, and comming to Berwike, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countrie alongst by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Haddington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, priests, and children onelie excepted. He assaied to haue wone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

In the meane time, the auaritious prelats Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder procelle of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terrible, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so inflamed the hearts of the Scottishmen with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the utter destruction and ruine of both their realms. Nevertheless at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Forke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treat an agreement, a final peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agreed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carlisle into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France. King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

Ex codice antiquo S. Albani, written by Mat. Paris (as I take it.)

King Alexander in Forthumberland.

Carlisle won by the Scots.

Berwike won by king Henrie.

Haddington.

Scotland interdicted.

Bishops of Forke and Salisburie.

A peace concluded.

The conditions.

The cleargie of Scotland summoned by cardinall Gualo to come to Berwike.

Sale of spirit small promotions.

The Scottish cleargie cited to Rome.

The complaint of the Scottish cleargie to the pope.

The auarices of Cardinall Gualo.

Cardinall Gualo condemned in a summe of monie. The Scottish bishops absolved. David earle of Huntingdon becaused. 1219.

An interdict betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Marriages concluded.

A legat sent from pope Bonifacius for a collection.

A legat excommunicated.

An other legat.

halfe of Northumberland, to the Kerroffe. And further, that king Alexander should be absolved of the censures of the church, which Gualo the cardinall had denounced against him.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two foresaid bishops comming unto Bertwick, absolved king Alexander, and deliuered his realme of interdiction, by such authoritie as they had procured of the cardinall Gualo. But yet the same cardinall, not intending to depart with empty hands, summoned all the prelates of Scotland to appeare before him at Antwiki, there to receiue their full absolution, to the intent by such means to trouble them, till they had disbursed to his vse some large portion of monie. Sundrie of them which loued quietnesse more than contention, satisfied his mind; but others refused vtterlie so to doe, taking great indignation that spirituall causes were thus dispatched for monie, and ecclesiasticall preferments bought and sold, no otherwise than secular possessions and prophane dignities. Incontinentlie thereupon Gualo cited them to Rome, supposing that rather than to take vpon them so long a iournie, they would haue compounded with him at his pleasure. Notwithstanding they being nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto Rome, and at their comming thither, made vnto the pope their complaint in most greuous manner, of the insufferable iniuries attempted in England and Scotland, by his most couetous legat the foresaid Gualo: by reason of which complaint, and of sundrie such letters & informations as dallie came out of England and Scotland, from other bishops & abbats, containing right greuous accusations, concerning the insatiable auarice of Gualo, the pope reuoked him home to Rome, to make answer in his presence vnto such matters as were laid to his charge.

At his returne thither, for so much as he was not able to discharge himselfe of such manifest crimes wherewith he was burdened, the pope condemned him in a great summe of monie, to be paid as a fine for his trespasses and transgressions. And those Scottish bishops, which were come for their absolution, were absolved by the pope, and suffered to depart in peace. In this meane time, Dauid earle of Huntingdon, brother to William late king of Scots, (of whome ye haue heard before how he went in the iournie made by the christian princes into the holie land) deceased, and was buried within an abbeye in England. Henrie king of England, after he came to yeares of perfect discretion, shewed himselfe to be more desirous of peace than of warres. Whereupon at York there was a meeting appointed betwixt him and king Alexander, where mutuall alliance was accorded betwixt them on this wise. Jane the sister of king Henrie was promised to be giuen in marriage to king Alexander, and two sisters of king Alexanders were desposued vnto two great princes of the English nobilitie. These marriages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

In the yeare next following, came a legat into Scotland from pope Honorius, with bulls to gather a summe of monie towards the furnishing forth of an armie against the Turks or rather Saracens. This legat was a cardinall, and named Egidius, who hauing purchased no small quantitie of coine both of the cleargie and laitie of Scotland, spent the same in riot and outrageous insolencie, making his excuse at his returne to Rome, how it was taken from him by certeine Brigants and robbers. With in short while after, was an other legat with semblable commission sent into Scotland from the foresaid pope. But king Alexander, being aduertised of his comming, called a counsell, in the which one

of the bishops (as should seeme) toke great indignation, to see how couetousnesse reigned in most shamefull wise amongst the Romish legats, and spake in manner as followeth.

Albeit sundrie considerations there are which might stay me from uttering such things as be most preiudiciall to the common-wealth, yet (most noble prince) when I consider thine humanitie, faith, and constancie, giuen to nothing more than to the defence and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth. For sith all manner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea even that which is exercised by kings or princes descended by lineall succession to their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be detested, which is exercised by men of vile and base linage. Therefore, if the sundrie and manifest wrongs done to vs these manie yeares now passed, had come by the popes themselves, the same might somewhat more sufferable haue bene borne: but sith naughtie & vile persons, of base birth and obscure linage, promoted to benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities onelie for their wicked and horrible vices, haue not onelie interdicted our realme, with out latofull commission; but haue also consumed in maintenance of their wayton and insolent vices, that monie which they gathered in our countrie by the popes authoritie, vnder colour of raising an armie to go against the Turks and Infidels; I am of this opinion, that their cursed auarice ought to haue no further place amongst faithfull people, speciallie amongst vs, whose simplicitie and humblenesse they haue in contempt. In the yeares passed, ye complained of the iniuries done by Gualo, when he had put your realme vnder the censure of interdicting, and the most part of your prelates vnder the curse; because they would not answer him with monie, according to his couetous demands, wherewith he might mainteine his outrageous lusts. Which Gualo also (as should appeare) by most certeine coniectures, was of such a diuelish nature, that though he were sent to treat a concord betwixt the Englishmen and Scots; yet to satisfie his auaritious desire, he ministred such occasion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter bene the sooner taken vp) were at a point to haue entered so far into malicious hatred the one against the other, that it was not like that anie peace would haue taken place, till the one or both had bene vtterlie destroyed. But since these heinous and terrible deeds are manifest inough; to what end should I here remember them, sith the same cannot be done without your great griefe and displeasure? Whereouer, after we were deliuered of this Gualo, shortly after cometh another, one shewing himselfe to come forth of the same shop; for in conuersation of life he was to be iudged no whit better, but rather worse: for after that he had got vp amongst vs of this realme large summes of monie, vnder pretense of redeming the christian prisoners out of the Saracens hands, and waging of new armies against them; he wasted the same monie in riotous lust and insolencie, feining, when it was gone, that it was bereft him by Brigants. Therefore sith we haue had experience, and are already sufficientlie taught by the doings of the two fore-remembered legats, to our heauie griefs and no small damages; we may be worthilie reprobated vnto wise and berie soles in deed, if we now admit the third. For it is not to be thought, that this new legat shall vse the matter in anie better sort, than his fellows haue done before him: And verelie, if anie man shuld demand of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I doe for my part protest, that neither this legat, nor anie other in times to come,

In oration of a bishop.

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Tyrannie intollerable.

Men of base linage.

The Scots sore offended against Gualo.

The practice of Gualo.

The bishops oration.

ing Alexander returneth to his countrie.

cardinall Gualo.

wes returned into France. King Henrie abeth Scotland.

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The cleargie of Scotland summoned by cardinall Gualo to come to Antwiki.

sale of spirituall promotions.

The Scottish cleargie cited to Rome.

The complaint of the Scottish cleargie to the pope.

The auarice of Cardinall Gualo.

Cardinall Gualo condemned in a summe of monie. The Scottish bishops absolved. Dauid earle of Huntingdon deceased. 1219.

In interview betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Marriages concluded.

A legat sent from pope Honorius for a collection.

A legat ex-cuse.

In other legat.

“ come, ought to be receiued within this realme, considering how the same hath bene waisted & robbed by their continuall exactions. If there be anie amongst you that hath moze monie than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious legats, as order it in such sort, that all men haue cause to thinke whatsoeuer cometh into their hands, is but cast away and clearelie lost.

Legats cannot be receiued.

These words of this bishop (whatsoeuer he was) were liked so well of all the counsell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this counsell, the marriage was consummat betwixt king Alexander and Ione, sister to Henrie king of England; also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iustice of England, and Margaret sister to king Alexander, by reason of which marriages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had bene sealed vp for a moze full and certeine assurance. Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gilespie Kille, who hauing liued most licentiouslie in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre against the king, and first stealing diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforesaid in his lewd misdeameans, for that they refused now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprise, he went with the residue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Enuerne, which he toke and burned, with diuerse other places being of the kings possessions, till at length John Cumyn earle of Buchquhane coming against him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the said Gilespie in such earnest wise, that finally he toke him with two of his sons, and striking off all their thre heads, sent the same to the king as a witnesse how he had sped.

Peace confirmed with the Englishmen. Gilespie Kille a rebel.

Enuerne burned by Gilespie Kille. John Cumyn earle of Buchquhane. Gilespie Kille beheaded.

New trouble.

This businesse being thus quieted, an other ensued after this maner: The men of Cathnes soze offended with their bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusal to pay their tithes he had accursed them, fell vpon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with rods, at length set fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being reported to the king, as then sojourning at Edinburgh, he hasted forth with all speed to punish the offenders, not ceasing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such a wicked seed, he appointed all their sons to lose their stones. The place where they were so gelded, is called euen to this day the stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of need, nor yet fought to punish the offenders that did this cruell deed, was depriued of his earledome, and the lands belonging to the same. The pope highlie commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murdered their bishop.

Adam bishop of Cathnes slaine by the people of that countrie.

Streight execution.

The stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes lost his lands.

King Alexander commended of the pope.

The priuileges of Aberdeen.

The archdeacon of Murray.

After this, king Alexander comming vnto Aberdeen, gaue manie large gifts and priuileges thereunto, although the same before this time intoid sundrie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessors. The bulls which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the custodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Murray, who succeeded next after the foresaid Adam in the see of Cathnesse. In the third yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Crumgard were sitting at their banquet on the twelife day in Christmas, otherwise called Yule, the earle of Cathnes, hauing god opportunitie thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offense. King

Alexander taking ruth & pittie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paid in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto all his former honors, lands and possessions. Nevertheless the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the iust iudgement (as some thought) of almighty God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his own mensall seruants, whome he had roughlie intrated, as the same went. The house also wherein he was thus slaine, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might seeme as though it had come by some sudden aduenture.

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and restored to his lands.

The earle of Cathnes is murdered by his seruants.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first autho. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, moze perfectly than such as followed: for as it often happeneth, althings commonlie from a good beginning fall into worse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all god religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious liuing the space of thre hundred yeares, at length were perfectly reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberdeen, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottish chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie. On the same maner, about the seife same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Some of them also after his deceasse fell to dissolute liuing, keeping no such strict rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

The first coming of blacke friers into Scotland.

John Adamson.

The first coming of friers minors.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scottish people intoid peace a long time after the appeasing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongst his thre daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to attaine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length, after he had wrought much scath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with fife thousand of those that toke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Steward of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power. The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in marriage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes deceasse, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quincies posteritie was disherited and ertinglished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwards the office of the constable was giuen to the Haies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was married vnto John Ballioll; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into thre, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaned vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being appeased thus within the realme, & Alexander was aduertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe towards an agreement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife queene Iane, and Isabell his sister. Although his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were removed, and the parties thoroughlie accorded. Which being done, he married

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

His bastard sonne raiseth a commotion.

The earle of March.

Roger Quincie earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

R. Alexander goeth into England.

Isabell sister of Alexander married to earle of Norfolk. Iane queene of Scotland deceased.

King Robert married the daughter of the late Countess. John earle of Angus departs this life.

Patrick of Arhol murdered.

John W. suspected.

A continuation of the cleargie saint John towne.

Some of the gile rebels.

Some of the humble million.

I castell gun to be used by his Henrie against the Scot. March. P. disageet the Scot. writers tching the callon of the warre, as the Engl. chronicles may read.

Embassad. south of France.

Scottish m. that went with Lewis king of France into Egypt.

married Isabell his sister unto the earle of *Porfolke*, and in the meane time his wife quene *Jane* deceas-
sed, without leaving anie issue behind hir, which
chance caused the king hir husband to returne with
great grieve and lamentation into Scotland. In
the yeare next following, which was after the incar-
nation 1239, king *Alexander* (because he had no
succession begot of his bodie) married at *Rockburgh*
the daughter of *Ingelram* lord of *Coucie*, a virgine
of excellent beantie named *Marie*, on whome he got
a sonne named *Alexander*, which succeeded after his
deceasse in the gouernement of the realme.

About the same time, *John Cumin* earle of *Angus*, being sent in ambassage to *Leues* the French
king, died by the way. Also at *Hadington* was hol-
den a roiall toynament, where knights and esquiers
advanced the mselues by valiant promesse to win ho-
no: neuertheless the end of all that pleasure and
pasttime ended in sorow. For *Patricke Cumin* earle
of *Atholl* was slaine within his lodging in the night,
and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the
intent no suspicion should rise, but that it happened
by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But
yet was *John Wiffart*, with *Walter Wiffart* his
uncle thesleuie suspected for the matter, inso much
that though no euident profe could be had against
him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all
their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After
these things were thus passed, a conuocation was
called of the cleargie at saint *Johns* towne. In the
which were diuerse prouinciall ordinances and sta-
tutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of
the realme, which were obserued in the church of
Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time
also, one *Somerleid* thane of *Argile*, the sonne of
that *Somerleid* of whome ye haue heard before,
following his fathers steps, rebelled against the
king, soze indamaging by robes & forages the parts
bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of *Ar-
gile*, till at length the earle of *March* brought him to
the bynke of such extreme necessitie, that he was
faine to yeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke
in token of submission; and being so brought before
the king, obtained pardon of his heinous offense.

In the same season, *Henrie* king of *England*,
prouoked by the setting on of such seditious per-
sons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to
aduance their priuat gaine (during which time law
and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell
against *Berwikke*, in the same place where the o-
ther was begun afore by king *Richard*, which (as
before is shewed) was rased and throwen downe by
king *William*, by the articles of agreement with
covenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe.
This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred
sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of *Eng-
land* (considering that the building vp of this castell
was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had
not staied the worke, and so thereupon that begin-
ning of new trouble betwixt the English and *Scot-
tish* nations for that present ceased.

In the yeare following came ambassadozs forth
of *France* into Scotland, declaring that *K. Lewis*
was readie to passe forward on that iourne, which he
had taken in hand to make into *Yelwie*, and there-
fore desired aid of king *Alexander*, to support him in
those warres against Gods enimies. With these
ambassadozs were sent ouer into *France*, certeine
chosen bands of men of warre under the leading of
Patricke earle of *March*, *David* *Lindseie* of *Glen-
nelke*, and *Walter* *Steward* of *Dundonald*, thre
capteins of great wisdom, and perfect experience
in feats of chualrie. The most part of all those
Scottishmen, that thus went forth in that iourne,

perished in *Aegypt* either on the sword or by sick-
nesse, so that few or none of them returned home a-
gaine. From henceforth, king *Alexander* liued not
long: but falling into a sore and grienous sicknesse
within a certeine Ile called *Carnere*, not far distant
from the coast of *Argile*, deceasid in the same Ile
shortlie after, in the 51 yeare of his age, the 35 of his
reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (ac-
cording as he had commanded in his life time) was
buried in *Delfosse*.

After that *Alexander* the second was thus dead
and buried, his sonne *Alexander* the third of
that name, not passing nine yeres of age, was pro-
claimed king. There was no small adoe on the daie
of his coronation amongst the nobles, for that by
reason of the obseruation of *Starres*, it was iudged
to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the dia-
deme. And againe some held opinion, how he ought
to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so
that thus they were at strife together, in such ear-
nest maner, that it was doubted, least this conten-
tion would haue bred some great inconuenience,
had not the earle of *Fife* prevented the same, in cau-
sing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the
kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, accor-
ding to the custome, without regard to the fruolous
allegations of them that spake to the contrarie.
When the solemnitie was ended, there came before
him an *Yllandman* (for so they call such as inhabit
the mounteine countries of Scotland) who in a
kind of meter of the Irish language, saluted him
as king, thus: *Bennachdeir Albin Alexander, mak
Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak Dauid, and
so forth* (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pede-
gre, all the kings in order of whome he was descen-
ded, till he came by to *Gathelus* the first beginner
of the *Scottish* name & nation.) The words in *Eng-
lish* are as followeth: *Haile king of Albine, Alexan-
der the sonne of Dauid, the sonne of Aler, the sonne
of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of Da-
uid, and so forth as before.* This *Ylland Scot* was
highlie rewarded by the king for his labour, accor-
ding as was thought requisite.

In the second yere of his reigne, king *Alexan-
der* (or rather such as had the gouernement of the
realme vnder him) assembled together all the pre-
lates and barons of the realme at *Dunfirmling*,
and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grand-
mother quene *Margaret*, which being done, he cau-
sed them to be put into a shrine of siluer, the 21 day
of *Julie*, and minding to place the same where it re-
steth at this present, as it was borne forth toward
that place, when the bearers came against the se-
pulchre of hir husband king *Malcolme*, they were
not able to remoue the reliques anie further, till by
the counsell (as is said) of an aged man that was
then & there present, they toke vp the bones of the
same *Malcolme* also, and bare them forth with hirs
to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great
veneration of the people. Such as were appointed
gouernours (during the minority of king *Alexan-
der*) doubting least the tender yeres of their soue-
reigne might embolden the enimies of the relme to
attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadozs vnto *Hen-
rie* king of *England*, requiring that the peace might
be ratified anew with him and his people, and fur-
ther to make a motion of marriage to be had betwixt
king *Alexander* and a daughter of king *Henries*.

Shortlie after, vpon this motion, both the kings
met at *Porke* with a great number of lords, as well
spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where
king *Alexander* (according to the promise before that
time made) married the ladie *Margaret* daughter to
the forenamed king *Henrie*, on saint *Stephans* day
Kiss. in

The death of
king Alexan-
der the second.
38. lo. Ma. but
that can not
be.

Alexan-
der.
Alexander the
third crowned
An infortu-
nate day.

The earle of
Fife preven-
teth the occa-
sion of further
troubles.

The saluta-
tion of an Yll-
land man.

The transla-
tion of quene
Margarets
bones.

They were at
Gauced in the
daies of king
Alexander the
faire, as in the
English chro-
nicle it may
appeare.

An interueni-
on of the kings of
England and
Scotland.

the earle of
athnes is
ordoned and
thozed to his
nts.

the earle of
athnes is
rthered by
seruants.

the first com-
ing of blacke
rs into
otland.

on Dama

the first
ming of
rs minozis

the death of
ne lord of
loway.

the ballard
the raiseith
mmotion.

the earle of
rch.

er Quine
arie of
checher
table of
iland.

the distion
e lands
alloway.

Alexander
into
land.

Isabell the
sister of king
Alexander
married to the
earle of
Porfolke.
Jane quene
of Scotland
deceaseth.
1239.

King Alexan-
der maried
the daughter
of the lord of
Coucie.
John Cumin
earle of An-
gus departeth
this life.

Patricke earle
of Atholl
murdered.

John Wiffart
suspected.

Conuoca-
tion of the
cleargie at
saint Johns
towne.

Somerleid
thane of Ar-
gile rebellith.

Somerleids
humble sub-
mission.

A castell be-
gun to be build-
ed by king
Henrie a-
gainst Ber-
wikke.
Marth. Paris
disagreeth fro
the Scottish
writers tou-
ching the oc-
casion of this
warre, as in
the English
chronicles ye
may read.

Ambassadozs
forth of
France.

Scottishmen
that went
with Lewis
king of
France into
Aegypt.

I 250.

in Christmasse, with all solemnitie and ioyfull mirth that might be deuised. The charges whereof were bozne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new married wife. During the minority of A. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortiones done by some of the peeres of his realme against the poore people, and thereupon determined to see redresse therein. Amongst other there were accused of such transgression, the earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare befoze the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, vpon their contempt so to do, were proclaimed traitors, and as the Scottish men tearme it, put to the hozne.

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the hozne.

The king taken by the Cumins.

The great power of the Cumins. Thirtie and two knights of one surname. The height of great families the cause of their fall.

The earle of Menteith is poisoned.

The king set at libertie.

John Russell an Englishman.

The feast of Corpus Christi instituted. The first coming of the Carmelite friers.

A part of the holie crosse found.

The foresaid lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, took the king at Kinrossie, and brought him into Striueling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Through which aduenture much harme ensued, by reason of mistruled persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischievous acts prouided, with the king who should haue seene iustice ministered, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see more in the English chronicles, about the 39 yere of Henrie the third. The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of offspring, riches, lands, possessions, and maintenance. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspition with the prince, whereby the same is for the more part the cause of their ruine and fall, speciallie when they presume too farre vpon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiracy, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Menteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mischance the residue of the Cumins were so exanimated, that obtaining their pardon, for all offenses passed of the king, they did set him againe at libertie.

This woman did thus make a waie hir husband the erle of Menteith through insigation of an Englishman called John Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namely, for that refusing to marrie with any of the Scottish nobilitie, she took the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hers, he was iudged a match farre vnmét, and thereupon constrained to lie with him into England, she died there in great miserie. About this time pope Urbane the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yere on the thursday after Trinitie fundae. The Carmelite friers came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chappell of our ladie without the walles of saint Johns towne, which the bishop of Donkeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a monke of Melrose was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Deplis in Lou-

thian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wrapped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowne. As soone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then belieued.) King Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbey in honor of the holie crosse, in the same place where that peece of the crosse was so found. In this abbey afterwards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

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Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met together at Marke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redresse of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realms continued afterwards in more perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was seene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be seene at this day, right sumptuouslie builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that see, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yere following, which was the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet harvest preceding, so that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beside the ground.

Acho king of Norwaie, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same more than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them whole to his dominion. Hereupon, preparing an armie and a fleet of ships conuenient for such an enterprize, he landed with the same in the westerne Isles, on Laminas day otherwise called Petri ad Vincula. Those Isles continued vnder subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Isles, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of more prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Aire a certeine time, he took the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

King Alexander being sore astonished with these newes, for that he was yong, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enemies, imboldened vpon such frequent victories as they had atchieued, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waite to diminish the enemies force, by long sojourn in campe without trial of anie battell. Whereupon were ambassadozs sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed thereto, being well languaged and wise, at their first coming befoze him spake in this manner.

Were it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doe vs first to seeke redresse of all injuries receiued, before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold orators sent vnto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in ordi-

An abbey built.

An interview March. Paris writeth that in the yere 1256, both A. Alexander & his wife came into England to visit king Henrie, whom they found at Woodstoke, as in the English chronicles further appeareth.

I 262.

A great dearth

Acho king of Norwaie.

The westerne Isles vnder subiection of the Danes & Norwegians.

Acho landed in Albion.

The castell of Aire besieged and wonne.

King Alexander's purpose to infect his enemies force.

Ambassadozs sent to Acho.

The oration of one of the ambassadozs.

Peace to preferred love sworn

wherefore warres to be made

The cause their met

Burning churches

King Alexander's answer.

The cause of the warres

“ nance of battell comming towarde you to giue the
onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so
much gaine by victorie of the enemies, no though
they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that
we account it much better to haue peace, if we may
haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some ma-
ner of honest meanes. For that greater folleie may
be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may
be purchased with faire and quiet wordes: neuerthe-
lesse, when our iust desires and reasonable motions
are refused of the enemies, when we find them not
willing to haue peace (for the obtaining thereof all
warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that
their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting
the quarrell: we are readie to risse whole together in
revenge of such contempts with all possible speed and
violence against our aduersaries. We are sent there-
fore from our king and soueraine, to inquire what
occasion you haue thus to invade his realme and sub-
iects, in violating that peace and league, which hath
bene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nati-
on, the space of this hundred yeres, and not onelie to
take from him his two Isles of Bute and Aran, but
also to invade the maine land of his dominions,
with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or
person seemeth to be had; but that women, children,
and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as
well as those that haue stood at resistance with wea-
pon in hand against you. What heinous offense haue
the Scottisshmen at anie time committed either a-
gainst you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may
seeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such cru-
eltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath
moued you to burne the churches of God and his
saints, with the murder of his people that flee into
the same for safegard of their liues? But if you dread
not God that governeth all things (by his diuine pro-
vidence) which here in this world we see; if ye dread
not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the
punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to
dread the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied
together in bond of amitie and marriage, which shall
come against you with such puissance, that ye shall
not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may
depart with honor, we on the behalfe of him from
whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it
is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue already
done, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduen-
ture to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that
when ye shall be constrained to seeke for mercie, the
same in no wise will be granted vnto you. ¶ These
wordes were spoken by the ambassadores, vpon pur-
pose to put some terror into the hart of this hardie
king Acho.

¶ Neuertheles he was abashed so little therewith, that
he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is
(I perceiue) ye ambassadores, to abash vs with your
fierce and awfull wordes, supposing vs so weake har-
ted, that we should leaue off our enterpryse through
your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceiued
ouerlie if your imagination be such. And where ye ex-
aggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from
you certeine Isles, we perceiue you are not meet nor
indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that
cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we
ought to esteeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye
desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why
we haue invaded Aran and Bute, we saie and af-
firm, that not onelie those two Isles pertaine to vs
and our people by good title and ancient right of inhe-
ritance, but also all the other Isles of Scotland, as
we are able by firme evidences sufficiently to proue.
And therefore are we now come to take presentlie so
much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in

issues and profits out of those Isles in times past from
vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither
his menacing wordes, nor yet anie other violence
that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if
he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lust-
eth to avoid the spoiling and burning of his townes,
and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to see
the bitter extermination of his realme afore his eyes,
command him to send vnto vs forthwith ten thou-
sand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken
vp and receiued by him and his elders in times past,
and further that he make a cleare resignation of all
claime or title that he may seeme to pretend vnto
the said Isles, in such sort that the same may passe vnder
our dominion in perpetuitie without anie con-
tradiction.

¶ When king Alexander had heard what the answer
of his enemy was, he was therewith soe moued,
perceiuing no waie to eschue the battell, but that
he should be constrained to trie fortunes chance, he
assembled together an armie of fortie thousand men,
that though he were not able to match his enemies
in prowesse, he might yet passe them in number. He
diuided his host into three battels. In the right wing
was Alexander Steward, a very valiant knight, ne-
phew to that Alexander which indowed the abbacie of
Dunblie. He had with him all the men that came south
of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left
wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the
men of Louthian, Fife, Mers, Berwick, and Stri-
ueling shire. In the middle ward was the king him-
selfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts
of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger ap-
peered. These battels were ordered in such arrate,
that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of
their owne language, to exhort them to manhood,
thereby to win praise and honor.

¶ At his entring into the confines of Conningham,
where he came first within sight of his enemies, he
called his people together, and exhorted them to do
their dutifull indeuors like hardie and valiant men,
against those enemies that invaded their countrie
without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put
their trust in almighty God, desiring him to grant
victorie vnto that part, which had most right and ius-
tice cause of battell. He further shewed how neces-
sarie it was for them to behaue themselves valiant-
lie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with
manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children,
liberties, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life
but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that
their whole safegard rested in this point, either to
vanquish their enemies with manhood, or else to liue
in feruile bondage as their slaues and miserable
thralls, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be
abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them
therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scot-
land should see them fight that day, noting both their
manhood & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust,
and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie
and ancient liberties, he trusted they would shew the
more hardinesse and courage, namelye against them
that sought onelie bloud and spoile. These with other
like wordes king Alexander vttered with bold
spirit, to encourage his people. And on the other part
king Acho likewise thought it expedient to vse some
exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be
afraid of the great number and huge multitude of
the Scots.

¶ The chiefeest point to encourage them to do val-
iantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and there-
fore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie
not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought
thither with them (which could not be small) but also
all

ming into
Scotland.

his demand.

King Alexan-
der assembleth
his power.

The ordering
of the Scottish
host.
Alexander
Steward lea-
der of the
right wing.
Patrike
Dunbar cap-
teine of the left
wing.
The king in
the middle
ward.

King Alexan-
der exhorteth
his people to
do valiantlie.

Hope of suc-
tie in what
point it rested.

The necessitie
of the cause.

Shewers of
bloud & spoile.

Acho exhor-
tation to his
people.

Hope of spoile
incurageth
men of warre.

Peace to be
preferred be-
fore warres.

wherefore
warres ought
to be moued.

The cause of
their message.

Burning of
churches.

King Achos
answer.

The cause of
Achos com-

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to inioy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient oportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to ech man for his good and valiant service. But for that high enterprises and famous exploits might neuer be achieved without extreme iopardie, it behoued them to attaine to these so great commodities by persing thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of sword the arraied battels of their enemies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might some coniecture. For though dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scottish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie infiebled, that they appeere to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on ech part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be overcome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misadventure they would yet sell their liues dearelie, and not to die unreuenged. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to do what lay in their vttermoost forces to vanquish the enemies. The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their indenoors, they arraie their battels. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scottish king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (because he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first encounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they pressed still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceassing to exhort & encourage their men to stand to the bargaine with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings played the parts of verie valiant capteins.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assailed sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he stuffed even the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse crueltie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiving themselves overpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to shrink, and first those in the left wing, constrained to breake their order, fell to running awaie. Alexander Steward therefore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enemies a certaine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into arais, brought them against the enemies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enemies, at length they began to slea

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselfe was sore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing sore discomfited: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enemies was put to flight, they recovered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceasing from the pursute of the enemies, till night made an end of that daies worke. King Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Aire, which (as ye haue heard) he had wone before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had sustained: for his fleet containing the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outrageous tempest, that there were not past foure of all that number saued, the residue being drowned and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constrained to come on land for safeguard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped.

Acho being thus abashed with these two infortunate mishances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his naue on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arrived in Orkneie. In this battell, which was fought at Largis on the third day of August, in the yere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about fife thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon saith, meth not to agree altogether herewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarcked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and toke them both, spoiling also the churches alongst the sea coast, and after arriuing at Largis in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drowned together with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, incounting with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Wondornald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & drowned in the sea, into the which they were driven. Amongest other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great valiance, and sore lamented of his vnckle. Acho had much ado to escape himselfe, he was so egerlie pursued of his enemies.

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of writers in this behalfe, that it may appeere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countrymen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his comming into Orkneie, sent into Norwaye and Denmarke for a new armie, providing ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the next spring: but for that he himselfe departed out of this life in the beginning of the yere next following, all that purueance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceased, that is to saie, the 21 day of Januarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whome he begot on his wife queene Margaret, the sister of Henrie king of England, was borne, to the great reioicing of the people. For the people conceiued double ioy & gladnesse

The left wing of the Scots in danger.

The Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots.

The losse of Achos ships by tempest.

The losse of the mariners.

Acho fleeth into Orkneie.

1263.

John Fourdon.

Embassador sent from Magnus King of Norwaye.

In time of trouble betwixt the son of Malcolm Canmore and their vnckle Donald, Magnus the son of Ache subdue these Isles. Richard Southwell.

Wulphed King of Man. Reginald. 1228. Ache, or Acheus. 1230.

Hulbac. Insule Sodones. Acheus and Godfredus. But. Hulbac Acheus.

Acheus and Godfredus dwelt in the kinde of the Isles betwixt them.

1237. Acheus. Harold.

1247. Harold passed into Norwaye. As he returned in his return.

High enterprises achieved with extreme perill.

The ordering of the battels.

The battels some.

The valiance of the kings.

The great number of Scottishmen.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Achos nephue is slaine.

The maine battell of the Norwegians fleeth.

ness hereof, because that both a new prince was borne, and that crinie dead which sought the destruction of the whole realme. After the deceasse of king Achy, his sonne Magnus succeeded him, a verie faithfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eyes.

In the second yere of his reigne, he sent his ambassadores (of whom the chiefe was the chancelor of Norwaie) unto king Alexander, whom they found at saint Johns towne, and there signified unto him, that king Magnus their maister would willingly give over all his title, right, and claime unto Alan and Butte, so that the residue of the Isles might remaine in quiet possession of him and his successors in time coming. Hereunto was answer made by king Alexander, that the Isles by right of old inheritance pertained unto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make any agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he had reconcered the full possession of the same Isles. The ambassadores being dispatched and sent awate with this answer, incontinentlie Alexander Steward of Dalreie, and John Cummin were sent with an armie over into Man, which Ile they then reconcered (though not without blood) forth of the hands of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the same in possession now for the space of 167 yeres passed, but not without some alteration and trouble, as may appere by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as should seme) well instructed in matters as well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as also concerning the state of the out Isles. And therefore that the same may the better appere to the readers, I have thought it not impertinent to set downe what I have read in the same Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroies of Man, and those Isles which for a season (as should seme in deed) were substituted by the kings of Norwaie, though it may also appere, that sometime there was a certeine succession in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c. in manner as if it had bene by waie of inheritance.

In the daies of king John therefore (as saith the foresaid Southwell) one Godfred reigned as king in Man. And in the yere 1228, one Reginald being king of those Isles, was murdered by wicked persons, & then his brother Olave reigned in his place. In the yere 1230, the king of Norwaie appointed one Husbac, the sonne of Olmund (surnamed Baron) to gouerne the said Isles called Sodorrenes, that is to say, the Ile of Man, & the other Isles thereabouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Husbac, together with two other capteins Olave and Godfred, surnamed Don, came by sea, and arrived at Butte, where they wan the castell: but Husbac was slaine with a stone that was throwne downe upon him. And then after this, the foresaid Olave and Godfred came unto the Ile of Man, where they divided the kingdome of the Isles betwixt them, so as Olave had Man allotted to him for his part, and Godfred the other Isles. But after that Godfred was also slaine, Olave gouerned both in Man, and in all the other Isles (those excepted which the sonnes of Somerleith held in possession.) In the yere 1237, in the moneth of Maie, Alane king of Man, the sonne of Godfred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose deceasse his sonne Harold succeeded him, and reigned 12 yeres, being but 14 yeres of age when he began his reigne.

In the yere 1247, Haco king of Norwaie sent for Harold king of Man to come unto his coronation, who coming thither, was honorablie received, and obtained king Hacos daughter in marriage: but as he returned from thence, in the yere 1249,

together with his wife, they perished in the seas by a tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succeeded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was slaine the first of June the same yere, by the servants of a knight called Puarus. Then Harold the sonne of Godfred Don gouerned Man one yere, being remoued by the king of Norwaie: & after him Magnus the sonne of Olave began his reigne over Man & the other Isles, by consent of the Manikemen themselves. But in the yere 1254, one Puarus was ordered king, or rather viceroi of those Isles, & gouerned the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of Norwaie resigned his title to all the said Isles unto king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whom the first was called Godfred mac Hares, the second Alane. And after him Maurice Harsaire succeeded; and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

For the tyme of the resignation made, I follow Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarietie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeres assigned to the reignes of those Island kings, if you confer the same with the tyme of the foresaid resignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of those Isles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirtene ships, and five hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he should thereto be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrise, and March, Alexander Steward, with the thanes of Argile, and Lennos, sent with a puissant armie unto the other of the wessterne Isles, the which those that were greaterst, they brought with much ado under the obissance of the crowne of Scotland, the residue submitted themselves.

Magnus king of Norwaie informed hereof, sent messengers his chancelor in ambassage unto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe those Isles: and if he might not bring that to passe, yet to compound with him for a pecunie tribute. The first motion of the chancelor would in no wise be heard, therefore surceasing to spend any longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the second, which took effect at length in this wise. King Magnus by his letters under his great seale, renounced and gaue over his right or claime that he had or might haue, both for him and his successors to all the Isles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie the said king of Norwaie, foure thousand marks sterling, together with a pension or tribute of an hundred marks by yere. And for the more confirmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not past one yeres of age, was promised in marriage unto Danigo, the sonne of king Magnus, the same marriage to be consummated when she came to yeres mariable. Further, in place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and Norwegians had bene made, it was covenanted that an hospitall should be erected & founded there, for the sustentation of poore folks.

About this season, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whom the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, and diuerse other. B. Henrie being not well able to withstand his aduersaries attempts, requested B. Alexander to send him some aid of Scots to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres against him. Whereupon shortly after, was Alexander Cummin, with five thousand chosen men, sent by king Alexander into England, who right valiantlie bare themselves in that war with king

1240.
Reginald.
He began to
reigne the first
of Maie.
Puarus.
Harold.

Magnus.

1254.
Puarus.

Lieutenant or
bailife of the
Ile of Man
under the
Scots.

The wessterne
Isles reconce-
red out of the
hands of the
Norwegians

The chancel-
lor of Nor-
waie ambassa-
dor to king
Alexander.

The release of
Magnus
king of Nor-
waie to the
Scottish Isles.

A pecunie
pension.

Margaret B.
Alexanders
daughter.

warre in
England.

King Henrie
required aid of
the Scots.

Alexander
Cummin sent
into Eng-
land.

Embassadores
sent from
Magnus k.
of Norwaie to
king Alexan-
der.

In time of the
trouble be-
tweene the sons
of Malcolm
Cannmore and
their vncle
Donald Bane
Magnus k.
of Norwaie
the son of O-
lue subdued
these Isles.
Richard South-
well.

Godfred king
of Man.
Reginald.
1228.
Olave, or O-
laus.
1230.
Husbac.
Infelze Sodo-
renes.
Olavus and
Godfredus.
Butte.
Husbac slaine.

Olavus and
Godfredus di-
vide the king-
dome of the
Isles betwixt
them.

1237.
Alane.

Harold.

1247.
Harold passeth
into Norwaie.
Island wonne
in his returne.

left being
the Scots
anger.

Danes
Norwe-
as chased
the Scots.

Isle of
as ships
impett.

Isle of
mariners,
fleeth in
skencie.

263.
Fourdon.

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king Henrie held against his barons, whereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath writtten) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood liued, with his fellow little John, of whome are many fables and merie tests deuised and song amongst the bulgar people. But Iohn Maior writteth that they liued (as he doth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domesticall enemies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of lenieng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not receiued into the realme, but commanded to shew his message vpon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbete foure score marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase fauor to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be vsed in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anye statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall counsell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offenders are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuertheless if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie othertwise forth, the realme would not depart with anye, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of theues, as it had bene aforesaid.

Henrie king of England praised much the wisdom of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortly after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the queene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Roxburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that k. Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in silver: and vnto Lewis the French king, that required his aid in that iourne which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand souldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, John Steward brother of Alexander Steward, Alexander Cummin, Robert Beth, George Durward, John Quincie, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with k. Lewis into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enemies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (where to they had not bene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inioy his lands, sauing a daughter named Martha, being then about fiftene yeares of age. This yong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as the vse is, fortuned by aduenture to meet with a noble yong man one Robert Bruce the sonne and heire to Robert Bruce the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabell the second daughter of David earle of Huntington. The ladie immediatlie became so inamored of this yong gentleman, that she led him with hir home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priuie to the matter) she married him in all hast, least any

man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this mariage was borne that Robert Bruce which afterwards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) attained the crowne of Scotland. As sone as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he toke such indignation that she should bestow hir selfe so lightlie vpon one whom he neuer saw before, that he seized hir castell of Turneburie into his hands, with all hir other lands and possessions, as it were by escheat, for that she had married without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he toke pitie on hir case, and for an easie composition of monie which she paid for hir mariage, restored to hir againe all hir lands and livings, suffering hir to inioy hir husband without anye more trouble or vexation. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembered Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sautour 1274, David the second son of king Alexander deceased; and the third yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the queene their sister, & their brother in law the k. & after did attend them in their iourne to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernement of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

At the same time there was a Norman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whome he wrestled, till at length one Ferquhard a Scottishman borne of the countrie of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, banquished him to his great praise & advancement in honor: for king Alexander in guerdon of so worthy a deed there done in the presence of so honorable an assemblie, gaue vnto him the earldome of Rosse for evermore. Of this Ferquhard succeeded five earles all of his surname, but the first earle was named William Rosse, otherwise Leslie, in whose sonne the seventh earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earldome of Huntington, as the Scottish writers doe testifie. Shortly after that king Alexander was returned forth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife queene Margaret deceased, and was buried in Dunfirmling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and David, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was married about thre yeares after hir mothers deceasse, vnto Hamigo, or rather Aquine king of Portugal, and deceased in the second yeare after the solemnization of the mariage, leauing behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

But before this hap fell so out, even immediatlie after the death of queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger sonne David deceased: by reason whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a mariage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was married vnto the said prince in Jedburgh, on the sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this mariage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continually for the space of fiftene daies togither. & This yeare a number of the Scottish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Portugal, were lost

King Alexander displeased with the foresaid Martha.

Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland is borne, 1274.

King Alexander with his wife the queene came to London.

A Norman of passing strength. Ferquhard a Scottishman ouerthrew the said Norman.

The earldome of Rosse given to William Rosse alias Leslie.

The death of queene Margaret.

The mariage of Margaret king Alexanders daughter.

The death of David sonne to king Alexander.

The mariage of Alexander prince of Scotland.

1279.

Robin Hood and little John his companion.

A legat from pope Clement

The legats demand.

The answer of king Alexander to the legats message.

The more precepts the more offenders.

King Alexanders wife commended by king Henrie.

A thousand marks sent to the pope.

Scottish captains sent into Affrike.

1270. Thomas earle of Carrike.

Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

Robert Bruce.

Robert Bruce married to Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

lost by shipwacke, as they would haue returned backe againe to Scotland after the consummation of his marriage there with king Hamo or Aquino. Shortly after, by the force of deaths dreadfull and cruell, and greivous losses chanced vnto king Alexander, the one following in the necke of another. For first his eldest sonne prince Alexander, being not past twentie yeares of age, departed out of this world, without leaving any issue behind him: and not long after, his daughter Margaret quene of Scotland deceased also, leaving behind her one onlie daughter as before is mentioned being as yet but an infant.

In the same yeere was a generall councill holden at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the prelates of christendome being there assembled. To this councill were summoned to appeare all the provincials, wardens, and ministers of the begging friers. And for that there were so many summe orders of them, each man devising of his owne braine some new alteration: all those orders were reduced into the four orders, which after by the church of Rome were approued and allowed. A generall commandement was also given, that no man should go about to begin any new forme of such vaine superstitious orders, which appoint themselves to eschew labor, to the end they may liue in pleasure, lust & idleness, vpon the trauell of other mens bowes. In this mean tyme, after that the christian armie was returned home out of Affrike, by reason of a truce concluded with the Soldan, the same Soldan (that truce notwithstanding) ceased not to make great slaughters and ransoms vpon those christian men that remained behind. The christian princes for moued herewith, made their appelles for a new expedition into the holie land. The Scots gaue the tenth parte of all their lands, or rather (as some booke say) the tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the furtherance of this iourne: notwithstanding through such enuie and contentions as rose amongst the said princes, that iourne brake, to the great damage and preiudice of the christian faith.

King Alexander having lost his wife and children in manner as is before expressed, not onlie he himselfe, but also all Scotland was in great penurienesse and sorrow, each man by a certaine foreiudgement and misgiuing in mind, doubting the mischance that might therof insue. But yet did king Alexander, by the aduise of his nobles, in hope of new issue, marrie the daughter of the earle of Champagne in France, named Yolant. The marriage was celebrated at Jedburgh with great feasting and triumph: but that ioy and blithnesse indured not long after. For the same yeere on the 18 day of April, as he was galloping vpon a fierce horse at Kingorne, forcing him in his race somewhat rashly, he was throught ouer the west cliffe towards the sea by a wonderfull misfortune, so ruellie, that he brake his necke, and so therewith immediatly died in the 42 yeere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfermling, in the yeere after the incarnation 1290. It is said, that the daie before the kings death, the earle of March a little before night, demanded of one Thomas Lermont, otherwise named Thomas the rimer, or (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) Thomas Crilston (who in those daies was reputed for a noble prophet) or (as we may call him) a soothsayer, what weather they should haue on the morrow. To whome the said Thomas answered, that on the morrow [before none] should blowe the worst wind and tempest that euer was heard of in Scotland at any time before.

On the morrow when the skie appeared cleare and bright, without cloud or any other signe of foul

weather, and that it blew more vnto the midst of the daie, and no wind heard from any side, but all calme and quiet. The earle of March sent for the forenamed Thomas, and told him that he had mistaken his marks, in prophesying of any such notable tempest as he had spoken of the night before, considering it promised so lithe a daie, without appearance of any tempest to insue. This Thomas said little thereto, saying that he said it was not yet past none. And incontinentlie hereupon came a post to the castel gate of Dunbar, where this earle of March as then lay, bringing word of the kings sudden death, as before is recited. Then said the prophet: That is the scathfull wind and dreadfull tempest, which shall blow such calamitie and trouble to the whole state of the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was a man in great admiration of the people, shewing sundrie things, as they afterward chanced: howbeit they were euer hid and inuolued vnder the veile of dark and obscure speeches.

Many strange wonders and unkin sights were seene in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the 17 yeere of his reigne, there was such an infinite number of woggles through all the parties of Albion, that not onlie the leaues and frutes of trees, but also flowers & herbes in gardens were eaten by and consumed with them. And in the same yeere, the waters of Forth and Tay rose with such high fides in flowing ouer the banks, that many townes and villages were drowned, to the great destruction both of men and beasts. In the 20 yeere of his reigne, there was a comet or blasing starre seene of a meruelous quantitie, shining euery day toward the south, euen about none daies. On the Epiphany day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes of such vncalurable great hailstones, that many townes were throwne downe by violence thereof. In the meane tyme, rose through the vehement rage of winds, a sudden fire, in many bounds within the realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to building and edifices, burning by sleeples with such force of fire, that the belies were in diuers places melted, as though it had bene in a furnace. Amongest other, those of the abbey of Abirbrothoke were most precious, which were as then consumed together with the steeple wherein they hang. The townes of Aberdeen and Perth were burned the same tyme: also part of Lamrik, with the temple, and all the townes and villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise many townes and other buildings in Lothian, and in diuers other parts of the realme, so long here rehearse.

In the 21 yeere of his reigne, was the first coming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great mortallitie of the people, where it had not bene heard that euer this sickness had come within that realme before that tyme. In the solemnization of the second marriage of king Alexander, as the bridegrome according to the manner led the brude in a dance, a great number of lords and ladies following them in the same dance, there appeared to their sight as it were closing vp the hindermost of the dancers, a creature resembling death, all naked of flesh & hirc, with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through which spectacle, the king and the restour of all the companie were so affrighted, and put in such fright & feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their dance for that tyme. In the daies of this Alexander the third, liued sundrie great clearkes. Amongst other, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent physician, and for his singular practise & knowledge in that profession was no lesse esteemed and had in high fauour both Edward king of England, than both king Alexander, during his life tyme.

* This

Francis Thins
addition, to
this marke.)

The lawes of
Alexander the
third.

* This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, whereof most by the negligence of men, and longnesse of time are worne away; so that things so profitablie by him deuised, seeme rather by report to haue bene ordeined, than that they are by custome practised. He diuided the kingdome into foure parts, through which he made his progresse almost euerie yere, remaining about thre moneths in euerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poore, at what time the meanest person might haue free accesse vnto him. As often as he went into anie prouince to giue sentence of law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to receiue him with a chosen companie; and when he departed thence, to bring him to the borders of his iurisdiction, where he was honorablie receiued of the next gouernors. The which traouelling about his realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of all others. During which time of his progresse, no great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow him; because he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and for that cause also abated and restrained the troope of horsemen which followed the nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane number, because he supposed that the multitude of horses (whereof in warre there was no vse) were needlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbade his people to trauell by sea for gaine or merchandize, when he considered that through the unskillfulness of sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing themselves to the seas, and the rapine of pirats, manie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby the merchants were driuen to extreame pouertie. Which precept when it had continued almost a whole yere; and by manie mens speeches was reprehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arrived such plentie of strange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapenesse thereof did exceed the memorie of ante former age. But yet to take order with and for the benefit of the merchants, he forbade his people to buie anie thing brought in by strangers, but such as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people should buie of them such things as they needed.)

Scotland
without a k.
and gouernor.

Whiche fees
insuing for
lacke of a
king.

Six gouer-
nors chosen to
haue the rule
of Scotland.

King Alexander the third, being in such miserable wise deceased, as before is specified, the realme remained in great discomfort, by reason he had neither left anie issue behind him to succed in the gouernment thereof, neither taken order in his life time by testament, or otherwise, for anie other to supplie the come of a gouernor, so that hereof insued such infinit misorders, by the presumption of wicked and ungracious persons, the which vpon hope to escape unpunished (because iustice was like to want due procelle) ceased not to attempt manie unlawfull acts, to the grievous oppression of the people: which misruled demcanors and disordered enterprises of those outrageous persons, when such as had anie zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderstood daillie to multiplie and increase; they thought it appertained to their duties to prouide some remedie in due time, and there vpon called a councell together, wherein after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finally agreed, that six gouernors should be elected and chosen, of the which thre should haue the administration and rule of the north parts, and these were William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, & John Cumin earle of Buchquane. The other thre were appointed to the gouernance of the south countries, that is to say, Robert bishop of Glasgow, sir John Cumin (a man of high estima-

tion for his wisdom and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) and James high steward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, surnamed Longshanks, cast in his mind, how he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it. And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of Forwaite (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though the were but verie young in yeres, & not able for marriage: yet to compasse his purpose that waies forth, he sent his ambassadors vnto the lords of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme with all, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had, consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liberties, without anie kind of seruaile subiection, in the same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies of king Alexander last deceased, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chanced, that no issue came of this marriage to succed them, then should the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anie claime or pretext of title to be made by king Edward, or anie of his successors in time to come.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, sir John Scot of Albaluore, and sir James Mennis, were sent into Forwaite to fetch the bride ouer into Scotland: but before their coming thither, shee was deceased, & so they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Englishmen and Scots ceased. Then began to insue great trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of king Alexander, for the title and claime which they severallie made and pretended to the crowne. Where were thre chiefe that seemed by nearnesse of blood to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest sute in their claime: John Balioll, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. This Robert Bruce was sonne to the son of that Robert Bruce, which married Isabel the yongest daughter to Dauid earle of Huntington, on whom he got a son named also Robert, that married the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruce was, that now claimed the crowne. John Balioll came of Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid Dauid earle of Huntington: for Alane lord of Galloway, which married the said Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldest named Deruogill, was giuen in marriage vnto sir John Balioll, father vnto this John Balioll, that thus made claime to the crowne; alledging that forsomuch that he was come of the eldest daughter of earle Dauid, the brother of king William, he ought by reason to be reputed as next heire to the same king William, with none other person alie approached so nere vnto him in blood.

* Here I thinke it convenient before any more be spoken of this historie, to interlace somewhat (besides that which is alreadie spoken, being here in part repeated) of the descent of this Deruogill, the daughter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the same somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of William B. of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ 1160, as faith Lesleus, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergusius gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at variance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided betwixt them in equall portions. This brall coming to the eares of king William, he was desirous to quench

How can this
be true, when
k. Edward
had a wife at
that time: but
verlie the
Scottish wri-
ters shew
themselves o-
uercome with
too much ma-
lice in most
things which
they write in
the defamati-
on of k. Edward.

The daughter
of Forwaite
deceased.

The conten-
tion betwixt
the kinsmen of
k. Alexander
for the crown.
See more of
this matter in
the English
histories.

The ancestors
of Robert le
Bruce.

The line of
the Balioll
with his title
to the crowne.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

Wil. Paruus
nameth him
Ethred.

Of this ma-
ter though
somehow
created bet-
pag. 275.
The cruel
done by
another.

Gilpat-
ter other sp-
Scotland

Gilcon-
spoleth
countie

What
time for
Galloway

quench those flames of unkindnesse betwene the said brethren, and for thit cause with indifferencie (as he supposed) he ment to pacifie and satisfie each part, by dividing the inheritance equally betwene them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in grudge (because he was eldest, & that the whole inheritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue both the king and his brother, the one as envious against him, and the other as an unequall indge, in giving his right from him. Wherefore when king William was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings mishap out of all danger, being delivered from the feare of anie law) began to utter his conceived hatred till this time covertlie concealed. For upon the sudden, he took his brother prisoner, put out his eyes, cut out his tongue, and not contented with a simple death (to be given unto him at one instant) did most miserable a long time together put him to paine, by dismembred the severall parts of his bodie, before he should die. After which wretched fact against his owne brother, he joined himselfe to the English nation, and taking parties on the borders, he did unnatural and traitorouslie (as it were an utter enemy to his countrie) rage against his owne citizens, with all kind of murder and slaughter of battell. In which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if he had not bene resisted by his nephew Rowland (gathering a strong power to him of such common people as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the imprisoned king) he had utterlie spoiled all the countries adjoining to England, or else would wholie have brought them into his subiection. For this Rowland a lustie young gentleman, bold of spirit, induced with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not onelie beat downe the force of his uncle, but did many times (and that sometimes most happilie) fight with the English, when they spoiled his native soile, or that he made anie invasion into their borders.

At length when king William was delivered of restraint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert (notwithstanding all his former evils) by the mediation of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promised to make recompense of all such damages as he had committed; for the sure performance whereof, he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert shortly after departing this life, they which had served under him, given by continuall use unto thest and blood, did yield themselves to the favourable protection of the king of England, either for inconstancie of mind, or feare of punishment, being touched with remorse of conscience for the euill which they had before committed. These men thus shadowed under the wings of England, did againe take armes against their countrie, under the conduct of Gilpatrick, Henrie Bennedie, and Samuell, who before had bene authors and executors to Gilbert, of all such evils as were by him performed. Against whom was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set battell slew the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds of the common people. They which escaped the conquest, did flee to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine of such persons as lived upon spoile and pilfering, who by continuance of followers, & increase of people, were now growne to some number, & did wander ouer all Louthian, robbing & spoiling in euery place where they set foot: and not so content, did from thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe took in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now utterly forsaken of all men) under colour whereof, he not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of all Galloway. At length incountered with this

Rowland in the kalends of October (the third moneth after the companie of this Gilbert was before dispersed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie slaine, with the greatest number of his followers, by the said Rowland, on whose part there was verie few missing.

The king of England highlie offended therewith (because the yere before they had sworn themselves to serve faithfullie under him against their owne blood) came in haste with a maine armie to Carleill to take reuenge thereof. Which when William king of Scots understood, he laboured by all the meanes he could, to appease the king of Englands displeasure, and to reconcile this Rowland unto him. In the end the king of Scots wrought so with the English, that Rowland was admitted to come to Carleill to the presence of the king of England: the which Rowland did accordingly. At what time before the king of England, refelling the slanderous accusations of his aduersaries (and further declaring that he had done nothing either rashlie, or vnjustlie against his and the common wealths enemy) he was honorable by the English king suffered to depart from Carleill. These things thus done, & king William returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance the continuall constancie and good service, which the father of Rowland had many times done to him and to the realme; therewithall not forgetting the worthie exploits which this Rowland had of late performed for the common wealth: for which considerations he worthilie recompensed the said Rowland, in bestowing on him the whole countrie of Galloway. And further (although he did not merit the same by reason of his fathers evils) yet the king mildly considering, that the sonne was not to beare the offense of the father (but hoping by this vnderfused liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to serve him) did giue the lands of Carrick unto the sonne of the said Gilbert. All which William Paruus reporteth to haue happened in the yere of Christ 1183.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway, married the sister of William Spornill constable of Scotland, who dieng without issue, obtained the same office by inheritance in right of his wife, from whome did issue Alane lord of Galloway, and constable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother, a valiant gentleman, and such a person as for his notable seruice (imployed in Ireland on the behalfe of John king of England) was rewarded by the said king with honorable and rich reuenues: for which by the permission of William king of Scotland, he professed himselfe the liege man of John king of England, and swore fealtie unto him. This Alane (as is before said) married Margaret the elder daughter of David earle of Huntingdon, of whome he raised three daughters, whereof the eldest being Dornagill, was married to Balioll, the second to Bruce: in right of which Dornagill, the sonne of this Balioll challenged the crowne of Scotland, as descended from the elder sister. On the other side Robert Bruce, albeit he was descended of the youngest daughter to earle David, yet was he come of the first issue male, for his father was first borne, and therefore if king William had deceased without issue, the crowne had descended to him: for which consideration he maintained that he ought now to be preferred. Hastings also for his part, because he was come of the youngest daughter of king David, married to his father Henrie Hastings, wanted not allegations to propound, why he ought to be admitted. Beside these, there were other also, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter sufficient to mainteine their sute. This controuersie being brought before the gouernors, was at sundrie times argued with much contention,

Of this matter though not so fullie is somewhat intreated before, pag. 275. The crueltie of one brother to another.

Gilcombe slaine.

Rowland restored to the fauour of the king of England.

Rowland made lord of Galloway.

Carrick giuen to the sonne of Gilbert.

Rowland constable of Scotland.

Alane lord of Galloway, & constable of Scotland.

The title of Robert Bruce.

Hastings.

Gilpatrick & other spoile Scotland.

Gilcombe spoiled his countrie.

He took him the lord of Galloway.

fention, not without the assistance of the nobles favouring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kindred moved them, namely Balioll and Bruce had no small number that leaned unto their parts, by reason whereof, the governours were in doubt to proceed to any definite sentence in the matter, least if they declared one of them king, another would attempt to usurpe the crowne by force.

Whereupon they iudged it best to referre the decision of all this whole matter to some mightie king, which was of puissance able to constrain the parties repugnant to obeye his sentence. Whereunto was none thought so meet as Edward king of England, and therefore they chose him. [Of whose faith and love towards them, they did not any whit mistrust, because Alexander the last king of Scots had found the father of this Edward, both a loving father in law to himselfe, and upright tutor to his realme. Whereunto also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward, for that the said Edward had of late before tried the favour of the Scots towards him, by a singular testimonie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.] Whereupon king Edward toke this charge upon him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certain day to come unto Berwik, willing that their counsell might be assembled there against that time. At his coming thither, at the day assigned, and having heard what could be said on each part, and throughly considering at length their allegations, he perceived the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to discuss the truth by good advice of counsell: and therefore required to have twelve Scottishmen, the best learned and most skillfull lawyers of all the realme to be associat with twelve Englishmen, which he promised to choose forth of the most perfect and wisest clerks that might be found within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe and advised debating of the matter, the truth might appeere, according to the which he minded to give sentence, without favour either of one part or other. [Before which he toke a solemne oath of the ambassadoers of Scotland, and such nobles as were there to stand to his definitive sentence, further thereupon requiring a writing to be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.] After when all such matters and proses as were proposed by the parties, alledged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of record, he returned backe againe into England.

¶ Here the Scottish writers report, that king Edward used himselfe nothing uprightly in this matter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the eyes of his conscience blinded, upon hope to gaine somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But how unjustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leave to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scots doe write thereof, with that which is to be found in our English historie. But to proceed as we find it in the Scottish writers. King Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth, sent into France for men learned and of great experience in the lawes, that he might have their opinions in the demands of the parties for their doubtful rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first commanded them in no wise to agree upon any resolute point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the place should seeme doubtfull by reason of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better under that colour, give iudgement with which partie he thought most expedient to serve his purpose.

Howbeit the most part of the lawyers iudged with Robert Bruce, both for the worthines of his person, and also for that he was come of the first issue male. But some there were that gave sentence with John

Balioll, for that he was descended of the eldest sister. King Edward supposing this to be the time most convenient for his purposed intention to conquer the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwik, where he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified, to be present, that finall sentence might be given, according as he had before promised. When he was come thus unto Berwik, and the foresaid 24 learned lawyers assembled as assistants with him, and the parties appearing before him in a chamber provided for the purpose, he caused the doores to be suerly kept, and the entries strongly warded, that no man might come in or out, but by his appointment and licence. His purpose was to make him king, that would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of him, as superior lord thereof. And because he knew that Robert Bruce was a man of singular manhood and wisdom, he thought best to assaie him first, and if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then he minded to trie what the Balioll would doe.

When Robert Bruce had by this sight heard king Edwards motion, he answered that he would the libertie of his countrie, more than his private profit, and therefore minded not to deliver his countrie (which even to that day had bene it) into the bondage and servitude of the Englishmen. King Edward perceiving his stoutnesse of stomach, brake off with him, and fell in talk with the Balioll, who had such blind desire to attaine the crowne, that he passed not whether he intioied the same in libertie or servitude, so he might have it. Whereupon when this Balioll had given his faith by assured oath unto king Edward, that he would doe homage unto him for the realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the same of him as superior lord, king Edward gave sentence with him, to have most right to the crowne and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

It is said, that the earle of Gloucester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing the Balioll thus made king, and Robert Bruce without reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Edward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this day, sparing to give righteous sentence in this matter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences, and the secrets of euery mans mind, shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now given sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be given on thee. Shortly after, John Balioll went in great arraie unto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland on saint Andrews day, in the yere from the incarnation 1292.

In the yere next ensuing, on saint Stephens day in Christmalle, he came to Berwick upon Tyne, and there did homage unto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his realme (which had remained in freedom unto those daies) into the servitude of the Englishmen: but small felicitie succeeded thereof. And here it appeareth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland, which held with Balioll, did also their homage: for being farre from home, they durst not contend against the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it grievouslie in their hart, dissembled with the present one, and couered their anger vnder the cinders of a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out, notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declaration and profe thereof, there was shortly after occasion offered to Makduffe, by the death of the earle of Fife, being (in the time when there was no king) made one of the six governours of the realme: for this earle was not onely killed by these of Abirneschie (which

R. Edward cometh to Berwik.

The purpose of king Edward, as the Scots do in vniuersal report.

The answer of Robert Bruce.

The Balioll promiseth to doe homage to king Edward

The saying of the earle of Gloucester (as the Scots write, but not like to be true.) King Edward was no man so to be dealt with.

John Balioll crowned king of Scotland.

1292. John Balioll doth homage to king Edward. So say the Scottish writers, but how trulie, read more hercot in England. Fr. Thin. Buchana. li. 8.

The doubt of the governours

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The title doubtfull.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. The nobles sweare to stand to the order of king Edward.

This report of the Scottish writers smelleth altogether of malice conceived against him, for that he scourged them so sore for their vntruths.

Respect of persons in deciding controuersies is not to be considered.

(which familie did then greatlie flourish in riches and authoritie within Scotland) but the brother also of the said earle was called into law by the Abirneithians, for whome the king in assemble of the states did give sentence against the other. This Makouffe after the land whereof the contention grew was so abused, supposing therein the king to be more bruite against him than was cause, and that the king was not so severe a reneger of his brothers death, as he hoped that he would be; forsooke the Balioll, and appealed to the king of England, before whom he commended his sute against Balioll. The deciding whereof was appointed to be holden at London, where was an assemble of parlement of the nobilitie, after the English manner, amongst whome this Balioll had his place also.

John Balioll king of Scots answered a sute commended against him in the parliament of England as an inferior person should.

The parlement begun and Balioll there summoned or cited, would have answered by his proctor or attorney: but this (not being allowed) Balioll was compelled to rise out of his seat, and to defend his cause himselfe in an inferior place. Which contumelie when he durst not at anie time redresse, secretly he still bare in mind, untill fit oportunitie might answer the reuenge thereof. But when he would, and then could not deliuer himselfe of such disgrace; he returned home with a mind of deadlie anger, rolling mounteins of choler therein, who still bending himselfe on euerie side to satisfie his anger, dwelled on this point; how he might reconcile the hearts of his subiects: and offend the state of the English. Whilist Balioll with this meditation was feeding his hot stomach, a fit means was now offered to performe his desire, by reason of the wars newlie growen betwene England and France, as after shall appeare. For vpon this occasion of wars, king Edward of England commanded this Balioll by tenure of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his warres against the king of France.)

John Balioll repenteth him

King John Balioll incontinently heretofore became repentant, in that he had endangered himselfe thus by doing his homage; and thereupon sent his ambassadoers to king Edward, as then sojourning at London, to renounce his act touching the same homage, alledging that for so much as it was done without the aduise of the thre estates of Scotland, it was of no strength in it selfe, and not mete to be observed being done by force; for which cause he would renounce his friendship and alliance, as well for manie other injuries done unto him and his; as for that he would seeke to restore his countrie to his former libertie. Which message when none of the better sort durst take in hand to execute, a certeine monk (or as other haue the abbat of Alberghie) carried these letters into England, vpon the receipt whereof, king Edward answered the ambassadoers (whom he talented with innumerable contumelies) that since we perceiue (saith he) your king will not come vnto vs, we intend shortly to come vnto him, wherewith the ambassadoers departed. Butus (saith Buchanan) could scarcelye returne home in safetie: being at his returne into Scotland rather had in contempt of his owne people, than anie iot reuerenced for such an ambassage.

Fr. Thin.

Ambassadoers into England

The league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

After this, king Edward the better to accomplish his purpose against the Scots, found means to conclude a peace with the king of France, and for the more confirmation of the same peace, the French kings daughter was giuen in marriage vnto king Edward his sonne. Whereupon (as saith the Scottish chronicle) he purposed (when he had wrought his will once against the Scots) to invade France as fiercely as before, notwithstanding anie bond of amitie or marriage by him contracted. After this, he

procured the friendship of Robert Bruce, and vpon promise (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the same Robert deliuered into king Edward his hands all such castles as he held in Scotland. John Balioll the Scottish king, vnderstanding that king Edward minded to make a conquest vpon him, sent William bishop of saint Andrews, and Matthew bishop of Dunkeld, with sir John Scotlis, and sir Ingram Wicraill into France, to renew the ancient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as then king of France; which accordingly was done; and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldest daughter of Charles earle of Callois and Anou, brother to king Philip, was promised in marriage vnto Edward Balioll, the sonne of king John, which Edward should inioyn lands of yearelie rents & reuenues to the summe of fiftene hundred pounds sterling, in places not of the demelines belonging to the crowne, as Ballienille, Dampiere, Harecourt, and Horneis, which his father held in France with Lanarke, Kibston, Walbesele, Cuninghame, and the castell of Dundee, with the appurtenances in Scotland; and hereto was annexed a promise, that if those feignories and places exceeded the value of fiftene hundred pounds of yearelie reuenues, then should the surplusage remaine to the k. of Scotland: but if the same amounted not to that summe, then should the said king make them good, and supplie the same with other rents in Scotland, or otherwise, as should be thought meet. And further, the said summe of fiftene hundred pounds in yearelie rent was assigned as it were the dower of the said ladie, to inioyn to hir selfe during hir life after hir husbands deceasse, if hir hap were to suruiue him.

In consideration whereof, king Philip covenanted to content and pay vnto king John in name of the marriage monte, the summe of 40000 crownes, or (as other write) 25000 pounds Turinois. The charter containing the articles, covenants, and agreements of this marriage and league aboue mentioned, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king John to the said bishop of saint Andrews, & the other his associates, bare date at Striueling, the third nones of Julie the same yeare. Shortly heretofore, king John was aduertised that king Edward purposed to come and besiege Berwik; wherefore by aduise of his nobles he sent the most part of all the lords and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian vnto Berwik, to defend the towne against the enimie, if he came to besiege it. The Englishmen came not onelie with a mightie power by land, but also with a great nanie by sea towards the said towne of Berwik. Of whose coming the Scots being aduertised, came forth against those that approached by sea, took 17 of their ships, and chased awaie the residue.

King Edward rather provoked than feared with this misadventure, came with a farre greater puissance than before, to renew the siege: but when he perceiued his purpose took not so speedie effect as he hoped it should haue done, he devised how to take this towne by some slightfull policie. Whereupon he feined as though he would haue broken by his siege, and so raising his campe, withdrew a little from the towne, and then hauing provided banners and ensignes, resembling altogether such as diuerse noble men in Scotland used, he suddenly returned toward the towne, euery one of his souldiers wearing a a crosse of saint Andrews aboue on their harnesse, after the manner of the Scottishmen. There were also sent before vnto the towne, certeine Scots that serued the king of England, which gaue knowledge to the captains within the towne, that their lord king

Ex chron. A. 1 bindon, as I take it.

McGor Boetius. Abindon.

1295.

The gentlemen of Fife, and Louthian sent to Berwik to defend it against the Englishmen.

English ships taken at Berwik.

Berwik besieged.

The policie of king Edward to win Berwik.

S. 11.

John

John was coming with his army to the Scots. The Scots that were within the towne, believing it had bene most true; & upon the gates, and came forth against them. King John (as they supposed) to have received him with all joy and gladness.

But when they came nigh unto the Englishmen, they perceived both by their language and habit that they were: but this was not before the Englishmen were hard at the gates; & that when the Scotsmen would have fled backe to have gotten the towne againe, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the heeles, that they entered the gates with them, and so took the towne with great slaughter, as well of the souldiers and men of warre, as also of women, children, and aged persons, without all rayde or compassion, so that they left not one creature alive of the Scottish blood within all that towne. This was Berwike wonne the 30 day of March; in the yere 1296. Such abundance of blood was spilled thorough all parts of the towne (as the Scottish chronicles testify) that where at the falling tide the water was not able to dyne about the milis, some of the same milis yet, were now at a low water set on gate; by reason the streames were so highly augmented with blood. There were slaine above seven thousand persons that day, with the greatest part of all the nobles and gentlemen of Fife and Lothian.

King John hearing of this slaughter of his people at Berwike, in great desire to be avenged, gathered his power, and sent the same forth against king Edward, with whom they met not farre from Dunbar, and there in countering with him in battell, the Scottish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and Pentecost, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dunbar, but they were besieged so streitly by the English power, inunning the castell on every side, that in the end they were constrained for lacke of vittels to yeld themselves to king Edward; on condition to have their lives saved, which covenant was not observed; as the Scottish writers affirme: for king Edward having got them into his hands, caused them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported that Robert Bruce upon secret conference had with king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, solicited all his friends in the Scottish armie, to flee upon the first joining, which the residue perceiving, were so discomfited, that incontinentlie they threw away both armor and weapon, and so were vanquished without resistance.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce submitted himselfe unto king Edward, requiring him to performe his promise touching the right which he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he received no answer to his liking touching that request: for k. Edward had no lesse desire to enjoy the kingdom of Scotland, than Bruce, as the Scottish writers affirme. Therefore to cast off Robert Bruce concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is said; Belovest thou that we have nothing else to do but to conquere realmes, and to deliver them over againe unto thee? Robert Bruce hereby perceiving the subtle meaning of k. Edward, returned right sorrowfull unto his lands in England, having great indignation in his mind, that he had obeyed king Edwards requests: but yet considered with himselfe that he must suffer for the time, till occasion served to revenge the injuries received, which he intended to do, and that in most cruel manner, as afterwards it will appeare. King Edward after he had thus wonne the castell of Dunbar, got likewise both the castles of Edinburgh and Strueling, and pursued king John, till he had constrained him to take for his refuge the castell of Forfaire. Herewith

John Cumyn lord of Strabogie came to king Edward, and was sworn his liege man.

Shortly after, by a politike practise of the same John Cumyn, king John with his sonne Edward came to Forfaire, where perceiving himselfe unwisely to be fallen into the hands of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reason of the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie abillments, and with a white wand in his hand (as the manner is) presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning there unto him all his right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, utterly renouncing the same both for him and his heires for ever. Hereof was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confirmed with the hand and seale of king John, and other the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might be devised, bearing date the fourth yere of his reigne. After this, king Edward assembled all the lords and barons of Scotland at Berwike, where he caused them to be sworn his liege men, and to do homage unto him as to their soveraigne lord and supreme governor. Which William Dowglas (a man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) refused to do, and for his obstinacie was cast into prison, where after a few yeres he ended his life. And for the more suretie of their allegiance, he constrained them to surrender into his hands all the strengths & holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on the sea coasts, as also such other as were situat in the inner parts of the countrie.

These things done, and order taken in each behalfe as was thought requisite for the quiet keeping of the countrie, he sent king John and his sonne Edward Balioll unto London, where they were kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the said king John to returne into Scotland: but leaving still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he should attempt anie new rebellion after his departure; which after was delivered at the request of the pope. King John upon his returne into Scotland, perceiving that he was in the hatred both of his lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the administration of the Scottish dominion, and finally went over into Normandie to his ancient inheritance and lands there, where at length falling blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed out of this world in the castell of Calliard, leaving those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, unto his sonne Edward Balioll, who being released out of captivitie, was come over to his father before his decesse.

In the meane time, king Edward having well in remembrance the warres which he had intended to make against France, had he not bin stayed through the businesse of Scotland, purposed now to pursue the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing all the strengths & forts in Scotland to withstand the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressingham regent there, whilst he should be occupied in France, which Cressingham before was treasurer. Then having provided a great number of ships, he passed over into France, trusting that the Scots would not stir, sith they had of late sustained so many overthrowes and sore losses one after another by the last wars: but tyrannie is of such a nature, that by no kind of provision it may anie long time be suerly defended. For those people that be oppressed by anie tyrannicall servitude, will not faile to seke to deliver themselves from the yoke of that importable burden when soever opportunitie of time and occasion serveth. Therefore the lords of Scotland having

the castell of Forfaire.

John Balioll king of Scotland resigneth all his right to king Edward.

A charter.

Homage of the barons of Scotland to king Edward.

Fr. Thin.

The holds of Scotland delivered into king Edward his hands.

John Balioll kept as prisoner in England.

He returneth into Scotland.

He renounceth the administration of Scotland.

He returneth into France, and decesseth in castell Calliard.

King Edward his purpose to invade France.

Hugh Cressingham regent of Scotland.

King Edward hartened by the Scottish writers of tyrannie.

The Scots deceived and intrapped.

The cruelty of the Englishmen.

Berwike is wonne.

The 29 of March being good Friday, 1295. H. B. The abundance of blood spilled. Streames augmented with blood.

The Scots discomfited at Dunbar.

The castell of Dunbar rendered to king Edward.

Robert Bruce occasion of the overthrow of Scots at Dunbar.

Robert Bruce submittech himselfe to k. Edward.

The answer of king Edward to Robert Bruce.

The castles of Edinburgh and Strueling wonne. King John given into

the Scottish lords assemble at Strueling, where by generall agreement, twelve noble men were chosen to be gouernours of Scotland, euerie one in their limits appointed, that they might the better promise to resist the enimie. Amongest these gouernours, John Cumine earle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wisdom and singular knowledge in all affaires, as well of peace as of war. This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie, and with the same entered into Northumberland, where he wasted with fier and sword all that countrie. After this, he laid siege to Carleill, but he wan nothing there, the towne was so well defended. In that season also, the fauer of William Wallace began to spring, a young gentleman of so huge stature and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and knowledge in warlike enterprises, and hereto of such hardinesse of stomack in attempting all manner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not anie where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one sir Andrew Wallace of Cragie, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inward hatred against the English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the Scots, and was of such incredible force at his coming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without all helpe, he would not feare to set vpon three or foure Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

When the same therefore of his worthie acts was notified thorough the realme, manie were put in good hope, that by his means the realme should be deliuered from the seruitude of the Englishmen within short time after. And hereupon great number of the Scottish nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises. By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to haue got him into their hands. At length, when occasion serued to vse the helpe of such a notable chieftaine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Scottishmen as gouernour vnder John Ballioll, to deliuer his countrie from bondage of the English nation. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall benefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands. Neuertheless, this William Wallace by commission had of William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, auoided and put them forth of all parts of Scotland, leaving neither temporall nor spirituall person of their blood within that realme. For shortly after, by publike authoritie, he received the armie that John Cumine earle of Buchquhan had led before, and constrained those Scots that favored king Edward, to obeye his commandements; in renouncing all such faith and promise as they had giuen or made vnto him.

This done, he passed forth with great puissance against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castles within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & manhood he wan the castles of Roxfairs, Dundee, Brechen and Mountros, sleaing all such souldiers as he found within them. Wallace now iollfull of this his prosperous successe, and hearing that certaine of the chieftest captiues and officers of those Englishmen that kept the castell of Dunoter, were gone forth to consult with other Englishmen of the forts next to them adjoining, came sudenlie to the said castell, & took it, not leaving a man alieue of all those whome he found as then within it. Then after he had furnished that hold with his owne souldiers in most defensible wise, he went to Aberdeen. The towne he found in manner void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so strongly garnished with men and munition, that

considering it might not be wone without great murder, he raised from thence, and returned into Angus. King Edward as then being in France, hearing of these exploits atchieued by this Wallace his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble captains vnto his lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into Scotland to redresse the matter.

Wallace in the meane time had laid siege vnto the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of the coming of this armie against him, he raised his siege, & went to Strueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie should not passe the same, according as the report went his intent was to do. Here incountring with the enimies, the third Ides of September, he obtained a verie worthie victorie, for he slue not onelie the force said Cressingham with a great part of his armie being passed the river, but also forced the residue to flee, in such sort, that a great number of them were drowned, and few escaped awaie with life. Thus having gotten the vpper hand of his enimies here at Strueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper, which shortly after vpon his returne thither, was rendered vnto him by those that were within in garison. There were manie of the Scottish nobilitie the same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie and vittells, if he would onelie receiue them into fauour, wherevnto he granted. By which means, sundrie other castles were yelded vnto him, the which after he had garnished with men, munition, and vittells (according as was thought requisite) he brake by his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faithful friends vnto the castell of Strueling.

Afterwards perceiving that through scarcitie of corne, great dearth arose on each side within the realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that behalfe, and hereupon he determined to passe with a mightie armie into England, and to sojourn there the most part of the winter, in sustaining the whole number of his men of warre on such provision as they might find within the bounds of their enimies countrie. He commanded therefore that all the Scots, appointed to go with him in that iournee, should be readie at a certaine day and place prefixed. But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aberdeen and other) for that they disobeyed his commandements set forth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebels and traitors to their countrie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his commandements were the better obeyed, so that heving got together an huge host of men, he entered with the same into Northumberland, slaing and spoiling the countrie euen vnto Newcastle. Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe into Scotland, laden with spoile and glorie of their prosperous atchieued iournee. They entred into England (as lo. Maior writeth) about the feast of All saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, liuing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Edward king of England, being informed of the great slaughter of his people, and what damage the Scots had done in Northumberland, returned in great displeasure out of France into England, and sent his ambassadors vnto Wallace, soze menacing him, for that he had invaded his realme in such cruel wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him word) full little haue done, if he had bene at home himselfe. Wallace herevnto answered, that he had taken the advantage for the atchieving of his enterprise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scotland.

S. iij.

Hugh Cressingham sent into Scotland

Hugh Cressingham slaine at Strueling and his armie discomfited by William Wallace. The castell of Couper rendered to Wallace.

Dearth in Scotland. The policie of Wallace to relieve the peoples lacke in time of dearth.

Disobedience punished.

Wallace inuadeth Northumberland.

Fr. Thim.

Edwards message vnto Wallace.

The answer of Wallace to Edwards message as the Scots do write.

I. iij.

land, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare vnto king Edward, that he invaded England in defense of his owne native countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole indeuor to deliuer the same from all maner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadoys to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he proposed to hold his Caster in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armoz against him.

Wallase en-
tred England
with an armie
of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedlie according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling togither an armie of 30000 men, he entred into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was readie with an armie vpon Stanesmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were readie to haue fought, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seme) to fight with the Scots at that time) who perceiving them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed forth of their rankes to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting least the Englishmen had ment some policie, and fateng (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor enough for him that he had enforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe togither in order of battell, and so perseruing them from the deceitfull malice of their enemies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honors saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this iourne.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he toke in hand, so afterward when his fame began to waxe great, to the derogation of other mens reputations, such as were farre his superiours in birth and linage, that sauour which manie bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honor and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cumins blood, and Robert Bruce. King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chiefest amongst those that thus enuied the high glorie of Wallase, and vpon trust of such practise as was concluded by reason of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head capteins, who should haue the leading of the vanguard, which is reputed a most high honor amongst the Scottishmen. And among other, John Stewart, and John Cumins, thought scoone, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto him by agreement and consent of the three estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith John Maior, the lord Stewart had before vphaided him with his pride, comparing him to an owle, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now enriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe aboue all other birds.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon

them right fiercelie, before the Scottish chieftains (hauing their breasts filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enemies) could bying their men into anie perfect arais. Herewith at the coming to the point of ioining, the Cumins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruce seruing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compass about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndone that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant capteine. But at length, all his indeuors notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerfet with multitude of enemies, as the Scottish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constrained to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left alive. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, and namelie one valiant capteine named Frere Brian Jaie, a templer, whom Wallase perceiving to be within his danger, stepped forth vnto him, and stue him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which valiant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to staie, for doubt of further perill by their vniuersal pursute likelie to befall them. In this infortunate battell, were slaine on the Scottish side, John Stewart of Bute, with his Brandans (for so they name them that are taken by to serue in the warres forth of the Stewards lands) Makduffe earle of Fife, with sir John Graham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whom he highly esteemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Manie other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was stricken on Marie Magdalens daie, in the yeere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it euer since an happy day for to fight against the Scots.

The Cumins
fled.

The Scots
discouraged at
Falkirke.

Frere Brian
Jaie slaine by
the hands of
William
Wallase.

Nobles of
Scotland
slaine at the
battell of
Falkirke.

Marie Mag-
dalens day
prosperous to
the English-
men to fight
against Scots.

* When William Wallase was passed the riuer Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his disperfed people, Bruce desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Wherevpon each of them (drawing alone by themselves without any arbiters to the bankes of the riuer, in such place as it was narrowest, and they might without anie compaignie best heare one another; Bruce began to say as followeth. I do much muse, thou most valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncertaine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and dalle to offer thy selfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward assured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou shouldst ouercome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdome, and if thou be overcome, there resteth no refuge for thee, but onelie the mercede of thine enemies. And dost thou not see the Cumins, and me, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither dost thou consider the malice of the princes conceiued against thee: Look vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which are more vncertaine than the wind) to follow thee, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne. All these words John Maior supposed that Robert Bruce did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whom Wallase answered in this sort. The end of all my trauell was not to attaine the king-
dome;

Fr. Thin.
John Maior
lib. 4. cap. 14.
Buchan. lib. 8.
Lefleus epif.
Ross. li. 6. p. 235.
Conference
betwene Wal-
lase & Bruce.

Wallase is
enuied.

R. Edward
invadeth
Scotland.

Wallase rais-
eth a power
to resist him.

Strife for the
leading of the
vanguard.

come; for my birth and fortune neither did or could
 deserue it, and my mind did neuer desire it: but the
 negligent slouth of thoe (to whom the right of that
 diademe doth apperteyne, and who doth greedilie hunt
 therafter) made my citizens (perceiuing themselves
 destitute of faithfull gouernours) to follow me, and
 caused me (when I saw them in that miserie, rather
 butcherlie toorne, than in honest seruitude to be op-
 pressed) to seeke for libertie. Which suerlie I had ob-
 teined for them and you, if the nobilitie had not so
 uillie strided against me, restrained themselves for
 comming into the field, and had but sent their hinds
 (which till their land) forth to the battell, at which
 time I had scarce 10000 men, & those of comon sort.
 Trulie if the princes had not bene impediment
 thereto, I could haue brought forth to fight a hun-
 dred thousand bold and cherefull souldiers. But now
 in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles against
 me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to possesse the
 kingdome, I giue thee faithfull warning, especiallie
 to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more re-
 garded the glorie of their countrie, than of secret ma-
 lice to others, would not so wickedlie haue forsaken
 the field, that hate soeuer they had conceiued against
 me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of
 England, they are not bound to keepe it: in a wic-
 ked promise no oth is to be performed. I am now
 wearie of my life, and rather desire to die, than to
 liue in this sort, to see the miserie of my beloued coun-
 trie. Wherefore embrace you this thraldome (which is
 so much esteemed of you) to whom filthie seruitude
 with ease seemeth more pleasant, than honest libertie
 with danger: for I had rather chouse willing death
 with freedom (in which I meane to spend my blood)
 than to doe as you haue done, because the loue of my
 countrie shall not depart from my hart, before the
 life of my bodie depart from his office. Which being
 said, Wylse burst forth in teares, considering the no-
 bilitie of the mind of Wallace, although perhaps he
 nothing misliked the misfortune of the man, as doub-
 ting the end of all his pretense to be, to attaine to the
 crowne. This being thus done, they both depart to
 their companies. By which conference (saith Leslee
 bishop of Rosse) this good was wrought to Scot-
 land (to recompense the overthrow of Falkirk) that
 Wallace partlie by the bitterness of his words, and
 partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now draw
 Wylse from the English, to take part with the
 Scots.)

1298.

Wallace re-
nounceth his
office.Philip king
of France.

A truce.

Scottish am-
bassadors sent
to pope Boni-
face.

But notwithstanding all these valiant speeches of
 Wallace, when he considered the infortunat discom-
 fiture by him so treacherouslie receiued, he came to
 Perth, and there uttering by complaint the infortu-
 nous enuie of the nobles against him, he renounced
 and discharged himselfe of all the authoritie which had
 bene committed to his hands, touching the gouer-
 nance of the realme, and went into France, as saith
 Leslee. But Iohannes Maior saith, that he neuer
 came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The
 same time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that
 name, and surnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in
 his hart for the miserable calamities thus chanced to
 his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that
 chiefie for the quarrell of France, sent his ambassa-
 dors vnto Edward king of England, who had latelie
 before married his daughter, requirring that there
 might be some peace or abstinence of warre granted.
 At his request therefore a truce was taken betwixt
 the Scots and Englishmen, to indure from the feast
 of All saints, till the feast of Pentecost next follow-
 ing.

The Scots in the meane time soze oppressed by rea-
 son of long warres, sent ambassadors to pope Boni-
 face, in presenting a verie gracious complaint vnto

him, for the great affliction done to them by king
 Edward, who was fullie bent by inuisious meanes
 (as they alledged) to conquer their realme, and there-
 fore they besought him to constrain king Edward
 by vertue of his prerogative, which he pretended to
 haue ouer the realme of England, to stand to his or-
 der in deciding the right concerning the liberties of
 Scotland, which might no other waies be determi-
 ned, but by intollerable damage falling to the people
 through blind desire and conetons ambition of the
 nobles, contending for the crowne. The pope (as is
 said) after he had by good and deliberat aduise heard
 the matter, gaue sentence with the Scots, that they
 had iust cause of warres in defense of the liberties of
 their countrie, against k. Edward and his fautors.
 ¶ But for this matter, loke in the English chroni-
 cles, where it shall well appere, that the pope by these
 letters of king Edward, was fullie satisfied of his
 superiortie ouer Scotland.

The opinion
of the pope.

The Scots somewhat recomforted herewith,
 thortlie hereupon chose John Cummin to their gouer-
 nor, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their
 liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertised,
 sent forthwith an armie into Scotland, which passed
 through the countrie to saint Johns towne, with
 great damage of those that were aduoged rebels to
 king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner
 vnto Forthie, at this season was subiect to the Eng-
 lishmen, sauing such few of the inhabitants, as liued
 within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient
 liberties of their countrie, than to anie desire of pre-
 seruing their gods or liues. John Cummin therefore,
 desirous to redresse this heauie miserie and lamenta-
 ble case of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraser
 fellow with him in the administration of the warres
 against the Englishmen, and therewith gathering
 an armie of eight thousand hardie men of warre, set-
 teth in hand to reuenge the iniurious doings of the
 enemies, chasing out of the realme all such officers
 with their seruants, as king Edward had placed in
 anie romes within the bounds of Scotland; and such
 as resisted, he pursued in most cruell wise, not spa-
 ring to put them vnto the sword in all places, where
 he might find them.

John Cummin
the younger
elected gouer-
nor of Scot-
land.
An armie of
Englishmen
sent into
Scotland.King Ed-
wards offi-
cers chased
out of Scot-
land.

King Edward soze kindled in displeasure with
 these attempts of such desperat persons, raised an
 armie of thirtie thousand men, and sent the same in-
 to Scotland, vnder the leading of a vertie stout and
 valiant capteine, named Radulph or Rafe Constraie.
 This Radulph at his comming into Scotland, toke
 small regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided
 his armie into three parts, euerie part containing
 ten thousand men, and appointed them to passe forth
 to forraite the countrie, and to meet altogether at Ro-
 sin, in such sort and time as he prescribed. John Cu-
 min and Simon Fraser being aduertised hercof,
 gathered their powers together, to the number of
 seven or eight thousand men, and determined to trie
 the chance of battell with one part of the English ar-
 mie first, trusting that if they happened to haue the
 vpper hand of one of the three parts, the other two
 would be the more easie to deale with. The Scottish
 capteins resolved thus vpon that point, exhorted
 their people to remember how they were to fight in
 defense of their wiues, their children, their gods, and
 liberties of their countrie, against such as sought to
 bring them into thraldome and vile seruitude.

Scotland a-
gaine invadedRadulph Co-
nstraie.
I remember
not that anie
of the Eng-
lish nobilitie
bare this sur-
name in those
daies, where-
fore I thinke
it was the
lord John
Segrave.
John Cummin
and Simon
Fraser.

With which words the Scots were so imboldered,
 that minding either to die or to win the victorie, they
 gaue the onset so fiercelie on their enemies, that the
 first battell of the Englishmen was quicklie over-
 throwen and banquished. But scarcele had they ga-
 thered the spoile, when an other part of the English
 men came vpon them with more fiercenelle than the
 other

The first bat-
tell of the
Englishmen
overthrowne.

The second
battell ouer-
come.

other before: neuertheless, the Scots encouraged with their fresh twone victorie, got themselves speedie into arraie, & receiued their enemies with such incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the upper hand of these also. But scarce had they made an end with this second battell, when the third part was at hand ready to charge them, being now soze infected, what thorough wearinesse and wounds receiued in the two former encounters, besides the want of such of their numbers as were slaine: yet by exhortation of their capteins, and the vallant ptesence of the officers of bands beside, they rushed forth on their enemies with such earnest forwardnesse to receiue them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the Englishmen had escaped the Scottishmens hands, had they not bene so wearied with continuall fight, that they were not able to follow anie great waie in the chase.

The third
battell of the
Englishmen
banguished at
Rosli.

1302.

The matter
is amplified
by the Scots
to the utter
most.

The great
preparation of
king Edward
to invade the
Scots.

The Scots
withdrew to
their holdes.
The English
armie passed
through Scot-
land from the
south parts to
the north.

Is. Edward
sendeth vnto
Wallase.

Wallase refus-
eth the offers
of Is. Edward

The castell of
Sterling ren-
dered.

This Althred
the Scottish
bokes name
Alises.

The castell of
Arquhard ta-
ken by force.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is before rehearsed, vpon saint Matthewes day, in the yere after the birth of our Sauour 1302. The glorie of this victorie was great, considering that thirtie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & thoroughly appointed for warre, should be thus in one day banguished with an handful of Scottishmen. For as their histories make mention, they passed not eight thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed that it came to passe by the singular fauour and grace of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long introy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people at Rosli, gathered a mightie armie of Englishmen, Gascoigns, Irishmen, and such Scots as toke his part, and hauing all his furniture and purueance ready both by sea and land, he set forward with the same to invade the Scots on ech side. The Scots perceiving they were not of puissance able to resist his inuasion, withdrew to their strengths: by means whereof the English armie passed through all Scotland, euen from the south parts to the north, & found few or none to make resistance, except Wallase, and such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the mounteins and woods, to eschue the malice of the Englishmen.

It is said, that king Edward required by a messenger sent vnto this Wallase, that if he would come in and be sworn his liege man and true subiect, he should haue at his hands great lordships and possessions within England, to mainteine his port as was requist to a man of verie honorabile estate. But Wallase refused these offers, saieing that he preferred libertie with small revenues in Scotland, before anie possession of lands in England, were the same neuer so great; considering he might not introy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The castell of Sterling at the same time was in the keeping of one sir William Althred knight, who would not render it to king Edward by anie summons or other meanes, till after thre moneths siege he was constrained to giue it ouer vnder these conditions; That all persons being within the castell, should depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at their pleasure. Neuertheless king Edward caused the said sir William Althred to be conueted to London, where he remained as prisoner manie yeres after.

Sundrie other castels were taken by force the same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted, being found within anie of them, slaine without mercie or ranfome. Amongest other, the castell of Arquhard in Murray land was taken by force, and not one left alieue that was found in the same (one gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with

child, was in that respect preserved. She was the wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though by reason she was got into poze apparell, the Englishmen toke hir but for some other woman of meaner estate. She therefore with hir life saued, being suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where she was deliuered of a son, that was named at the font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, came to king Robert le Bruce, requiring him to be restored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to do here in, for he thought it neither conuenient that a prince should take lands or possessions from noble men, which had bene giuen to them in reward of their manhood, the wed in defense of the realme; neither iudged he it reason to keepe him from his rightfull inheritance that had lost his father, his friends, and all his whole substance in the like cause and quarrell by iniurie of the common enemies.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuised this meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine other lands in Mar, nothing lesse in value (considering the largenesse and fertilitie) than the other of Arquhard were: and willed him to content himselfe with those, in recompense of such as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfi- ed, and no man should seme to haue wrong in being depriued of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was called Forbesse, for that he slue a beare in those parties, by great and singular manhood. And so the surname of the Forbesesses had beginning, as descended from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie puissance of king Edward, he went about to abolishe all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots lining together with Englishmen, vnder one vniforme manner of lawes, they should finalle fort themselves to be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the supreme gouernement of their publike weale, as also in all other things, touching the friendlie societie of life.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scottish nation, with all manner of booke, as well those containing diuine seruice, as anie other treatises of profane matters, to the end that the memorie of the Scots should perish: and thereto appointed grieuous punishments for them that should disobey his commandements here in, in keeping anie of the said booke vndeaced. And he ordeined also, that the Scots should occupie church booke after the vse of Sarum, and none other. Moreouer, he compelled all such Scottishmen as were of anie singular knowledge in learning or literature, to be resident in Oxford, doubting least the Scottish nobilitie increasing in politike prudence by their instructions, should seeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scottish writers doe report) to extinguishe the name of Scots, together with their rule and empire, passed through the most part of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate which he had to the Scottish antiquities, at his conuining to Camelon, he commanded the round temple standing ouer against the same, to be thrown downe, which was builded (as before is shewed) in the honor of Claudius the emperour, and the goddesse Victoria. But for that his commandement was not immediatlie put in execution, he changed his purpose, and appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius, with the superscription of his name, should be taken awaie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be set vp; commanding the place to be called Arthurs hoif (as ye would say) Arthurs

The begin-
ning of the
name of the
Forbesesses.

Chronicles
and other
booke burnt

Scottishmen
learned, com-
manded to be
resident in
Oxford.

The temple of
Claudius
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, whatfore
uer Hector
Boetius or
other dreame
thereof.
Arthurs hoif,

He de lieth his
writing.

The marble
chaine is con-
nected into
England, and
placed in West
minster.
The nobilitie
of Scotland
sworne to R.
Edward.

Wallace ef-
fecteth to as-
pire with the
Englishmen.

Domare or
Pomer de Cla-
rence gover-
nour of Scot-
land under
king Edward

Conference
between
Cummin and
Bruce.

Indentures
of agreement
between Cum-
min & Bruce,
touching the
conspiracie.

John Cummin
doubt.

Cummin dis-
closes the con-
spiracie.

Robert Bruce
is examined.

thys court. **Q**uene king Edward at his returning into
Engl. and took the chace of marble with him, and
causing it to be conveyed up to London. And place it
at Westminster, where it remaineth yet unto this
day. At other tyme before his departure out of Scot-
land, he appointed all the Scottish lords to assemble at
Dunelm, where he caused them to take a new oath, that
from thenceforth they should take him for their true
raigne lord, and to obeye him in all things as loiall
subiects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was sworne
to him that day. Wallace, onelie excepted, who ef-
fecteth more than the companie of a serpent, to have
any thing to do with the Englishmen; touching a-
ny agreement to be made with them, agreeable to
their desires. Wherefore, to keepe the Scots from re-
bellion, king Edward ordeined Domare de Cla-
rence to be gouernour there, as his generall lieute-
nant ouer the whole realme of Scotland. In his ab-
sence, and hauing thus set all things in good and quiet
order (as he supposed) he returned into England
with great ioy and triumph.

In the meane time, John Cummin furnished the
red, and Robert Bruce hauing conference together,
complained the one to the other of the miserable ser-
uitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood
by the oppression of king Edward. And at length by
ou offers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if
by any means they might deliuer the realme out of
the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be
king; that is to say, the Bruce, and the other, that is to
say, the Cummin, should enjoy all the Bruces lands
and possessions, with manie other preferments of ho-
nours and dignities, as next vnto him in all authori-
tie touching the gouernement of the realme. There
were indentures made betweene them, subscribed
with their names, and sealed with their seales inter-
changeable, for the full ratifieng of covenants agree-
ed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortly after,
vpon deliuerie of those writings, Bruce went into
England, for he might not remaine long in Scot-
land, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had
in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne
of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as
was thought) king Edward would haue put both
him and his brethren vnto death long before, if he
might haue once got them all into his hands.

John Cummin (after that he and Bruce were thus
agreed vpon articles, and departed the one from the
other) began to doubt, least this conspiracie deuised
betwixt them, would not sort to any luckie conclu-
sion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great
puissance of king Edward, either else for that his au-
thoritie and power (as he mistrusted) would not be
great, if the Bruce once attained the crowne: and
herevpon he sent one of his seruants to king Ed-
ward, with his counterpane of the indenture, con-
teining the covenants of the conspiracie, signed and
sealed with Bruces owne hand and seale. The mes-
senger deliuered this writing in secret wise to king
Edward, declaring vnto him the whole matter, as it
was passed and concluded betwixt the Bruce and his
maister, according to instructions giuen him in that
chance. But king Edward at the first gaue light cred-
it either to the writings or words of the Cummin,
supposing that the same proceeded onelie through en-
uie, which he bare towards the Bruce, ever dreading
lest he should beare no role in Scotland, if the Bruce
once attained any authoritie within the same. Yet
at length, king Edward pondering with himselfe the
whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the
matter, he shewed the counterpane of the indenture
vnto Bruce himselfe, questioning with him, if he
knew his owne hand: Bruce stoutlie denied that he

was prite to any such deuise or writing, and there-
fore desired of king Edward to haue the same for
one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & to shew
if he were not able to proue that it was forged; and
maliciouslie deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put
him in danger of life, he would forsake all his lands
and liuings that he held either within the realme of
England, or else where. King Edward, because he
contemned at the first how this accusation of Cu-
min was nothing like to be true, granted his re-
quest, wherein manie iudged he did vnwiselie; but
such was the ordinance of almightie God, that
Bruce should escape that danger, to accomplish that
wherevnto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester
immediatlie after that Robert Bruce was departed
from the kings presence, sent vnto him thre hundred
pence, with two sharpe spurs; whereby he con-
fessed his meaning to be, that the best gift for him
was to auoid out of the waie in most speedie wise,
wherevpon he causing a smith to shooe thre horses
for him, contrarielie with the calkins forward, that it
should not be perceined which waie he had taken by
the tract of the horses, for that the ground at that
time (being in the winter season) was couered with
snow: he departed out of London about midnight,
accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night
more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen
before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be iud-
ged in the morning which way he was gone. Though
king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was
fled, sent out a great manie of horsmen after, to
haue brought him againe, if they might any where
haue found him. But Bruce halcked forth with such
speed in his iourne, that the seventh day of his de-
parture from London, he came to Loughmaben in
Annandale, and there found David, or (as some books
haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming,
a worthy young gentleman, vnto whom (they mus-
sing what he meant by his sudden comming) he de-
clared into what perill of life he had fallen by means
of Cummin, and how narrowlie he had escaped out of
king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the
matter, consented to go with him, and to be parta-
ker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his
flight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon
one of Cummins seruants, that was going with let-
ters vnto king Edward from his maister the said
Cummin, signifieng by the same, that if Bruce were
not the sooner put to death, there would insue short-
lie such trouble and ruffling in Scotland against R.
Edward, that it would be much adoe to appeale it.

These letters being found about Cummins seruant,
through means of young Fleming, the Bruce after
he had apposed the bearer throughlie in each behalfe,
and learned of him that his maister the said Cummin
was in the friers at Dunfrise, he first sue this fel-
low that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all
hast possible came to Dunfrise, by the guiding of
the same Fleming, where in the quier of the friers
church there he found Cummin. And reasoning the
matter there with him, for that he had used him so
euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which
king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is
mentioned, in the end (after some multiplieng of
words together) Robert Bruce plucked forth his
sword, and strooke the fore said Cummin a sore blow in
the bellie, and therevpon fling out of the church,
met with two of his dearest friends, James Lind-
seie, and Roger Kirkpatrick, who beholding his
countenance altered, and comming forth of the
church in such hast, demanded of him what was the
matter: I trow (said he) that Cummin is slaine.
Why (said they againe) hast thou attempted so high

Robert Bruce
doubt.

He commeth
to Loughma-
ben.

Robert Fle-
ming.

A seruant of
Cummin ta-
ken with let-
ters on him.

Cummin was
at the friers in
Dunfrise.

Cumins
slaine.

1305.

Wallase is ta-
ken.Wallase is
brought to
London.He is put to
death.John Fourdon.
John Maior.

Fr. Thin.

Absolution
from Rome.Robert
Wallase is
crowned king
of Scotland,
the first of that
name.John Maior.
King Robert
is discomfited
at Methen.

an enterprize, and lest it doubtful: And immedi-
atlie herewith they went to the place where Cum-
lin was wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of
him whether he thought he had any death wound,
or hoped to recover if he might have a good surgeon.
And for that he answered how he trusted to do well
inough if he might have a good surgeon in time; they
gaue him three or foure other wounds so grieuous
and deadlie, that forthwith vpon the same he yel-
ded by the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our
Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About
the same time was William Wallase taken at
Blaskow by the means of sir John Spentesh and o-
thers, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust;
but they being corrupted with the offers of large re-
wards promised by king Edward to such as could
helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was
apprehended at length by Adam de Valence
earle of Penbrooke, who with a great power of men
brought him to London, where he was put to death,
and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in
sundry great townes there for a spectacle, as it were
to giue example to other. This was the end of that
puissant champion William Wallase, praised a-
mongst the Scottishmen aboue all other in that age,
for so much as he would neuer yeld or consent to ac-
knowledge any superiority in the Englishmen ou-
er his countrie, no not when all other had submit-
ted themselves to king Edward as his liege sub-
iects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when
he was young and went to schoole, he learned by heart
two verses of his scholemaster, which euer after he
bare in mind, and usually would rehearse them,
(when a toy toke him in the head) as followeth.

*Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam serui, sub nexu vinuto fli.
My sonne I say, freedome is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thral arrest.*

Of this William Wallase one Henrie, who was
blind from his birth, in the time of my nativitie
(saith John Maior) composed a whole booke in vul-
gar verse, in which he mittred all those things vul-
garly spoken of this Wallase. But I do not in all
points saith the same autho, giue credit to the wri-
tings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and
clothing (whereof this man was most worthy) by
reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scot-
land.

But now touching Wallase; after he had slaine Cu-
min (as before is mentioned) he purchased an
absolution from Rome for that act: and to the end he
might then through authority obtaine some aid to
resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward,
he went by support of friends vnto Scone, & there
caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day
of March, though he had no great number that toke
his part in the beginning, as shortly after well ap-
peared. For when he should assemble an armie a-
gainst a power of Englishmen that were sent a-
gainst him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon
knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to
get together any sufficient number to resist his ad-
uersaries, though with those few which came vnto
him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so
incounting with Adam de Valence lieutenant
of the English armie at Methen the 19 day of June
1306, he was there put to flight; and though the
slaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged
to be an euill signe to haue such infortunat lucke v-
pon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor
thranke greatlie from him.

Adam de Valence after he had obtained this
victorie against king Robert, banished the wiues of
all those that supported the same Robert, by means

whereof, manie ladies and gentlewomen were con-
strained to flee into woods, and other desert places,
to eschew the crueltie of their aduersaries. King
Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl,
and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of
August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe
with the Cumins and other such Scots & English-
men as were assembled in those parties ready to
pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chan-
ced to him before at Methen; for he was put to flight
after the same maner, though he lost here but few of
his men; neither in the sight nor chase. This place
Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Bu-
chan lib. 8, which is also called Watokie by I. Maior.
lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Wallase had so hard
a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cu-
min, slaine in the church by him and his friends.
Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto
him in these two seuerall battels, he was left so de-
solat and vnprovidid of all friendship, that he was
constrained for his refuge to withdraw into the
woods and mounteins, with a few other in his com-
panie, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes
for want of other food.

Whilist he remained in this estate of aduerser for-
tune, there were two that shewed themselves right
trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the
rest, the earle of Leuenor, and Gilbert Hare: for
though either inforced by persecution of enemies, or
constrained through some other necessitie, they de-
parted sometimes from his presence; yet did they e-
uer acknowledge him for their soueraine lord and
onelie king, ready at all seasons to serue and obey
him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his
friends yea and seruants, in that present miserie,
did cleaerly forsake him; so that sometimes he was
left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad
to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no
person lightlie vled to resort. His wife & quene fled
to saint Dunno, and chanced to be taken by William
Cumin earle of Ross, who deliuered hir to king
Edward, by whose commandement she was com-
mitted to safe keeping at London, where she remai-
ned till after the battell of Bannockburne. His
brother Nigel was also taken, and so afterwards
were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexan-
der, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of
Scotland, of whome some were executed at Car-
leill, and some at Berwik. Nigel was taken at
the castell of Kilbome whither he fled, and came to
Berwik. Thomas and Alexander were taken at
Locheis, and carried to Carleill, and so beheaded.
I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finally the most part
of all such as had aided him before, and were now
thronke from him, were within one yeare after, ei-
ther slaine or kept as prisoners in England.

Yet though he was thus left desolat of all aid and
succor, hauing his brethren and other of his friends
murdered and slaine to his vtter discomfirt and ru-
ine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued e-
uer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time
to come he might recover the realms out of the eni-
mies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof
to the former estate. As for the paines which he toke
in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots,
& lodging oftentimes on the bare earth, without house
or other harborough, he was so accustomed thereto
by haunting the warres in his youth, that the same
greued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude,
such was his valiancie and most excellent fortitude
of mind and courage, that no iniurious mischance
of froward aduersitie could abash his inuincible
heart and manlike stomach. At length, after he had
wandered from place to place in sundrie parts of
Scotland,

King Robert
certainly dis-
comfited in
Atholl.

Fr. Thin.

The misera-
ble state of R.
Robert in the
beginning of
his reigne.The earle of
Leuenor and
Gilbert Hare
faithfull ser-
uants to king
Robert.King Ro-
berts wife ta-
ken.Nigel Tho-
mas and Alex-
ander bre-
thren to king
Robert are
taken and put
to death.King Ro-
berts god
hope in time
of extreme ad-
uersitie.His inuinci-
ble hart and
undaunted
stomach.

Scotland, the better to avoid the sleights of them that laie in wait to apprehend him, he got ouer into one of the Isles, where comming vnto one of his speciall friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in those parts, he was most hartlie welcome, and glablie of him receiued, to his great ease and comfort.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, hee got support of men, armor and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he passed ouer vnto Carrike, & winning the castell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he slue all the Englishmen, which he found within it, and bestowed all the spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his souldiers and men of warre. His friends that laie hid in couert and secret corners, hearing of these his doings, began from readye to resort vnto him, by whose assistance shortly after he wan the castell of Inuernesse, and slue all them that were within it in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most part of all the castels in the north, rasing & burning by the same till he came to Glenelcke, where being aduertised that John Cummin with sundrie Englishmen and Scots were gathered against him, because he was vpon a strong ground, he determined there to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and wondering at his manlie courage, durst not approach to giue him battell, but sent ambassadoes vnto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of some communication for a peace, till they might increase their power more strongly against him: which being done, they pursued him more fiercely than before. Whereupon king Robert receiued them at all times in such warlike order, that they might neuer take him at anie aduantage, but were still driuen backe with slaughter and losse, though the same was of no great importance to make account of, but such like as happeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light encounters, where the battels come not to ioine puissance against puissance. The same whereof yet procured him the fauour of sundrie great barons in Scotland.

* About this time, Simon Fraser, and Walter Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie fauouring their countrie) were taken (by such as followed the faction of Cummin) deliuered to the English, sent to London, and there executed. Almost about which time, James Dowglas joined himselfe to the part of king Robert. This James being the sonne of William Dowglas, was a yong gentleman very actiue and forward in all chiefe exercises and arts. When he gaue himselfe to studie at Paris (hearing that his father was by the king of England cast in prison, in which he shortly after died, as is before noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his life after the aduise of his friends. But being without liuing, & all his other friends by misfortune dispersed: he committed himselfe to the seruice of W. Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whome hee was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well interteined: vntill king Edward comming to Sterling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of Scotland) to besiege Striueling: at what time Lambert going to Sterling to salute the king, carried Dowglas to attend vpon him, to the end to prefer him to his liuing and inheritance. Whereupon the bishop finding the king at conuenient leisure, besought him to be fauourable to this Dowglas: to restore him vnto his fathers patrimonie: and that (receiuing the yong man into his fealtie and defense) it would please him to implete him in his faithfull and warlike seruice: adding further such commendations in the behalfe of James, as for that time he thought most conuenient. But the king vnder-

standing his name and kinred, spake bitterlie of the disobedience and stubbernesse of his father William Dowglas; further answering, that he would neither vse the same James, nor his trauell in anie thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore him to his patrimonie, because he had with the same gratified other that well deserued it. For which cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still in the bishops seruice, vntill Buse came into Berne, at what time (least he might lose the opportunitie to offend king Edward, whome he secretlie in heart disdained) this Dowglas departed from Lambert his master, taking with him all the bishops gold, and certeine of his best horses, with the which, hauing in his companie diuerse other hardie yong gentlemen, priuie to his doings, he fled with all speed vnto king Robert, offering him his seruice, and to spend his life in his quarell and defense. The bishop was priuie to his counsels going awaie, & peacelie counselled him therevnto, though he would by no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he might haue run in danger for his cloaked dissimulation. The Dowglas was soone receiued of king Robert, in whose seruice he faithfully continued both in peace and warre to his liues end.

Though the surname and familie of the Dowglas was in some estimation of nobilitie before those dates, yet the rising thereof to honor chanced through this James Dowglas: for by meanes of his aduancement, other of the same lineage took occasion by their singular manhood and noble prowes shewed at sundrie times in defense of the realme, to grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that their mightie puissance in maner, lands, & great possessions, at length was (through suspicion conceived by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hearing of the doings of his aduersarie king Robert, doubted (if some redresse were not found in time) lest the Scots reioicing in the prosperous successe of his said aduersarie, would renouit whole from the English obedience: and hereupon purposing with all speed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than euer he had raised before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a right sore and grievous maladie, whereof he died shortly after at Burgh vpon sands, as in the English historie more plainlie doth appeare, though Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The Scottish writers make mention, that a litle before he departed out of this world, there were brought vnto him 55 yong striplings, which were taken in the castell of Biddrummie, after it was wonne by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be done with them, he commanded they should be hanged incontinently, without respect to their yong yeeres, or consideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pittie. After his decesse, his sonne Edward of Carnaruan succeeded in the gouernement of England, who following his fathers enterprize, called a counsell at Dunfreis, summoning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the same, and caused a great number of them at their comming thither to do their homage vnto him, as to their superiour lord and gouernour: but yet diuers disobeyed his summoning, vpon trust of some change of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewd counsell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe nobles of his realme.

Shortly

A craftie dissimulation.

The rising of the Dowglas to honor.

The death of king Edward Longshanks.

The cruelty of king Edward as is noted by the Scottish writers.

Edward of Carnaruan, sonne to Edward Longshanks.

Homage to king Edward of Carnaruan.

King Robert being getteth ouer into the Isles.

King Robert purchaseth and in the Isles.

King Robert taketh the castell of Carrike.

His power increaseth. Inuernesse castell taken.

King Robert commeth to Glenelcke.

Fr. Thin. Simon Fraser and Walter Logan executed.

The death of king Robert.

The death of king Robert.

The death of king Robert.

Shozlie after this, the said Edward of Carnarvan returned into England, and in the meane time John Cummin erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faithfull affection toward the new English king. He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause his enemies to giue place: but king Robert though he was holden with a sore sicknesse at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a horse-litter to be caried forth with the same against his enemies, who abiding him at a streight, supposed it had bin an easie matter for them to be put to flight: but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation, for in the end the Cummin with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Ennerour, ten miles distant from Aberdeen, on the Ascension daie, wherewith king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation of mind, that he was suddenlie therupon restored to his former health, hauing at that time also taken the castell of Aberdeen, which he bitterlie destroyed, and caused to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his enemies might haue no more refuge thereby.

John Cummin
discomfited by
king Robert
at Ennerour
1308.
Fr. Thun.

Donald of the
Ales discom-
fited by Ed-
ward Bruce.

Argile sub-
dued by king
Robert.
This was in
1309, as John
Ma. saith.

R. Edward
conquered into
Scotland,
Anno 1310 as
should seme
by Io. Maior.

A soze dearth.

1311.
Castles reco-
uered by king
Robert.

King Robert
inuaeth
England.

1312. Io. Ma.
The towne of
Perth reco-
uered, other-
wise called
S. Johns
towne.

Castles won.

In the same yere Donald of the Ales came with a great armie of Englishmen and Scots against R. Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruce the kings brother, at the water of Deir. At this battell was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine of the English part, with a great number of other about him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner. Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous fortune, obtaining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued the countrie to his obissance, but also toke Alexander lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that countrie, and banished him with all his friends into England, where Shozlie after he deceased. In the yere next following, king Edward came with an armie into Scotland, where joining with an other armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid him, he passed through the countrie into Kainkew, and at length without atchiuing anie notable enterprise wosthie the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

In the same yere, through continuall warres, there rose such dearth & scarcitie of things in Scotland, that neither coze nor other vittels could be had for monie: for the ground in manner generallie through the countrie laie vntilled, and beasts with all kind of cattell were diuen awaie, as botties taken by the enemies. By reason wherof the famine so increased on each side, that the people were constrained to eat horses, and other lothsome flesh & meats, thereby to susteine their liues. In the yere following which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert chased the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland, winning manie castles out of their hands, diuerse of the which he rased and consumed with fire. After this entring at sundrie times into England with his fierce armie, he brought from thence innumerable botties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Englishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the Scots had suffered in the yeres before, by the outrageous force and puissance of king Edward. On the eight day of Januarie next ensuing, King Robert won by fine force the strong towne of Perth, sleaing and hanging all the people both English and Scottish, which were found in the same. He threw also the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castles of Dunstres, Airc, Lanarke, with manie other

strengths and castels were rendered vnto him, and cast to the ground.

The castell of Rokesburgh was taken by sir James Douglas on Feastings euen, in the yere 1313, when they of the garison were overcome with immoderate sursetting by meats and drinks excessiue taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is. In that yere also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Murray, won the castell of Edinburgh. In which yere also, Bruce wan the Ile of Man; John Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yere Edward Bruce besieged the castell of Striue, ling: but the strength of the house was such, that by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and that by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauell and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, produced baine for the time. Within this castell as capteine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Mowbray, a Scottish man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, munition, and all maner of purueiance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that smallie Edward Bruce, perceiuing no meanes whereby to atchiue the enterprize, which he had rashlie taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well enough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the capteine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once moue him to giue anie care thereto, inso much as at length he sought to trie him another way forth, which in the end toke better effect than was likelie it would haue done, considering the lacke of circumspection used in the bargaine making: as thus.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good done, there was a motion made betwixt him and the capteine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortresse were not succoured within twelue moneths next ensuing, it should then be rendered vnto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be used against it. This composition was vniuersellie made, as most men iudge: for euerie man of anie wisdom might easilie coniecture, that king Edward hauing so long day to make his prouision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so stronglie, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie shewed in this behalfe: but yet he would not go about to breake the coucnant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid he might not well want.

In the meane time king Edward sent forth messengers with letters, not onelie vnto all his subiects, but also vnto all his confederats and allies, to haue men of warre taken vp and retained to serue him in his warres against the Scots, which he intended to solow to the utter destruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onlie such as were appointed by commissioners of the musters, but also a great number of other that offered themselves of their owne accord to go in that iournie, namelie such as had little to liue vpon at home, and trusted to amend the matter by some good fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it is reported by the Scottish writers, that such aid came to the English, were these; Holand, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Gascoigne, Normandie, Guien, and Burdelois. For all these at that time were either subiect to the king of England, or else in confederate league with him. There were also manie Scots that were English by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

Rokesburgh
swone on
Shozliues
day.

1313.

The castell of
Edinburgh
swone.

Striue ling ca-
stell besieged.

Sir Philip
Mowbray.

In vniuersellie
composition.

King Robert
offended with
his brother.

R. Edward
taketh by
souldiers.

Out of what
countries R.
Edward had
aid of men.

But

But the number of naturall Englishmen exceeded anie one nation beside, insomuch that the whole armie that of one and other, contained (as the same went) one hundred and fiftie thousand footmen, and almost as manie horsemen, beside cariage-men, costrels, women, and lackies, but the same herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the truth. For it is not to be thought (as John Maior himselfe writeth) that he should get such a number together, not for that England it selfe is not able to set forth such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie men as are to be found in England of lawfull age, so manie able personages may be found there to passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and sufficient provision, or else they will not streine themselves thereto. Nevertheless, the whole number by all likelhood was great, for many as well strangers as Englishmen, brought their wives, their children, and whole household-meinte with them, in hope after the countrie were once subdued, to have dwelling places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit: for so had king Edward promised them. By reason thereof the disorder was such, that no warlike discipline might be obserued amongst them; for men, women, and children, were all mixt together, with such clamor and noise, through the huge number of people, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie ordered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insolent of such incredible number, took no heed at all to the gouerning of them, supposing victorie to be alreadie in his hands; insomuch that at his coming to the borders, he took aduise with his counsell to what kind of torment and death he might put king Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all. He also brought with him a religious man somewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to describe the whole manner of his conquest and victorie over the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all things would come to passe as he could wish or deuise. This Carmelite, as may appeare in John Bales booke, intituled A summarie of the writers of great Britaine, was named Robert Baston, and had the gouernance of an house in Scarburgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is said) of that cote himselfe.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all his doings by god & prudent aduise, and with 30000 men, right hardie and thoroughlie exercised in wars, came forth against his enemies, shewing no token of feare in the world, but boldly pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike arate, vpon a plaine a little aboue Bannocksbozne. Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of his people, or for that he would shew how little he doubted the puissance of his enemies, least they should haue him in contempt, it is uncerteine. Indeed there were diuerse expert warriours amongst the Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearelie bought: the wisdome and manhood of king Robert was knowne so well amongst them, that they were assured he would not teopard himselfe in such a case, but that he knew he had such fellows about him, as would sticke to their tackle.

Whereouer the Scots by appointment of their king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterprize, had cast deepe pits and ditches in the place where it was iudged the battels should ioine, and pitched sharpe stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer with lightlie with greene turfes or sods, in such wise that

a few footmen might passe ouer well enough; but if a nie great number should come preassing together, or that anie horsemen came therevpon, the sods would shrink and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to get out of those pitfalls. By the place where king Robert was thus incamped, there runneth a great brooke or water called Bannocksbozne, so named of oten-cakes called bannocks, which were vsed to be made commonlie at the mills standing on the banks of the said water. It falleth into the Forth right famous afterwards by reason of this battell fought nere to the same.

When both the armies were approached within a mile together, king Edward sent eight hundred horsemen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Strueling, to giue notice to sir Philip Mowbraye the capitaine, that he was come with his armie to succour him. As Robert being aduertised of their gate, & beholding them which way they took, he sent Thomas Randall with five hundred Scottish horsemen to saue the countrie from spoile, who with singular manhood encountering with those Englishmen in sight of both the armies, there ensued a cruell fight betwixt them for so small a number, continuing a long space with uncerteine victorie. In the meane time sir James Douglas, vnderstanding that his speciall friend the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with multitude of the Englishmen, came to R. Robert, and falling on his knees before him, required licence to go forth to the support of them that were thus fighting with their enemies: which because the king would not grant at the first, he rushed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his companie a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the purpose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, he might put the enemies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come nere to the place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had got the victorie with great murder of the Englishmen, he staied and went no further; least he should by his coming seeme to beruene them the glorie of the victorie, which had woone it with so great prowesse & singular valiancie. All those in the Scottish campe were relieved, in god hope of greater successe to follow in the whole enterprize by so happie a beginning. The Englishmen passed little thereof, but yet for that the Scots should not wane proud, and take ouer much courage thereby, they determined to giue them battell the next morow. King Robert with great diligence caused his people to prepare themselves ready to receiue the enemies, though he was nothing able to match them in number, deuising which waie he might traine them into the ditches before prepared. He commanded through the armie that euerie man should on the next morow receiue the sacrament of the Lords bodie, through the which they might haue the better hope of victorie against the vntrust invaders of their realme and countrie.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that all things would prosper with them, euen as they could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of the lands and goods of their enemies, as should seeme to them good, and most for their owne anaisle. But king Robert all the night before the battell took little rest, hauing great care in his mind for the surttrie of his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration this chance, and an other while that; yea and sometimes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his praier to God and saint Whillane, whose arme as it was set and inclosed in a siluer case, he supposed had

Bannocksbozne.

The fight of Ch. Randall with 500 Scottishmen in his companie against 800 Englishmen.

The Englishmen determined to giue battell. King Robert prepared to receiue the enemies by battell.

Saint Whillane.

E. j.

baene

beene the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his prayers, the case suddenlie opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonished therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field, and left the arme at home, least that relike should haue beene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the arme otherwise than well.

The king verie toifull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in praier and thankesgiuing. On the morow he caused all his folks to heare diuine seruice, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchchaffraie did celebrate before the king that day, and ministred vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, & other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the armie. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessarie it was for them to shew their wanted manhood, considering that such a huge multitude of people was brought thither against them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as allies to the Englishmen, with full purpose of utterlie to extinguishe the Scottish name and memorie, and to plant themselves in their seates and homes, as in possessions utterlie voided of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scottishmen against the enimies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing words and insolent brags of the same enimies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their harts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed that a number of rascals were amongst them, without anie skill of warrelike affaires, not taken vp by choise and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference togither, in hope of spoile and booties, hauing not else wherebpon to liue at home in their countreies.

Moreover, if nothing else might raise their harts in hope of victorie, their iust cause sith they came in defense of their countreie against iniurious invaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarell, hauing partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they attained the victorie. Finally, the more to stirre their harts to do valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to achieve, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enimies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approued souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safelie undertake for them that they would slea two of the enimies a peece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vled to encourage his people.

* But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speeche much different from this, in the mouth of Wylse, further saying, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he uttered these words, and bareheaded embraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole armie, he reached to euerie man his

hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was ouerwearied before he had shaken 35000 men by the hands.) On the other part, king Edward caused the coronels of eche nation within his campe, to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinite riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in rewarde of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superiortie. Againe, he willed they should haue in remembrance what irrecoverable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countreies in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

* Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kinglie robes, is said to haue vled these speeches to the armie. If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiers farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse peece, catapultes, bowes, and other such engins of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doe want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of buckes skins, and withi clothes like vnto the wild mountaine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall come, will sone subdue them. Maruell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue overcome (in fight) some weake companie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Wylse (nourished by my good father) to the end that he might receiue woth this punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: wherefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (aliue) these other two wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my father, in that kingdom. Wherefore now shew yourselves valiant persons, that you may againe recover the same, at this day possessed by the vniust and vnrighfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure forth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

But yet when they should march forward in arraie of battell towards the Scots, they might scarce be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuerthelesse, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their captains, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoe, by reason of the vnrulie multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the horsemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the middelt of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Handulfe, & James Douglas, captains of verie approued balliance, vnder whome went seuen thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, otherwise called Katerans or Redthinks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, where in were ten thousand men: but for that he was suspected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with

The exhortation of king Edward.

Fr. Thin. Iohannes Maior maketh R. Edward to speake (by his pen) what he list himself.

Io. Maior forgot that giuing were not yet inuented.

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A subtill chapleine.

A matter deuised betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

Fr. Thin.

The third

The abbat of Inchchaffraie bearing a croffe. Fr. Thin.

Lellens e. Roll. li. 7. 244. partly was the a man of gular pte and purtise, such as they find in the cleargie.

The first

Thirtieth land & houses worth 20 in treas.

Fr. Thin.

Nothing mitted gloie of nation, balace mental all men most in Ervith hope lae

King I. killed Engl

The second.

him certeine ancient gentlemen of great sobrietye and circumspection, to qualifie his battis and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftene thousand fighting men, the king himselfe led, shewing a verie cherefull countenance amongst them, so farre forth, that euerie one that beheld him, conceived in his mind an assured hope of victorie to succeed.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie aforesaid (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the king) came forth before the battell with the crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard, admonishing them valiantlie to take in hand the defense of their countrie, and the libertie of their posteritie: for (saith he) you must not euerie man fight as it were for his owne priuat defense, his owne house and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men for euerie man must fight for the libertie, life, patri-monie, children, and wiues of all the realme: for such and so great is the dignitie of our countrie, as they which deface or spoile it, are to be punished with perpetuall fier, and they which do preserve it, are to be recompensed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And here withall this abbat instructed them of manie things touching the loue of their countrie, which nature hath so planted in all men, that for the preservation and libertie thereof, none should refuse any danger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were possible) that it might be manie times lost therefore. Which done, he feared not to admonish them to worship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the crosse. Incontinentlie whereupon, the Scottish armie fell on knees before it, devoutlie commending themselves to almightie God.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on knees, thought verelie they had yielded without stroke stricken. But when they saw them rise againe, and to come forward, they began to be somewhat doubtfull. And hereupon rushing together, at the first joining a great number of people on either side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which were arrayed on the bitter skirts of the English wings, soe annoied the Scots, till finally Edward Buse came on their backs with a thousand speares, and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinentlie herewith a battell of horsemen to the number of thirtie thousand, came rushing together all at once in thocke, to haue borne downe and overridden the Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with most violence towards them, they tumbled into the fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one upon another, that the most part of them was slaine, without all recouerie. Neuertheless the Scots in maner oppressed through the huge multitude of the enimies, were nere at the point to haue bene vanquished. [During which conflict saith Buch, this happened (which though it be a small thing to put in writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chanceth in battell, and as brought no small benefit to the perfection of their businesse) that king Robert (who continuallie rode before the battell appointed to his gouernement) holding a mace of warre in his hand (and keeping the first order in the arraie) was espied of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and forthwith rode full against Buse with his speare. But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his English aduersarie, overthrow him by the force of his horse, in the end killed him with his mace & left him dead. Whereupon, the common people beholding the valure of their king and capteine, did with great force by the instigation of their fierce and fierie minds (and not by the kings perswasion) fall upon their enimies in such sort, that they seemed to

haue had the victorie of the aduersie battell of their enimies: had it not bene for the English archers, which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom Buse (sending out certeine light horsemen) did soe represse: whereby the Scots encouraged, made their partie good; rather by hidden policie, than prepared force. For a stratagem by the Scots devised, and ordered by the English therof concerted, did far more hurt to the enimie, than the power assembled in the field. For that deuile in the end was the cause that the English lost the victorie, being in this sort.

The Scots which were appointed to attend the cartilage, as cat fees, waimenten, lachies, and the women, beholding in what danger their maisters, friends, & countermen stood, put on shirts, smocks, and other linnen aloft upon their vsuall garments, and herewith binding towels and naphins to their speares, and to other such staves as they got in their hands, placed themselves as well as they could in arraie of battell, and so making a great noyse and shew answ, came downe the hill side in the face of their enimies, with such a terrible noyse and hideous clamo, that the Englishmen fighting as then with most furie against the Scots with vncerteine victorie, and beholding this new reinforcement coming downe the hill upon their faces, supposing verelie it had bene some new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deed, for that they saw themselves vntenable to susteine the violent encounter of the Scots then present. And hereupon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearelie vanquished: on which the Scots followed with insatiable ire, and slue them down on all sides where they might overtake them. Sir James Douglas with foure hundred chaste horsemen, was commanded by king Robert to pursue the king of England with all speed, to trie if he might overtake him.

Douglas (according to his charge) followed him in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwixt that and the borders, lay in wait to haue taken him, if he had returned by land; but he being receiued into the castle of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March, with fiftene earles in his companie, was by the same erle of March conuied into certeine bestels, lying there at anchor, with the which he passed alongst by the shore into England, to shew an example of the vntenable state of princes: for though this Edward was that day in the morning right proud of the great puissance and number of people which he had about him, not unlike sometime to the great armie of king Ferres, yet he was constrained before the evening of the same day, to save his life in a poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen (as the Scottish writers affirm) amongst whome was the erle of Gloucester, with two hundred knights. On the Scottish part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst other two valiant knights, sir William Wallace, and sir Walter Hesse. The spoile was so great of gold, silver, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scottish armie was made rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse manie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe, and field. But the death of sir Giles Argentine, that died amongst other in this mortall battell, was so displeasing to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had sometimes with him in England, that he reioiced little of all the gaine got by so famous a victorie. He caused his bodie to be buried right honorable in saint Patriks church, beside Edinburgh. The queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept

The queene
king Roberts
wife restozed
to hir husband

in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares; was in England
now deliuered by exchange for one of the nobles
of England, which was taken at this battell. The rich
clothes of silke, helmet, and gold, which were found
in the English campe, were distributed to the ab-
beies and monasteries of the realme, to make there
of vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The
Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought
thither by king Edward to describe the victorie of
the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst o-
ther, and commanded by king Robert to write con-
trarie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had
seene: who thereupon gathered his rustie wits toge-
ther, & made certayne rude verses beginning thus.

De phantasticis modis cum carmine nudo
Risum retrahit: cum tali themate ludo.

With barren verse this time I make,
Bewailing whilest such theame I take.

There be some that haue iudged, how this victorie
was attained by the singular fauor of almighty
God, by reason of miracles which they saie to
happen at the same time. The night before the day
of the battell, there came to the abbey of Cuthbert
burie two men in compleat armour, desiring to
lodge there all night: the abbat, keeping an house of
great hospitalitie, required them, might glad-
ly making them good cheare, demanded what they
were, and whither they were goinge: who answered
that they were the seruants of God, and goinge to
helpe the Scots at Bannockburn. On the morrow
the chamberlaine found them departed before the
of the gates were opened, & the bodie saie made, and
not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer
night. The same day that the battell was foughten,
a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the
people at Aberdeen, how the Scots had gotten a
famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was
sene shortly after to passe ouer Dialand-firth on
horsebacke. It was supposed by the people that this
was saint Magnus, sometime prince of Orkney,
and for that cause king Robert endowd the church
of Orkney with five poundes yeerling of the co-
mones of Aberdeen, to furnish the same church, with
bread, wine, and wax.

Manie noble men for their approued manhood
shewed in this conflict, were highly rewarded at
the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming,
by whose means he reuenged the treason wrought a-
gainst him by John Cumyn, with slaughter of the
same John, had the lands of Cummerald given
him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the
said Cumyn. It is reported by writers, that two
knights of Brabant that serued amongst the Eng-
lishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull wordes
spoken in the English campe against king Robert,
who being somewhat moued therewith, and misli-
king such dismeasured talke, wished in words that
the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which
with R. Edward informed thereof, caused them by
a trumpet to be conuoced vnto the Scottish campe,
with commandement to aid king Robert to the vt-
termost of their powers, purposing to punish them
according to his mind, if he attained the victorie, as
he had no doubt but he should. Whereupon, before
the joining of the battels, he caused proclamation
to be made, that whosoever brought their heads vnto
him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had
run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches
of the spoile got in the field, with the which they re-
turning into Brabant, built a goodlie house in An-
tuerpe, naming the same Scotland, and causing
the Scottish armes, and the picture of Bruce to be
set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to re-

ceiue them of the Scottish nation that should resort
vnto that towne, as may appeare euen vnto this
day. And this was done for a memorie, to shew
what loue and hartie beneuolence these two knights
bare towards king Robert and his people, for the
great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glori-
ous victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the
natiuitie of saint John Baptist, in the yeare 1314.

About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so
small a course of yeares) happened a thing not un-
worthy the reporting. For John Mentith, which
before betrayed his deere friend Wallace to the Eng-
lish, being therefore (as of right he ought) extreme-
lie hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof
beside manie other rewards) benefited with the gar-
dianship of the castle of Dunbarton: which fort (after
all the other castles before said were recovered to the
Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few
others) that remained in the hands of the English:
and because this fort was by nature inerpugnable,
king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as
were friends and of kinred vnto him) to betraye the
castle into his hands, promising great recompense
therefore. Wherevnto this Mentith by no means
would agree, vnles R. Robert would giue to him the
earldome of Lennox for his reward. Whereupon
the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein,
(though in deed he vehementlie longed for the said
castle) because he did not thinke the obtaining there-
of to be of such good vnto him, as that he would
therefore offend or lose the earle of Lennox, who had
in all his calamities bene the most certaine, and al-
most the onlie friend of the king: which doubt, when
the earle vnderstood, he shortly came vnto him,
willing him in no wise to refuse the condition; wher-
upon the bargain was concluded betwene John
Mentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was
most solemnely confirmed.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this
castle (according to compositions) as he was in the
wood Colchon, a mile distant from the same, a cer-
taine carpenter called Koland came thither secret-
ly vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake
to the king, for he would discouer a great matter
touching a treason that was deuised and prepared a-
gainst him, by the capteine of Dunbarton. Which
pardon obtained, he opened vnto Bruce, that be-
low in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number
of English inclosed, which at dinner should either
take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he
had obtained the castle. Whereupon the king no-
thing abashed, but keeping on his former determi-
nation, & being (according to appointment) receiued
by the said John Mentith in the castle of Dunbarton:
after that he had searched all other places, and
was courteously invited to sit downe to dinner;
answered that he would not eate, vntill he had lo-
ked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuse,
and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the
smith was absent and caried the key away with him.
But the king not waiting for the coming of the
smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar
dore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which,
the armed men were brought forth before the king,
who being severally examined, confessed the whole
matter; and further, that there was a ship ready in
the haven to haue caried the R. prisoner into Eng-
land, if they had taken him alive. Whereupon the
rest being punished, John Mentith was onlie cast
into prison, & reserved from further paine: because
the king would not offend his friends & kinred in so
dangerous a time as that was. For this Mentith
had manie beautifull daughters married to men of
great power & riches. After which imprisonment of
this

Verses made
by Robert
Baston the
Carmelite.

Miracles if
ye list to be-
lieue them,

Robert Flem-
ing reward-
ed for his
faithfull ser-
uice.

A proclama-
tion.

The Scottish
house in An-
tuerpe build-
ed.

1314.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

John Men-
tith made ca-
pteine of Dun-
barton castle.

Englishmen
inclosed in a
cellar to kill
king Robert
after his en-
terance into
Dunbarton
castle.

this point was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of Bruce, under whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

Immediatlie after, king Robert called a parlement at Aire, where, by consent of the thre states he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruce, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such heires, then should the crowne descend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minority, he should then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to James Dowglas.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was married by the aduise of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceased, married shortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of Ulster, on whome he got a sonne named David, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maude. The first was married to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named John: the second departed this world in hir infancy. After the marriage solemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and townes in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, aswell townes as baronies, sundrie new prerogatiues and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie to the townes of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they toke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recover their libertie, now after so notable an overthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requiring that it might please him to send his brother Edward Bruce, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that iournie in hand, and so with a small power of Scottishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and joining with an armie of such as were readie to assist him there, he toke the towne of Ulster, and sue a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward Bruce was proclaimed king of that realme, and certeine of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and proceedings, for the suertie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to susteine the grauous yoke of the English thraldome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they seemed to passe little of his commandements in that behalfe, for they daillie sought how to make themselves strong in that part, least they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enemies were about to get forth of their hands.

King Robert being informed how through the reenforcement of the English armie, being daillie re-

freshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast away, he left sir James Dowglasle gouerno: in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vittels & other provisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constrained to eate horses and other such lothsome meates, therewith to susteine their languishing liues. At length being approached within a daies iournie of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vniuerselie with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the overthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is uncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staid till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourteenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, estones to invade Scotland: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue done some great feat. But sir James Dowglas the gouerno:, hauing likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine thre notable capteins on the English side: as sir Edmund Mallow a Gascoigne capteine of Berwike, with sir James Penill, and the third sir James Dowglasle slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should do anie good at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way forth the Englishmen commonlie were euer too good for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fleet of ships, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each side, and toke manie rich booties from the inhabitants nere to the shore.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties done by the Englishmen, came forth with five hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such inuasions: but when he perceiued that the enemies were of greater number than he was able well to incounter, hauing but an handfull of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about thre score armed men in his companie, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forward againe towards the enemies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrelling the countrie, they gaue an onset vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first incounter to the number of five hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their botes lieng at Dunbrissell, which they entred in such haste, that one of the botes being pestered with ouer great number, sank with them before they could get to their ships. Sir Robert euer after customablie called this Wil. Sinclair his owne bishop, for the noble prowes which he shewed in this enterprise.

In the same yeare Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Bruce was borne, which Robert after the death of Sir David le Bruce was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randall earle of Murray, the second day of April

See more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert passed ouer into Ireland.

Edward Bruce is slaine in Ireland.

See more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward Bruce sendeth a nauie into Scotland.

Englishmen discomfited.

William Sinclair called Sir Robert's bishop.

Robert Steward borne.

1318.

1314.
The crowne of Scotland intailed.
Margerie the daughter of king Robert by his first wife.

The second marriage of king Robert.

The issue of king Robert by his second wife.

Liberties by king Robert.

The lords of Ireland require aid of king Robert.

Ulster.

Edward Bruce proclaimed king of Ireland.

The English men possesse little on the popes commandments.

14.

When made capt. of Dundee.

Englishmen led in a to kill Robert his enemy into battle.

Berwike recovered.

recovered the towne of Berwike out of the English mens hands, which they had held for the space of twentie yeeres before. It was taken now by practice, through meanes of one Spaldein an Englishman, who for his labour had certeine lands given him in Angus, which his posteritie inioyeth to these daies.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

*Trulie it were a wonderfull processe to declare what mischiefes came through hunger and other misfortunes, by the space of 11 yeeres in Northumberland; for the Scots became so proud after they had gotten Berwike, that they nothing esteemed the English nation. But (amongst other things by the Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de Cardonne came with 160 men, to drue awate the cattell passing by Rosham, which the people of the towne perceiuing, ran forth and incountered with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them, had not Thomas Grey capitaine of the castell, seeing them in some leopordie, issued forth with 60 of his souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their horses. The which Grey had bene twice before besieged in the castell of Rosham, once almost by the space of a whole yere, and another time by the terme of seven moneths, in which he behaued himselfe like a worthy gentleman, in that his enemies got none advantage of him, although that during the siege, they had erected manie fortresses before the castell, to annoie such as were within: of which forts they made one at Apstlington, and one in the church of Rosham, the castell whereof had bene twice teinded and in danger of losse, had not the lord Percie and Beuill (being great succourers of the marches) rescued the same. For at one time the vtter ward of Rosham castell was taken in the time of this Grey on saint Bartharins euen, which the Scots kept not but thre daies, and their purpose in winning the same did vtterlie faile them.)

Ri. Southwell.

The Scots enter further into England than they were accustomed, even vnto Wetherbie (as Fould, saith.)

After that the earle of Murray had reconered Berwike, he and the lord James Dowglaſſe in the moneth of Maye Inuaded England with a puissant armie, passing further into the countrie than the Scots had bene accustomed to do before time, burning as they went forward the townes of Rothallerton and Burrowbydge; and comming to Rippon, they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein; but compounding with them that kept the church against them for a thousand marks, they forbore to burne any of the buildings. After they had taried here thre daies, they departed thence, and went to Banerburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating the woods (into the which the people were withdrawn with their goods and cattell) they got a great bottie, and returning homewards by Scipton in Crauen, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came backe into Scotland with their spoiles and prisoners without any resistance. [This castell of Banerburgh was taken by John Lilleborne, which after rendered himselfe to the king vpon certeine conditions.]

Fr. Thin.

1319.
Berwike besieged.

Ri. Southwell.

In the yere following, king Edward came and laid siege vnto Berwike, but the towne was so well defended, that he was constrained with small honor to returne home, and leaue it as he found it. For in the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege before Berwike, Thomas Randall earle of Murray, and the lord James Dowglaſſe assembled their forces together; but perceiuing themselves too weake to remoue the siege by force, they passed by, and entering into England, walked and spoiled all before them. Keeping on their way vnto Burrowbydge: whereof when the citizens of Yorke were aduertised, with their capitaine William Welton, their archbi-

William Welton archbishop of yorke.

shop, and the bishop of Ely, not making them of the countrie once priue to their purpose, but hauing in their companie a great number of priests and men of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day in the after none, not farre from the towne of Apstington vpon Swale, twelue miles distant from Yorke northwards.

The battell of Apstington vpon Swale.

But forsomuch as the most part of the Englishmen were not expert in the seates of warre, and came not in any orderlie arrais of battell, they were easlie vanquished & put to flight by the Scots, who were readie to receiue them in good order, close together in one entier squadzone, and after their accustomed maner, at their first joining they gaue a great thowt, wherewith the Englishmen out of hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots perceiued, they got them to their horses, and followed the chase most egerlie, beating downe and slaing the Englishmen, neither sparing religious person nor other, so that their died to the number of foure thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst the rest was the maior of Yorke one. In the water of Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the number of a thousand. To be short, if night had not come the sooner vpon, it was thought scarce there should any of the English part haue escaped.

The English men discomfited.

The maior of Yorke slaine.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of Berwike, vnderstood what mischiese the Scots did within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to haue incountered with his enemies: but the Scots aduertised of his purpose, returned with all their prisoners and spoile by Stanemore, and so through Gillingand, and the west marches, withdrew home into their countrie. About the feast of All saints, when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in their haruest, so that their barnes were now stuffed with corne, of the which provision they were to liue all the yere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the said two capitaine, the earle of Murray, and the lord Dowglaſſe, entered into England, and burnt the countrie of Gillingand, taking away both such people as they toke prisoners, and also all the cattell which they might meet with, and so kept vpon their iournie till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemore, destroying all afoze them, & then returning through Westmerland, practised the like mischiese there, in burning by houses and corne in all places where they came, as they had done before in Gillingand. And finally passing through Cumberland with the like haucke, at length they drew home into their owne countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and plentie of great riches which they had got in that iournie. [And the souldiers going backe againe toward Scotland, fought with the commons of North-castell at the bridge end, for certeine displeasures done vnto them, in which conflict sir John Berth knight was slaine, and manie other squires belonging to the constable and marshall. About which time also, king Edward (lieng at Litch) to go vnto Eborburgh) was constrained to returne for lacke of victells.]

The Scots inuade England.

Burgh vnder Stanemore.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

About the same time died Margerie Wyse king Roberts daughter. Shortly after also was a truce taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scotland for a certeine time. When king Robert hauing no trouble, neither within his realme nor without, caused a parlement to be holden at Berth, where he required the lords to shew their deeds and charters whereby they held their lands. The lords after long aduise ment taken herein, at length pulled out their swordes all at once, declaring that they had none other euidence nor charter to shew for the tenure of their lands. King Robert was somewhat amazed at this sight, and toke no small indignation therewith, but

Margerie Wyse deceased.

A parlement at Berth.

The euidence and charters whereby the lords of Scotland held their lands.

but yet he dissembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant stomachs: neuertheless, he purposed to be reuenged of their proud presumptions, when more opportunitie of time serued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuised amongst themselves how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, so to auoid all danger that might follow of his displeasure conceiued thus against them. For the accomplishment of this their reasonable practise, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and seales betwixt them, & minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some inkling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be laid by the way for such as should passe into England from them with the said bond, inasmuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings inclosed within his pilgrims staffe.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the manner of the treason, and what they were that had consented to the same, hastily sent for the whole number of them, as though there had bene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise. They were no sooner come, but straightwaies calling them before him, he questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediatlie therewith shewed the writings, which were found in the palmers staffe: and because they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within sundrie castles, till he had taken further aduise in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwik, and there arrested the capteine of the towne, named sir William Soules, and caused him to be conueied to Perth (committing the said William Soules (as saith Io. Maior) with the countesse of Straberne, to perpetuall prison) where shortly after he called an assemble of all the estates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yere after the incarnation of our Saviour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was David Abernethie, the sisters sonne of king Robert, accused as partie to the treason afore said, though being laboured vnto by the rest of the conspirators to ioyne with them therein, he refused so to do, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & lost his head. The people sore lamenting his mishap, for the great valiance which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honozable manie yeres before against the Saracens, and other miscreants in the parties of beyond the seas, where he was called the flower of chivalrie.

In deed the king himselfe would gladlie haue saued his life, but for that he minded to do iustice on the residue, and finding no man to make sute for him, he permitted the execution to proceed against him. On the morrow after, he caused all the residue of the traitors to be brought forth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen against them, he commanded without delay that they should be executed. Then came diuerse and sundrie persons in most humble wise to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinsmen: but he made them plaine answer, that there was none to be found that would make intercession for the sauing of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grieuoullie, in comparison of them for whom they now made sute, and therefore he had them be contented, for they should assuredlie haue according to that which they had deserued. And therewith were the officers commanded to make hast with the execution, which was done incontinent-

lie without anie further respite.

There were some that were accused to be partakers in this treason, but yet for that no euident proofes could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Martell, with Walter Berclate thiriffe of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hameline Reidinton, and Eustace Kathie, knights; besides eight others. But yet the countesse of Straberne & William de Soules were condemned to perpetuall prison. The earle of Buchananes lands, who suffered at that present, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made constable of the realme in place of John Quincie, who likewise suffered at the same time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Keith, together with the office of the stewardship of the realme. About the same time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchased that a legat was sent from the see apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to cease from further disquieting the realme of England, by such cruell inuasions, as were furnished that he wrongfullie exercised against the same realme. But answer was made herevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderstand that the whole occasion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelic proceed of the couetous desire in the Englishmen, seeking to conquer that realme without anie iust claime or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppress the loslie stomachs of the Englishmen; and then if there were anie thing worthy to be reformed on their behalves, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat dispatched home, without other effect of his errand [sauiug (as saith Buchanan) he cursed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

Shortly after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and wasted the countrie before him, till he came to the recrosse, which standeth vpon Stanemore. Howbeit it should seme by that which Richard Southwell writeth hereof, that king Robert was not present himselfe in person in this tournie, but that he appointed the earle of Murray to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feast of the Epiphantie entered into England, and comming to Darington, staid there for a season, whilst the lord James Douglas, and the lord Stewart of Scotland went abroad to harrie and spoile the countrie on each side, the one of them passing forth towards Hartlepole and Clueland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondshire, hauing no capteine amongst them to defend their countrie from that grieuous inuasion of the enimie, gaue a great summe of monie in like manner, as at other times they had done, to haue their countrie spared from fier and spoile.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repared vnto the duke of Lancaster then lieng at Pomfret, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, he would not once stirre his foot, by reason of the discord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howsoever the matter went, king Edward sore grieued in his mind with such inuasion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leaue an armie of an hundred thousand men, that on horsebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be readie to enter into Scotland at Lammas next: whereof king Robert being aduertised, ment to prevent him, and thereupon in the octaues of the feast of saint John Baptist,

A legat sent from Rome to the Scots.

The answer made to the legat.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert with an armie in Scotland.

Ri. Southwell.
1321.

The bishop-ricke of Durham burnt by the Scots.

Richmondshire redeemed from spoile with a summe of monie.

The duke of Lancasters disloialtie.

King Robert inuadeth England.

Conspiracie of the lords against king Robert.

A palmer taken with writings on him.

The lords that had conspired, are committed to ward.

The blacke parlement.
1320.

David Abernethie loseth his head.

Among other were these, Gilbert de Watet, John Cogteknights and Richard Wron a notable warrior. John Maior.

Execution without respite

The abbey of
Holme burnt.

Fourneis ab-
beie.

Leuin sands.

The towne of
Lancaster
burnt.

Bresson in
Anderneis
burnt.

Edward
raiseth an ar-
mie.

He entered
Scotland.

The abbeyes
of Wharfe
or Wharfe
& Durburgh
burned.
King Robert
inuaeth the
north parts of
England, ap-
proching al-
most to York.

Edward is
put to flight.

The earle of
Richmond is
taken.

1323.

Ri. Southwell.
Ri. Southwell.

Yorkeswald
waisted by
Scots.

Baptist, he entered into England with an armie
nere to Carleill, and burnt a maner place that some-
time belonged to him at Rolfe, and Allerdale, and
spoiled the monasterie of Holme, notwithstanding
his fathers corps was there interred.

From thence he marched forward, destroying and
spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so keeping up-
on his tourne, passed Woden sands, towards the ab-
beie of Fourneis: but the abbat meeting him on the
waie, redeemed his lands from spoile, and brought
king Robert to his house, and made to him great
chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands
from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and mar-
ching forward vnto Cartmele beyond Leuin sands,
burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a pri-
orie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from
thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they al-
so burnt, saue onelie the priorie of blacke monks,
and a house of preaching friers. Here came to them
the earle of Murray, and the lord James Douglas
with an other armie, whereupon marching further
southwards, they came to Bresson in Anderneis,
and burnt that towne also, the house of friers mi-
nors onelie excepted.

And thus being foure score miles within Eng-
land from their owne borders, they returned home-
wards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other bo-
ties which they had got in that iourne, comming to
Carleill on the eue of saint Margaret, and lodging
about that towne the space of fve daies, they waisted
and destroyed the corne, & all other things that came
within their reach. Which done, on saint James e-
uen they entered into Scotland againe, having bene
within England at this time thre weekes and thre
daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the
feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie
came to Newcastle, and desirous to be reuenged of
such iniuries done to his subiects, entered into Scot-
land, and passing forth till he came to Edenburgh,
through want of vittels and other necessarie prouisi-
on, he was constrained to returne home within the
space of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertised of
his comming, had caused all the corne and cattell in
the countrie to be conueied out of the waie into cer-
taine forts, whereunto the Englishmen might not
come to get it into their hands, & so to relieue them-
selues therewith. But in their returning homeward,
somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled
and burnt the abbeyes of Melrose, and Durburgh,
with diuerse other religious houses and places, not
sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the
inhabitants that fell into their hands.

In reuenge hereof, king Robert shortly after en-
tered with a puissant armie into England, spoiling
& waisting the countrie, till he came almost to Yorke.
At length, hearing that king Edward was com-
ming towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of
ground betwixt the abbey of Wiland and saint Sa-
uour, there to abide battell; which king Edward re-
fused not to giue, though in the end he was put to
flight with his whole power, and chased with great
slaughter both of Englishmen and Normans, which
were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie
were taken prisoners, as John de Britaine earle of
Richmond, and Henrie Botwile, with others. This
battell was fought in the yeere of our Sauour 1323,
15 daies after the feast of saint Michaell the archan-
gell. King Edward lieng the same time at the abbey
of Winale, aduertised of this overthrow, fled and got
him into Yorke, leading his plate and much other
Ruffe behind him for want of cariage in that his sud-
den departure, which the Scots comming thither
found, and tolke away with them. And from thence
they passed forth into Yorke shire, spoiling and wa-

isting the countreimen vnto Beverleie, which towne
for a summe of monie they were contented to spare,
and so then they returned home wards, entering a-
gaine into Scotland on All soules day, which is the
second of Nouember, after they had remained with-
in England at that time the space of a moneth and
foure daies.

Shortly after, king Robert sent an ambassadoe to
the French king [to pacifie him offended with them
for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of a-
mitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and
France, which was accomplished with this new con-
dition added to the former articles, that if it chanced
that succession failed touching the inheritance of the
crown of either realme, so that a doubt should rise,
who ought by right to intoe the same, the claime and
title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles
of both the realmes; and further, that they should not
onelie remoue and exclude all such as went about
wrongfullie to vsurpe the crown, but also to defend
and mainteine the true inheritoe to the uttermost of
their powers. In confirmation of this couenant, both
the kings receiued the sacrament. And for further
ratifieng of it, they made a prouise, that whereas
(then) they had the popes consent hereto, neither he,
nor ante of his successors hereafter should dispense
with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they
did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void
and of none effect.

In this yeere 1323 (as Richard Southwell repo-
teth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners
from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto
Newcastell, there to treat of some agrément of
peace. For the king of England came Amerie de
Walence earle of Penbrooke, the lord Hugh Spen-
ser the younger, and foure other persons sufficientlie
authorised. And for the king of Scots came the bi-
shop of saint Andrewes, Thomas Randall earle of
Murray, and foure other persons likewise of good
calling. After much talke, in the end they agreed vpon
a truce to indure for 13 yeeres, which was procla-
med in both realmes about the feast of saint Barna-
bie next ensuing. About this time also, or not long be-
fore, an Englishman descended of noble linage, cal-
led Hamton, chanced for speaking certaine words in
commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance
with one of king Edwards priue chamber, named
John Spenser; insomuch that fighting together a-
bout the same words, Hamtons hap was to flea this
Spenser, & thereupon knowing there was no waie
but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with
all speed into Scotland, where he was receiued of the
king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him
for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman,
the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he
called by the name of Hamilton.]

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scot-
land vnto this day, increased so in kinned and hono-
r, by reason it was in processe of time mingled with
the kings blood, that few linages in that realme
are of like estimation. They are now called Ha-
miltons, somewhat changed from the name of their
first beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made
by king Edward the second gardian or capteine of
the castell of Bristow in England, the which he kept
vntill the comming of quene Isabell against hir
husband Edward the second, at that time he deliue-
red the same into the hands of the said quene, and re-
turned into Scotland.]

In the meane time, Edward king of England be-
ing ruled altogether by two of the Spensers, as
Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre in-
to the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as
commons, that in the end he was deposed of all
kinglie

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The bond of
amitie betwixt
Scotland and
France re-
newed with
new articles

A prouise.

Ri. Southwell.

Hamton an
Englishman,
of whom the
Hamiltons
are descended

Fr. Thin.

The Hamil-
tons mingled
with the
kings blood.

Fr. Thin.
1325.
Scala chron.

Ed. Edward
deposed.

kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine secretlie murdered, as in the English historie more plainelie appereth.

Disson Edward the third crowned.
1326.
Ri. Southwell.
The castle of Porham.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his ronne, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the yere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he received the crowne, the Scots ment to have stolne the castle of Porham by scaling, and they went so cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the walls: but the capteine of this castle Robert Baners being warned aforehand of their comming by one of his soldiers that was a Scottishman bozne, suddenlie assailed them, slue nine or ten of them, and took five prisoners alive, but soze wounded, so as this misfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might have bene a forwarning of their losses to follow in the daies of his gouernement.

Whilist these things were doing in England, king Robert though he might seme to have title iust enough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had possessed now not onlie by rightfull conquest, but also by lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine number of yeres, by consent of all the estates of the realme; yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and to conclude the succession of the Ballioll from all claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he sent sir James Dowglas into France vnto the lord John Ballioll, to require him to transpore and resigne all the challenge of right and interest which he might seme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his heires & successors for ever, to king Robert le Bruce, and his heires. In consideration of which resignati- on, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be appointed forth in Scotland.

James Dow-
glas sent into
France to the
Ballioll.

The Ballioll being now soze woyme with age, and thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vnto this motion, considering (as he said) he toke it to be the ordinance of almightie God, that king Robert should insoy the gouernement of the Scottish king- dome, as most woorthie and able thereto, hauing de- liuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie from the hands of most cruell enemies. He called therefore his friends and kinsmen together, in the presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Ro- bert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie in- terest or claime which might be auouched for anie cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir James Dowglas forth of France, with so good cre- pediti- on and dispatch of that businesse wherabout he was sent, king Robert verie iofull thereof, assem- bled a parlement of the nobles and other estates of the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a new act to be established touching the succession of the crowne, which was, that if his sonne David de- ceased without heires of his bodie lawfullie begot- ten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Mar- gerie Bruce his daughter, should succeed in possession of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were sworne to mainteine this ordinance.

A parlement
at Cambus-
kenneth.
An act for the
succession of
the crowne.

The rule of
things com-
mitted to
Thomas

In the meane while, king Edward the third sent vnto king Robert for peace, but forsomuch as it was perceived to be but a coloured pretense, no conclusi- on thereof insued, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert thortlie after fell sicke, by reason thereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to trauell himselfe, he committed the administration of all things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall,

earle of Murray, and to the lord James Dowglas, two capteins, for their high prowesse and noble ball- ancie in those daies greatlie renowned. These two hardie chieftains assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thou- sand, entered with the same into Northumberland, waisting & spoiling the countrie on eche side. [And in- countring with an assemblie of the English at Dar- lington, there slue manie of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against the same came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thou- sand horsemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their comming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and townes, where the enemies were: but yet because they taried not long in a place, but passed on without tarrying here or there, the Englishmen might not come nere to fight with them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be thortlie, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to de- fend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies forth. But comming to the riuer of Tyne, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constrained to incampe there for the space of thre daies, in great scarcitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastle (which was distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carlisle (which was about 22. miles thence) for provision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certeine light horse- men sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their dwings. [Upon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbozed, should haue a hundred pounds of yarelie reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Kokesbeie after diligent search, brought word to the king thereof:] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mounteine, not past fife miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and decla- red what they had sene and learned of the enemies dwings.

King Edward right iofull of the newes, causeth his armie to be diuided into thre battels, and forth- with marcheth on towards the place where his en- mies laie. And comming about none daies within sight of the Scots, he perceived at length that the place which they kept was so strong, that with the heighth of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riuer, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to chose forth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some euery ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to do, alledging that sith the Englishmen were thre to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of ad- uantage which they had taken and chosen forth for their owne defense.

Thus were they incamped nere togither either in sight of other for the space of thre nights, euery day shewing themselves in order of battell, without breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horse- men, which on either part now and then came forth and

Randall and
to James
Dowglas.

They made
Northumber-
land.
Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
1327.

King Ed-
ward the
third cometh
with an armie
against them.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots
are incamped
on a hill.

The English
men sent to
the Scots.

The answer
of the Scots.

The Scots
dislodge.

The English
armie raised.

An enterprize
exploited by
sir James
Dowglas.

The Scots
secretly re-
turne home to
their countrie.

and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes arman might haue seene god emptieng of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceived how they were gone, and thereupon sending forth light horsemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but remoued to an other hill a little off, lieng fast by the same river, and there lay incamped more stronglie than before. Incontinentlie hereupon, king Edward raiseth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill where the Scots with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one ouer against the other, James Dowglas took aduise with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprize.

He chose forth two hundred of perfect good horsemen, mounted upon berie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night season he passedilie by the English watch, that he was not once descried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the moving of the horse feet, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe. But yet yet the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had persed through, euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cordes of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue bene slaine, had not the Scots withdrauen the sooner for doubt of being inclosed with their enemies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglas per returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scottish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this bzunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, took better heed after to their watch.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eighteene daies, till at length the Scots priuilie in the night conueied themselves away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had done sufficientlie inough for that time. It chanced that in the evening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement giuen through the Scottish campe, that euerie man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglas at a certaine houre the same night, but whither they intended to go, it was vnknowne, saue onelie amongst the capteins. Hereupon the English doubting least the Scots minded to giue them a camflado that night, placed themselves in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might see about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scottish trumpeters taken by the English scouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scottish armie was broken bp and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing suffered themselves to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they hasted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for haile they had left behind them; but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 200000 paires of hieland shoes, which are made of the greene hides of beasts untanned. Also they found three hundred hides of sauage beasts set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreover, they had left behind them five hundred dead carcasses of beasts & sheepe,

which for that they could not distue them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were like wise found five Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trees, which were quicklie loosed and committed to the cure of surgeons. The enemies being thus departed, king Edward by aduise of his counsell brake vpp his campe, and returned to London, supposing that he lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

In this yeare died Walter Stewart, father to Robert Stewart, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following or rather the same yeare, M. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruce the prince deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1328. In the same yeare, king Robert wan the castell of Roxham, and shortly after besieged the castell of Alnwick, where were slaine William de Mountalte knight, John Clapauen, and Malisus de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadors sent from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Roxthumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part, and Cumberland on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages done to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert should pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suertie and ratification of this finall agreement and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Jane the sister of king Edward should be coupled in marriage with Dauid Bruce the prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, whereunto all the seals of the great lords within both the realmes were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the marriage before remembered was kept at Berwike within a while after, on the eighteenth day of Julie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this marriage, departing out of this life at Cardus the seuenth day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was greuouslie vexed with a leprosie, which thus smallie made an end of him, in the twentie fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes knownen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not bene the greater, it might haue brought him in despaire of all recouerie: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enemies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the uttermost of his power: yet he nothing discouraged herewith, ceased not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countrie from the pike of seruite bondage (which he beleued would succeed by the government of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chances) he attained the effect of his whole inuents, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same fullie to passe.

This same therefore did spread hugelie, not onelie amongst

King Edward
ward breake
beth by his
campe.

1326, as lo.
Maioir faith,
but that cannot
be, if he
died the same
yeare that the
Scots were
besieged in
Stanhope
parke.
Roxham castle
was
there
besieged.
Ambassadors
sent from
Edward for
a peace.
A peace concluded
with
England in
the yeare
1328, after the
account of
them that began
the yeare at
Christmasse.
Jane, or rather
Jone, the
sister of king
Edward, married
to Dauid
Bruce prince
of Scotland.

The death of
king Robert.

1329.

King Robert
tasted both
prosperous
and aduers
fortune.

The name of
king Robert.

his praise a-
mongst the
enimies.

A question
proposed to
an English
herald by king
Edward the
third.

The heralds
answer to the
question.

The herald
is scorned.

The heralds
reply.

The heralds
opinion.

The opinion
of the herald
concerning
king Roberts
valiance.

amongst his owne people, but also amongst stran-
gers, insomuch that his due praise was not want-
ing, no not euen amongst and in the midst of his
verie enimies. For (as it is said) on a time it chan-
ced that king Edward the third, sitting at a banquet
amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of war-
like enterprises, and of such notable capteins as had
excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length af-
ter much reasoning to and fro, he proponed this
question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by,
commanding him to declare which were the three
most worthy & valiant capteins that he had knowne
in all his daies. The herald aduising with himselfe of
this matter, staied a space, in which meane while all
the companie were quiet, longing to heare his an-
swere therein, both for that they knew his skill was
such as was able best to giue sentence in such a mat-
ter; and againe, for that manie of them thought he
would haue numbred some of those that were there
present amongst those three. But the herald did not
onely know all the noble men within the realme of
England, but also all such strangers as had in anie
wise excelled in Martiall prowesse, hauing all their
acts and valiant doings in fresh memorie, and there-
upon boldly offered his mind as followeth.

The first, most worthy and valiant chieftaine (said
he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie
the eighth our so: he subdued three kings and three
realmes, and mainteined his imperiall estate and
prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was
sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels
against the Saracens got the victorie, & slue two of
their principall capteins with his owne hands. The
third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise
the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruce king
of Scotland: whom the herald had no sooner named,
but all those that were present, with scornfull laugh-
ter began to ieaist at the heralds presumption, for
that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence
honour the enimie with so high praise. At length, at
the heralds request, the king commanded them to be
still. The herald then began againe thus: I beseech
your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offended, to
take my words in good part: for I haue bene euer
of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case
be uttered, receiued, and allowed in your presence;
namelie, where your highnesse commandeth anie
man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I
shall desire you to consider, that if a man must
needs be vanquished, it is lesse dishonour to be van-
quished of him that is knowne for a right valiant
personage, than of him that is but a coward. More-
ouer, to shew plainelie vnto your grace, how much
I esteeme the valiance of king Robert (whome I
perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbred
with the two former most valiant capteins) if truth
might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with
god cause before them both: for the valiant acts at-
tribued by Henrie the emperor may be ascribed
rather to the wisdomme of his counsellors, than to
his owne valiantnesse and prudence: but contrari-
lie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie,
and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, re-
couered the realme of Scotland, by his singular
manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and
established it with such tranquillitie, that he appea-
red more terrible to his enimies of England, than
euer they had bene afore to his subiects of Scot-
land. These or the like words uttered by the he-
rald, were well allowed of the king, and stopped the
mouths of them that toke the matter so strange-
lie at the first.

But now to returne to the purpose. King Robert
a little before the time of his death, called together

into the chamber where he laie, the chieffest pères of
his realme, and there in presence of them all, com-
mitted vnto them the government of his sonne Da-
uid, a child as then not past seuen yeres of age. He
also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule
of the realme after his decease, which he perceiued
was at hand. And first he counselled them, that in no
wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord
ouer the Isles, because the people of the same are of
nature vniuersall, and some seduced and brought to
shew rebellion against the king, into the which be-
ing once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their
due obedience againe, by reason their countries are
of such strength, that they cannot be approached but by
sea, as inuironed with the same. Secondarily, he ad-
uised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the
Englishmen, nor to leopord the realme vpon the
chance of one field: but rather to resist and keepe
them off from indamaging their countrie, by often
skirmishing, & cutting them off at freights & places
of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be dis-
comfited, they may haue some power yet reserved to
make new resistance. Thirdly, he forbade them in a-
nie wise to make any long peace with England; for
naturallic men war dull and slouthfull by long rest
and quietnes, so that after long peace, though lacke
of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to
suffaine anie great paines or trauell.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Englishmen would
continue in peace no longer than they wanted o-
portunitie and conuenient occasion for them to at-
tempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best,
that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetu-
all peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than
for three or foure yeres at the most. He willed them
further, to consider one thing, that when their appa-
red least occasion of warres with England, then
they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduen-
ture their enimies should come at vnwares, and find
them vnprouided for timelie resistance. Herevnto
he desired them, that after his decease, they would
chose some one of the most worthy capteins within
the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Ierusa-
lem, and there to see it buried within the temple, be-
fore the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had
not bene for a long space hindered by vrgent busi-
nesse of warres at home, and lastlie preuented by
death, he had vowed to haue passed with an armie
into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, &
against the Turkes and Saracens.

Herevpon when he was dead, the lords by one as-
sent, appointed sir James Dowglas to take this
enterprise in hand, who willinglie obeyed their order,
as he that had euer during the life of king Robert,
serued most faithfully the bodie wherein the same
heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Dowglas
beare the bloudie heart in their armes. The com-
mendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth
forth (to comprehend manie things in few words) to
be: that he was euerie way a most worthy person,
and that there were few to be found (from the for-
mer heroicall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of
vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so
was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though
his vniuersall good successe and perpetuall course of
victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or ra-
ther wearied with his misfortunes) were verie great,
yet he seemeth to Buchanan to be farre more won-
derfull in his aduerser fortune: whose nature of mind
was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much
as weakened) by so manie evils as happened vnto
him at one time: whose singular constancie appa-
red by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his
valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were at

The aduise
giuen by king
Robert vnto
his nobles be-
fore his de-
cease.

His desire to
haue his heart
borne to the
holie sepulchre

The cause
why the Dow-
glas beare
the bloudie
heart.

Fr. Thin.

There is no
bodie but hath
his shadow,
no rease but
hath his
picks.

at one time bered with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most reddie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Busse oppressed at one time with all these kinds of evils, that he was driuen into extreame pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recouerie of the kingdome, neither did or said anie thing vnbelieving the noble mind of a king, for he offered no violent hands to himselfe, as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marius did he pursue his enemies with continuall hatred. For when he had recouered his former estate, he so liued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembered himselfe to be a king ouer them, and not an enemy vnto them. To conclude; he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and provided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subjects did not so much lament his death, as that they were deprived of so iust a king and goodlie father:.)

Sir James Dowglas then chosen as most worthy to passe with king Roberts heart vnto the holie land, closed the same in a case of gold, imbalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclair and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed forth till he came to the citie of Jerusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This done, he resorted with such number as he had brought thither with him, vnto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turks, and there in companie with them, he did so noble seruice against the common enemies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honoz to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he toke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was driuen on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granada, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon, readie to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The Dowglas, to make his manhood and prowess the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue vnder him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enemies, with prosperous successe, till at length hauing too much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought so manie noble men to their deaths) he waxed negligent, and toke small regard of dangers that might insue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enemies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglas, one of the most valiant knights that liued in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 57 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turks, at it is written at length (saith Bellenden) in Scotch chronicon. He might haue bene right necessarie for the defense of Scotland, if his chance had bene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the pere of Grace 1330.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, we shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne Dauid, a child scarce seven yeres of age, was proclaimed king, and afterwards crowned at Scone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minority, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernoz of the realme, who for the space of foure yeres in the latter end of Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernoz by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recouered their hindrance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addrested therefore certeine ambassadoz immediately after the death of king Robert, vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadoz found the king of England easie enough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of three yeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be provided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrie, if necessitie so required. [Wherefore when he was going to Witone (a towne in Galloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strong assemble of theues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: wherupon sending forth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saying, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Moreover, for the better proofe of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bridles, with all other such instruments and stufte as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stolen or taken awaie, the shiriffe of the shire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finally, such punishment was exercised against theues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than euer it was in anie kings daies before. Anie insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his severe chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might be cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their livings. By this meane he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slothfull roges and vagabunds.

It is said, that during the time whilest such strict punishment was exercised against offenders, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorized and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrie, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the shiriffe: neuertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search

Dauid.

1331.
Earle Thomas Randall gouernoz of Scotland.

Ambassadoz sent into England.

A truce for three yeres.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan.

A meane to haue iustice executed.

Punishment of theues.

A landable ordinance against vagrant persons.

Hyperbolicall commendations.

The valiancie of James Dowglas shewd against the Turkes.

James Dowglas commeth on land in Spaine.

James Dowglas slaine by the Saracens in Spaine.

How often James Dowglas had got the victorie.

and triall, who had the plow iron, that finally the truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie falsehood the partie guiltie was hanged, as he had well deserved. The gouernour himselfe, for that he saw how hard it was to reduce them that had bene brought by in slouthfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that he might the more easilie oppresse all stubborne offenders, which would not submit themselves to his commandements. Those that appeared before him, vpon summons giuen, had fauourable iustice, tempered with much mercie ministred vnto them.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it happened on a time at Haddington, where threescore euill and naughtie disposed persons being gathered together, robbed and spoiled the people on each side: and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a pursuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all taken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which followed the said pursuant at the heeles, and without respect hanged them vpon gibbets to giue example to others. Thorough such rigorous iustice, no rebellion was heard of within the realme of Scotland manie yeres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed, that not onelie theues and loitering lubbers were daunted, but the realme also advanced in wealth and riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enemies thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great felicitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the Scots, but also make for the suertie of the realme of England: for the singular manhood and high promise of this earle was by him and other his nobles sore suspected.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by sleight, which might not be done by force, that afterwards the realme of Scotland might be the more inslabeled, and as it were made open to receiue displeasure at his hands. For king David was young, and manie of his nobles bare small god will either towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement. Whereupon he deuised, which way he might best deuise earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his imagined hope, as to achieve anie luckie enterprize against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch him by poison: and after he had long debated by whome he might worke that feat: finally he found none so fit for his purpose, as a monke of the order and facultie of those, that wandering from place to place, can with dissembling visage say that thing with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order, put no difference betwixt shame and honestie, cloking their execrable wickednesse vnder the feigned shadow of their hypocriticall colours.

This monke, called Iulian, instructed in that wherabout he was sent, came into Scotland, and fawning himselfe to be a physician, got credit within a while amongst the people, to be a man of most excellent knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that being made priuie to the matter, set forth his cunning and practise to the uttermost, declaring what notable and most desperate cures he had taken in hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the time, where all other had quite giuen them ouer: namely he vnted it abroad, that for healing of the stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both

in England and France. This he spake, for that it was knowne, how the lord gouernour was sore vexed with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie worke his diuelish enterprize.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe: for being taken for such a man as he was named to be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handled the matter so with words, that the gouernour was contented he should take him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention, that perswading him to keepe such diet as he prescribed, and herewith to take such sirrups & other things as he would giue him, at length he most traitorously poisoned him in deed. The venem was of such mixture, as would not flea him out of hand, but by little and little waste his entrails, that the monke might haue leasure to escape home into England, yet it were perceiued what he had done. He therefore after he had ministred his wicked poison, found meanes to conueie himselfe out of the waie, and returned most speedilie into England, informing king Edward how he had delt. The gouernour feeling himselfe tormented daile worse and worse in his stomach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he began to doubt the matter, and shortly after learned by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the venem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it was not possible to remoue it.

In the meane time was king Edward come with an armie to the borders, purposing to invade Scotland, for that he thought how the gouernour was either dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he should find occasion to achieve some enterprize, highlie to his aduantage. But the gouernour aduertised hereof, raised a powder, and though he were not able either to ride or go, yet he caused himselfe to be carried forth in an horrellitter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour was comming towards him with an armie, & that himselfe in person quite contrarie to his expectation, he sent an herald vnto him for meane of communication of some peace, as was outwardlie pretended, though nothing else was ment but that he should espie how all things in the Scottish campe stood. The gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arrayed himselfe in his best apparell, that it might appere he was rather recovered of his infirmities, than otherwise weake and feeble thorough his disease, and then causing the herald to be brought before him, where he was set in a chaire, to heare what his message was, which consisting in certeine demands not greatly agreeable to reason, the gouernour with bold countenance answered, that he trusted within short time to make it knowne, what right the Englishmen had to moue such vnreasonable requests, and thus dispatching the herald, he gaue him all such gorgeous and rich apparell as he wore at the same time when he thus talked with him.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not perceiuing otherwise by his report, but that the gouernour was in health, he returned immediatlie with his armie into England, and licencing euerie man to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and as one that had dissembled with his prince (for so he took it) caused him to be burnt for his vntruth. Thus was the worthy righteouslie recompensed, as he had most iustlie deserved. In the meane time, the gouernour returning homeward, through force of the venem still increasing, deceased at Puseleburgh, and was buried at Dunfermling, in the yere of our redemption 1331. He left behind him two sonnes,

The gouernour is poisoned.

The monke fleeth.

King Edward his purpose to invade Scotland.

The gouernour in an horrellitter is carried forth to encounter the Englishmen. An herald sent to the gouernour.

The gouernour answers to the herald.

The monke is burnt.

Fr. Thin: Buchanan.

1331.

U.I.

Thomas

Splight iustice.

Iustice tempered with mercie.

Stubborne rebels sharpe-ly punished.

King Edward enuies the felicitie of the Scots.

King Edwards purpose to deuise earle Thomas (as the Scots doe write.) But this is a kind of practise amongst men to forge dangerous reports to bring princes in contempt.

A monke sent into Scotland to poison the gouernour. The fittest instrument to bring such a thing to passe.

uid.

32.

Thob. Randall noz of land.

affadogs into and.

cefor are.

in. man.

me to suffice ed.

Chment mas.

able nce as baga- rions.

Thomas and John, worthy such a father, they being persons of great valure, and friends to their native countrie.]

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

After his deceasse, by common consent of the three estates of the realme in counsell assembled, Patrike earle of March, and David earle of March were chosen gouernours, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of March) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortly after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the son of John Balioll before remembred, as thus: It chanced there was one Twynam Loxson, a gentleman bozne, but spotted with vile conditions, as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which being put vnder censures of the church by the officiall of Glasgowe: he toke at length the same officiall as he was going towards the towne of Aire, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paid two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long unpunished: for sir James Douglas, before his passage to the holie land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constrained him to flee into England for his more safeguard.

Twynam Loxson.

Scottish lords banished into England.

At his comming into England, he met with David Cumin earle of Atholl, and manie other Scottishmen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being driuen out of the realme, and confederat altogether in one band, remained in England long time after, euer trusting to see some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne native countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceased, this Twynam Loxson in name of them all was sent ouer into France to persuaade Edward Balioll to attempt the recouerie of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and descended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pittie persuasions of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to achieve, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scottishmen which remained there in exile, by whose meanes he might assure himselfe of support inough within Scotland it selfe, after he was once entered: finally he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

Twynam Loxson sent vnto Edward Balioll.

Edward Balioll cometh into England.

At his comming thither, he made sute to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarell towards the attaining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe; he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superiour lords thereof. King Edward gladlie vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the alliance contracted with king David, by the marriage of him with his sister. Wherewith he appointed forth six thousand men well apparelled and araided for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arrivall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll; there was the lord Henrie Beaumont a Frenchman, who had married the earle of Buchananes daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl & Angus [the lords Berrie and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferrer, John Mowbray] & other Scottish lords such as were banished Scotland, when king Robert le Bruce recovered it out of the Englishmens hands. These were appointed to go with the

Fr. Thin.

Balioll to assist him in that enterprise: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English captains, whereupon when all their prouision was once readie, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboard, and sailing forth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land nere the towne of Kingorne, and shortly after, incounting with Alexander Seton, they slew him, and put his folkes to flight.

Edward Balioll landeth in Scotland.

Alexander Seton is slaine.

The earles of March and March gather their people.

Balioll verie tofull of this happie successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called S. Johns towne, whereof the earles of March and March being aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hastened toward the enemies, not as though they should haue to doe with men of warre, but to chastise a number of theues and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to iointly set together in Stratherne, that they might iointly set vpon their enemies both at once. The Balioll seeing the matter brought so far forth, that no feare of death nor starting-hole by flight might auail him, boldlie came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Dupplin nere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should weild his enemies well inough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of March with his power, and incamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about five miles from thence, at Dhirardour.

Edward Balioll at Dupplin.

The Scots that were with the earle of March, having knowledge of the small number of their enemies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither toke heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselves, but fell to singing, dancie, reueling, and drinking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion hereof, determined to assault them the same night in their campe; and thereupon causing his people to make them readie to accomplish that enterprise, in the dead of the night he issued forth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, passeth the same by the ford, where one Andrew Purrey of Lullibard had pight a stake of set purpose, in midst of the stream, to shew them the wate. Thus having got all his armie over the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised; he entered the campe of his enemies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of March, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Here at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lieng fast asleepe in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then buried in sleepe without all defense. And thereupon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and growning of people, as they lay on heapes ready to die, weltering together in their owne blood. And if it had not bene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to weare a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The negligence of the Scots.

The earle of March is slaine in his bed.

See more hereof in England.

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the blood and murder of them, so that they feared none whome they might overtake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, beside innumerable of the commons. A certaine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed themselves together, and in purpose to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellows, returned vpon them againe; and were slaine themselves more mothers sonne. The chiefest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these,

The great slaughter of Scots: sixteen thousand slayn Ric. Southwell.

The earle of March was not slaine in the night as before ye haue heard, but these,

these, the earle of Mar generall of the armie, Robert Bruce earle of Carrick, Alexander Fraiser knight, William Haie constable of Scotland, with all his linage so whole, that had not his wife as then being great belied, bene afterwards delivred of a sonne, all his surname had bene utterlie extinguisht. [Whereupon saith Buchan, Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, William Seintclere bishop of Dunkeld, and Duncan Halduffe despairing of good successe, sware fealtie to Balioll.] There were slain also Robert Keith marshall of the realme, with manie of his surname, David Lindsay of Glentworth, Alexander Seiton, George Dunbar, Robert Strathgoun, Thomas Haldurton, and John Skrimgeour knights, with manie other belonging to rehearse. The earle of Fife & a few other were taken. This battell was fought on the thirtieth day of August, in the yeare 1332. After that Edward Balioll had achieved this victorie thus at Duplin, he went straightwaies into Perth (otherwise called saint Johns towne) and giving assaile thereto, quicklie entered it by force, without anie great resistance. The earle of March that lodged (as is said) the same night that the battell was fought, not past five miles off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and to him, came with his people arrayed in god and perfect order unto Perth aforesaid, to besiege the Englishmen with Edward Balioll and other as then within it. But having lien there a certeine space, and filled the ditches in the meane time to such advantage, that it was thought if he had given the assalt, he must needs have entered, he suddenlie raised from thence, and departed, to the unspeakable damage (as was thought) of the whole Scottish nation. The siege being thus raised, there came daileie great numbers of nobles and commons to the Balioll, offering him their aid and service as his loiall subiects, towards the attaining of his right to the crowne.

Whereupon, perceiuing his power sufficientlie increased, and receiving the othes of the earle of Fife, and William de Seintclere bishop of Dunkeld, he went accompanied with them and a great number of other, unto Scone, where he was crowned the 24 day of September, in the yeare last before remembred, and received there the same time the homages and fealties of a great compaignie of nobles & gentlemen, at that solemne feast there assembled. King David being not past nine yeares of age, to avoid all dangers in that troublesome time, as destitute of succors, by aduise of his counsell, was conueied ouer into France with quene Jane his wife, sister to Edward king of England, and was most friendlie received by Philip king of France the first of that name, so that they remained there with him for the space of nine yeares. And in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remained at the deuotion of king David, understanding that Edward le Balioll sojourned within the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, which standeth almost in the middle part of the realme, and was at that present not closed with anie wall, or rampire, they raised their powers, and besieged him within the same towne, he hauing as then no great compaignie about him.

Whereof when they of Galloway had aduertisement, because the king was their speciall lord and chiefe gouernor, they assembled together under the conduct of the lord Eustace de Hakeswell, and invaded the lands of those Scottishmen that had thus besieged their lord king Edward Balioll, and by that means constrained the aduersaries to leue their siege. Whereupon earle Patrike and the new earle of Murray, with the lord Andrew de Murray, and

the lord Archembald Dotoglasse, with an armie assembled in all speed, entered into Galloway, doing all the mischief they could deuise, with fire & sword, taking & bringing away from thence a great number of cattell and other goods; but they slew no great number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawn out of the way for feare of this terrible inuasion. Thus did the Scots in that part of the realme spoile & harrie each others countries.

In the meane time, king Edward le Balioll fortified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of Fife to the keeping thereof, whilst he with an armie passed into the countrie; but before he returned, his aduersaries (that is to say) the sonnes of them that had bene slain at the battell of Duplin, Robert Keith, Alexander Lindsay, James and Simon Fraiser wan saint Johns towne in the third moneth, after they had laid siege thereto, as Hector Boetius saith. But whether that is to be intended after the first besieging thereof, or now after their last coming thither, I can not affirme; but as the same Boetius writeth, now when the towne was wonne, the earle of Fife, and Andrew Murray of Culibard, were taken, with other of their complices. The earle with his wife and children were sent to the castell of Biddymmie, there to remaine under safe keeping; but Andrew Murray for his treason afore committed, was beheaded. The towne being thus wonne, was deliuered to the keeping of John Lindsay. But Buchan, out of an other author, supposeth that it was not committed to the custodie of anie; but that the walls were pulled downe to the ground. The gaining of this towne put the Scots in hope of more prosperitie to succeed.

And thereupon John Randall the earle of Murray, sonne to earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Dotoglasse lord of Galloway, the brother of James Dotoglasse latelie slain (as before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fraiser and others, gathered a great armie, and came with the same [and William Dotoglasse lord of Liddesdale to Hault] against the Balioll, who being aduertised thereof, met them in Annandale, where in countring together, after cruell fight & great slaughter on both parts, at length Baliols part was put to the worst, so that he himselfe was glad to flee, hauing got an horse without a bridle, and rested not till he came to Roxburgh, or rather to Carleill, as Richard Southwell saith. In this battell were slain sir Henrie Balioll, a man of great valiancie, sir John Dotoglasse, Walter Cummin, and Richard Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruce earle of Carrick, and the lord of Galloway were taken prisoners, and faued by the helpe of the earle of Murray, for that they had submitted themselves to the Balioll but latelie before. Shortlie after the achieving of this victorie, Andrew Murray a man of great puissance and possessions was chosen to be gouernor, as colleague and associat with the earle of March. These two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was minded to invade Scotland with a maine armie, sent sir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen unto Berwick for defense of that towne and castell; [Alexander (as saith Buchan) being capteine of the towne, and Patrike Dunbar capteine of the castell and borders adjoining.] Shortlie after, the new gouernor Andrew Murray was taken prisoner at Roxburgh, by reason that hauing put his enemies to flight in a skirmish which he made with them at the bridge without the castell, he pursued ouer rashlie in the chase, and was inclosed amongst them, and so taken yet he might be rescued. [At which time also William Dotoglasse lord of Liddesdale was sent to Annandale, to defend the west marches.] There was

Galloway invaded.

Saint Johns towne fortified.

Saint Johns towne wonne.

Fr. Thia.

The battell discomfited and put to flight in Annandale.

Andrew Murray chosen fellow gouernor with the earle of March.

Fr. Thia. Andrew Murray the new gouernor is taken prisoner.

Fr. Thia.

U. ij.

was

Ri. Southwell.
Crab, a pirat
taken.

was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countriemen would not ransom him, but to his further grieve had slaine his sonne within Berwike, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

William
Dowglas of
Liddesdale
taken prisoner.

About the same time William Dowglas of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, The flower of chivalrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken: and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were detained in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglas was sonne to sir James Dowglas, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assailing the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance to king Edward, and promising to king David: Edward king of England indged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and hereupon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whome he retained out of Normandie, Anjou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onlie such Scots as would not yeld themselves to the Balioll. The Scots perceiving themselves thus ouerset with enemies on each side, sent John Randall earle of Murray into France vnto king Dauid, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the force of the enemies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwike both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfullie that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie issues and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were achieved with variable fortune.

Edward king
of England
purposely to
subdue the
Scots.

The earle of
Murray is
sent into
France.

Berwike is
besieged.

Buchanan.

Sir Alexander
Seiton
capteine of
Berwike.

William Seiton bassard sonne to the capteine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bassard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittells, the capteine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilest things passed thus at Berwike, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archembald Dowglas to be gouernor in place of Andrew Murray. This Archembald Dowglas raising a mightie armie of Scottishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withstand king Edward from the siege of Berwike to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised an other shift; for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capteine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that vlesse he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afoze his owne face.

Archembald
Dowglas
chosen gouernor
in place of
Andrew
Murray.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the conuenants, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his advantage; but king Edward (as saith the Scottish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respite. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pitifull sight, and weeing with himselfe, that he might haue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes mouing him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the due tie with faith promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had ouercome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enemies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonour should redound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorously deliuered into the enemies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honor and renowne of faithfull & loiall subiects. Again they were yong enough to beget and bring forth new children, where they should be neuer able to recouer honor once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enemies hands, they should seeme to betraye their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and squireigne.

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With such & manie other the like words, this noble & worthie ladie perswaded hir husband to refraine his inward grieffe, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chere vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honor or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honor, for the righteous quarell of their countrie: [at that time R. Edward removed his campe to Halidon hill.] Archembald Dowglas the gouernor, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from R. Edwards armie, fullie resolved to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwike from further danger of the enemies force.

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Yet were there sundrie prudent counsellors in the Scottish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enemies at that present, considering the huge number of practised soldiers which they had amongst them, and the want of skilfull warriours on his side, hauing few with him saue yongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, for that they had bene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselves with meat, drinke, and sleepe for that night, and to prouide themselves readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arraigned his people in order of battell. The vanguard was giuen

Sir Alexander
Seiton in
doubt what to
do.

The manie
stomach of
Alexander
Seiton's
wife.

Sir Alexander
Seiton's
sonnes executed.
Fr. Thin.

Archembald
Dowglas
purposely to
giue battell.

The appoint-
ing of the
Scottish bat-
tles.

uen to Hugh, lord Rosse, having with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and John Fraiser, and John Murray lieutenant to the earle of Murray, who as then was sore tormented with a grievous maladie or sicknesse. The second battell was committed to the governance of Alexander Lindsay, with whom were joined Alexander Gordon, Remold Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the governor himselfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

The policy of
the English
army.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to encounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground, they gave somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they having once got, boldlie turned themselves to the Scots that pursued them over rashly, in hope that the victricie had bene already theirs: but being here fiercelie received by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they enforced themselves with all their might to be renewed both for old and new injuries which they had received, and so drew no small number of the enemies; yet in the end was the Scottish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserablie on each side, as they had bene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their ransom. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtene thousand men, amongst whom were these as principall: Archembald Douglas the gouvernour, John Stewart, James Stewart, and Alane Stewart, the sonnes of Walter Stewart; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bute earle of Carrick, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraiser. This battell was fought on Pagdalen day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

1333. H. B.
Buchanan.

Frisk.

That this number and therewith manie more do abound by one yeare, Wil. Harison doth gather together by the series, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Pagdalen day fell on the Monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being Tuesday, Berwik was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceived, or mistaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margin the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Pagdalen day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Wals. and divers other affirme, that it was fought the nineteenth of Julie being saint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was stricken, is called Hallidon hill.

The towne of
Berwik
belonged to R.
Edward on
S. Margarets
day, as
R. Southwell
saith.

Immediatlie upon this overthrow of the Scottish power, Alexander Seaton and Patrike Dunbar captains of Berwik, despairing of all support, yielded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goods saved, and to become subiects to king Edward. Whereupon, when they had received their oaths, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build up againe the castell of Dunbar upon his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he

was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. R. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leaving behind him with the Baliol, manie great lords of England (amongst whom for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that using the advice and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Baliol hereupon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castles of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, five of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scottishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king David. For Dunbarton was kept by Malcolm Fleming of Cunnirald, Lochleinn by Alane of Crepont, the castell of Biddunomie by Christine Bause, and Argubart by Robert Lauder, the pile of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the keeping of one John Thomson (who were supported with monie by Philip the French king) These captains would by no means neither yield themselves nor their fortresses to Edward Baliol, but defend them to the uttermost for the behoofe of their soueraine lord and master king David.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further vbering the Scots, by their cruell invasions made into their countrie: but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without doing any thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortly after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Baliol was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising there by sollemn oaths, neuer to remove any rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great alteration betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Potowbray for certeine lands in Buchanane (which Edward the first had given John Potowbray, brother of this Alexander.) Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Potowbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

After long contention, Potowbray had the lands adiudged to him by sentence of the Baliol, by reason whereof, David Comin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, favouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Baliol, that to avoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him given on the behalfe of Alexander Potowbray, and by new sentence adiudged the lands unto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had married the inherito thereof, which sentence he was constrained to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. The Baliol (favouring Alexander) and having adiudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the adversaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceived that they nothing profited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions, of which faction Talbot, whilst he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbarton: Beaumont doth strengthen Dungard a strong castell of Buchanane, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole countrie adjoining, to be subiect to his gouernement. Comin (returning to the part of David Buse) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and seising the places of strength thereabouts, acuteth himselfe to withstand all force,

Richard Talbot.

All the fortresses of Scotland in Scots hands, but onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

The popes ambassadors not regarded.

A parlement at Perth.

Strife betwixt Potowbray & Beaumont. Fr. Thin.

1334. Fr. Thin. John Major.

if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, changeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (whereof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cummin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which shortly after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puillance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also driuen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enemies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be reuoked) forsaking the Balioll, joined himselfe with Andrew Murray gouernor of Scotland (for David Bruce) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although done at severall times) we haue joined together, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murray besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might frelie repaire into England: at that time also Richard Talbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cummin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by mariages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. ¶ This yere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Perth castell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grievously wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as he. Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Kainstrew, and there receiuing the people into his obedience, had the keyes of the castell of Rothsay and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane Ailethiriffe of Wote [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothsay, hauing before made him thiriffe.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puillance, by such confluence of people as daily submitted themselves vnto him, & he intiched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good wills. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king David to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of sixtene yeres, was conueied [with bote and horse, by the helpe of William Harriot and John Gilbert] to the castell of Dumbreton, where he was safely receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capteine.

The Balioll being sore offended, that such castles as were kept by his enemies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got together an armie, and the next yere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiuing that this castell might not be wone without long siege, he appointed sir John Striueling to continue the siege with a great powder of men, vntill the castell were yielded. There were left also with him, Michael Harriot, David Wernis, and Richard Paleuill, with diuerse other. These capteins abouting the place and site of the castell, lodged themselves within the churchyard of saint Serse, beside Kinnross, making bastiles and other defenses within the same, for the

more safeguard. Within the castell were two ballant capteins to defend it, the one named Alane Wepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andrezus.

The enemies assailed all the meanes that might be deuised to haue wone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtil sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & stones, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir John Striueling capteine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfirmling for deuotion sake, to visit the thyrine of saint Margaret, sometime queene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Wepont then capteine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine soldiers with him, rowed forth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engins as he had deuised for the purpose, assailed to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept vp the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quickelie againe to the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while ware the hole so large, that entering with more violence, it finally brake downe the banke, and rushed forth with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning by the bastiles and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the deepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yet they could make anie shift to escape. Alane Wepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued forth of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, slue part of them, and put the remnant to flight. John Striueling hearing the mischefe that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a vow neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and slaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that fortreffe, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to go his waies, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent season, in the yere 1335.

In the yere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a sore tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchkeith and the Forth land. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his companie, with fiftie thousand men, came by land vnto Glascolv, and perceiuing there was little for him to doe, for that no rebellion greatlie ante where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernor in his roome, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win those strengths, which as yet were defended against him. David Cummin left thus to be gouernor in Scotland, toke vpon him the role in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands sir Murray and Buchquhane, which pertained to Robert Steward, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be sworn vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that he was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great possessions of his

Alane Wepont and James Lambie capteins of Lochleuin.

A deuise to drowne the castell.

The bastiles and tents of them that lay at siege drowned.

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland both by sea and land.

David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernor of the Balioll in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

I 234.
Scala chron.

Scala chron.
John Maior.

Scala chron.

The castles of Rothsay and Dunnone deuiered to the Balioll.
Fr. Thin.

Robert Steward.

Fr. Thin.

Lochleuin besieged.

his owne, would yet neuer vsurpe anie superiortie to him himselfe in title, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Balioll king of Scots. At what time none would publikelie professe him a subiect to David Bruce, but boies, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, David Bruce.]

Incontinentlie hereupon, Robert Stewart assembled his friends by the helpe of Dugall Campbell of Lochgubow, and suddenlie toke the castell of Dumorne, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as saith John Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimony of Buch. was a man of great power in Argile.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled together to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Stewart in such his late begun enterprises: and being incouraged by the waie by Alane Lile shiriffe of Bute, they laid so lustilie about them, that they slue the shiriffe, [with John Gilbert capteine of the castle of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the servants of Batodanus) seeing such sturs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the shiriffe, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken prisoners, were brought awaie, and presented vnto Robert Stewart, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from paying tribute for their corne and graine. Such felicitie succeeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioin themselves with Robert Stewart, in hope to recouer the realme out of the English mens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruce earle of Carrike, and William Canther [whome John Maior calleth Carruther, & Buchanan. Carrudet of Annandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

About the same time, the earle of Murray returned south of France, and landed at Donibiston, where he was most iustilie receiued by the said Robert Stewart. Shortly after the said Stewart, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and allies [as Godfre Wolfe, and others] came into Clibelfdale, Kanfrew, Lile, Cunningham and Airc, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obedience of king David. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Kanfrew come to his old lords the Stewards.] The earle of Murray alio to reuenge the wrongs done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberdeen, and there learning where he lay, he made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie toke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he sustained his life with beads and rote for a time, and durst not come forth to show his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came forth and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lords that defended the part of king David. They receiuing him vpon his submission, swate him to be true vnto king David, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king David, as he had bene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, Sir William Dowglast of Liddesdale, and Andrew Murray, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie, after they had bene kept there by the space of three yeeres in captiuitie. At their comming to Edinburgh, they found the lords assembled in counsell, at

the which John Randolph earle of Murray, and Robert Stewart, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scottishmen at this time resolued from the king of England, submitting themselves to king David, as Alexander Ramsay, a vertie skillfull warriour, Laurence Besson, John Herring, and John Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

After this, John Randolph, and Robert Stewart, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat David Cummin (being feasted with the sudden assemblie) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streit, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to David Bruce, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: wherevnto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At that time he did not faultie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruce. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Louthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dowglast latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enemies egerlie reuenged the long lossonnes of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murray, which was taken at Bohesbozowe, wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garded with the nobilitie, appointed a parliament at Perth, in the last ends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harbored in the bosoms of William Dowglast, and David Cummin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowglast did vnto Cummin, that it was by his means, that he was not sooner deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Stewart fauored Cummin, and vnto all the other toke part with Dowglast. Whence contention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for as much which they had of the Cummins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the rest of the assemblie, to the therfore of which suspition, they further kindled a conceit they had of Cummins great and changeable will, his aspiring mind, and certaine rumors spread abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man should doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would foine for his defense.)

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and to providing a name of an hundred and foure score ships, sent the same well vittelled and manned to saile into the forth, the which being there arrived, burnt and spoiled the towne on both sides that river, but retiring backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, together with Edward the Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called Saint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was readie to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accordeing with Godfre of Wolfe, & Alexander Dowglast, with other, came to the king of England.]

The same time, when the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Hamure (whom the Scottish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelberland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe through Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited

The earle of Murray and Robert Stewart cleared gouernours.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Hector Boet. saith it was holden at Darke.

Ye may read more of this matter in the historie of England. A name sent into Scotland, shipwreck.

K. Edward invadeth the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Not the duke of Gelberland but the earle of Hamure, named Guy.

The castell of Dumorne taken. Fr. Thin.

The shiriffe of Bute slaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. John Maior.

The releasement of tribute.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray returned south of France.

Fr. Thin. Countries reduced to the obedience of king David. Fr. Thin.

The earle of Atholl fled into the mounteins.

He submitted himselfe.

Sir William Dowglast, and Andrew Murray ransomed.

The earle of Murray and Robert Stewart cleared gouernours.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray returned south of France.

335.

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land.

Not the duke of Gelberland but the earle of Hamure, named Guy.

Fr. Thin.

John Fourdon.

William Dowglaste cometh to the succour of the Scots.

David de Amand a Scottish knight.

Hyperbole.

A woman of manlike force and stature.

The earle of Murray is taken prisoner.

The earle of Atholl revolting to the Balioll is eft-soones established gouernour. The king of England returneth home taking the Balioll with him.

committed on the Burrohoe more, beside Edinburgh, by the power of the gouernours, and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as Iohn Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought verie balliantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglaste, with diuerse other, had not come downe from Scotland hills to the aid of the Scots, whilst they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had wonne the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden comming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edinburgh: neuertheless keeping themselves in order of battell, they fought still: and at length comming to Edinburgh, they were driven by thorough the friers street, and so by an other street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir David de Amand, a verie balliant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enemies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an axe which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him downe together with his horse, that the axe staid not till it light vpon the verie hard pavement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be seene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pavement.

The strangers still retiring, and manfully defending themselves, at length got to the hill where Edinburgh castle standeth, and there due their horses, making no st. were a rampier of their carcasses, so to defend themselves from the force of their enemies: but being incircled by the Scots on each side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke therein to susteine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were sore tormented with cold also, and want of convenient lodging, they pelded themselves the next day, with conditio to haue their liues saued. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered amongst the dead bodies, there was found a woman of a huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell crept forth before her companie, and encountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaws, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe her enemies on each side, long it was ere she might be ouerthrought, which chanced not before she was inuironed about on each side with her enemies.

The earle of Murray having pelded himselfe into the hands of the gouernours, was herie courteously vsed, the earle of Murray not onely rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his more swertie, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murray, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. David Cummin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murray one of the gouernours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much advanced thereby, came straightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith effsones vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and toke the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recovered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should thinke a waie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enemies to the Balioll.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrick Dunbar earle of March, Andrew Murray, & William Dowglaste, with other) toke great despite there-

at, and raising an armie to restreine his insolent doings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Bilsdummie) rose and met them in the fields within the forrest of Bilsblaine, where he gaue them a sore battell, and had gone a waie with the victorie, had not John Crag capteine of Bilsdummie sallied forth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and comming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle David their chieftaine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bide, Robert Cummin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cummin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being Wednesday day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him three thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleuen hundred.

* This David earle of Atholl was verie instant & grédis of gouernment, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grieuouly oppresse the gillie and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fanthe, without reason. Cummin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murray was chosen gouernour in place of the earle of Murray, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murray in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cummins made foule worke in the north parts of the realme, against such as fauoured not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with some encountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cummins, Robert and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuerse other balliant men, though enemies for the time vnto the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland vnto the obedience of king David. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north boundes of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Duncard in Buchquhane. At length this castle was wonne, & all that kept it slaine, except Henris Beaumont the capteine, who being no more neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the castle of Lochindoris, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wife of the late slaine earle David. This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that her house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and to Edward Balioll for succour.

The king of England now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his friends, would be lost without recoverie, if the same were not the sooner rescued, he raised an armie of forty thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindoris aforesaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Whereupon, when he had refreshed the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he toke the countesse forth with him, and passed with bloudie sword thorough Murray, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberdeen. Then he went to Strirling, where he strongly repaired the castle: from whence he toke his iournie to Botherwell, and there also in winter, he made the ca-

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin, Iohn Maior li. 5. cap. 14.

Andrew Murray chosen gouernour.

The Cummins put to flight.

The north parts of Scotland reduced to the obedience of king David. The castle of Duncard wonne.

The castle of Lochindoris besieged.

The king of England cometh to raise the siege of Lochindoris.

The towne of Aberdeen burnt by the Englishmen. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

He stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeley conveyed vittels from Edinburgh, and in one night discomfited William Douglas that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortly lose all the said castles, which he had before with so great care fortified. His name being on the sea at the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had done afore time) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortly after: for that ship (as they tell the tale) wherein saint Colmes gods (for so they call them) were laden, sonke to the bottom of the sea, without force of any tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The stone of
Perth newlie
baptized.

The king of England at his coming to Perth, forth of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne vnfortified, caused the same to be newlie fenced with walls and bulwarks, at the charges and onerlie expences of these six abbies, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundor, Balmerinock, Dunfermling, & saint Andrewes. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oath before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capteine of saint Andrewes. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capteine of the castle of Lucres, William Montacute of Striveling, William Felton of Rockburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Wylfred. Whilste king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this manner, his brother (surnamed by the Scottish writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enemies of the Englishmen, as against those that were fauourers and friends vnto them, in so much that passing through Galloway, Carrick, Kile, and Cunningham, he put all to the fier and sword that came in his waies: He burned the church of saint Bute, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his coming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered doings, berie sharpelie reprovoued him for the same: and for so much as he answered him somewhat frowardlie, he plucked forth his sword, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint John, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place hallowed and unhallowed; as being no reason, that the church should be any more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

Edward
killeth his
brother El-
tham.

It may be, that king Edward due some other man in this sort, as the Scots here doe write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed John of Eltham, because he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made a waie, for he died of a naturall infirmite, as by our English writers it manifestlie appereth. But now to proceed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Balioll behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont due all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had bene at the battell of Halblaine, where his cosine David Cumin was slaine. Whereuer now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Murray came forth of the mountains, into the which he was before withdrawn to eschue the furie of the Englishmen, and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he tooke the castle of Kinclennin, and raised it to the earth. Shortly after he came into Bernes, and there tooke the castle of Kilmessie, and likewise raised the same.

He died of a
naturall infir-
mitie, as by
the English
writers it ap-
pereth.
Edward
returneth into
England.

Andrew
Murray com-
meth forth of
the moun-
tains.
He winneth
the castle of
Kinclennin.

When passing forward, he burned Dunnoter.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on each side where they came, so that the Bernes, Angus, Stermond, and Colvrie through spoile, murther, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Murray assembling a great power, with support of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchanan, fought with his enemies at Panmure in Angus, where he obtained the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduersaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who lastelie before had bene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Balioll, besides foure thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this ouerthrow was verie displeasing to the king of England, hauing his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murray passed thorough Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the castle of Lucres, with all the other strengths of Fife, the castle of Couper onelie excepted.

Andrew Murray gardian of the Scots (and sir David Bruce) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edinburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent coming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they hastened to repaire to raise the same siege of Edinburgh, and to rescue their countreimen within the towne. By means whereof, the Scots removed and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Bretholme not farre distant; betwixt whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (without any great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselves at Calusshell. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balioll.

William Talbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was encountred by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ranfome. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Preston and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, due the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisbury, together with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castell of Dunbar, lieng at the same for the space of 22 weeks. [At which battell also was king Edward, the earle of Gloucester, the lords Berrie and Penill, being in the yeare 1337, as faith Scala chron.] Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got any waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constrained to raise their siege, and to depart without spae of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse vsed manie pleasant words in teasing and taunting at the enemies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir souldiers.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had devised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentise or covert wherof they might approach safelie to the walls: the beholding this engine, merilie said, that unless the Englishmen kept their sow the better, he would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so she after destroyed it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth thorough all the boundes of Scotland,

The calamitie
chancing
to sundrie
countreies of
Scotland
through con-
tinuall wars.
The victorie
of Andrew
Murray got-
ten at Pan-
mure.
Henrie
Mountfort
slaine.

The castle of
Lucres ouer-
throwne.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Two armies
sent into
Scotland.

William Tal-
bot, or rather
Talbois is
taken prisoner.

Richard
Mountfort of
Montacute
is slaine.
The castell of
Dunbar is
besieged by the
earles of Sa-
lisburie and
Arundell.
Fr. Thin.

1337.
Blacke Ag-
nes of Dun-
bar.

An engine
called a sow.

A great
dearth and al-
land,

for a death in
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

The castell
of Couper
left void.

The castell of
Louthian in
the hands of
the English-
men.

The death of
Andrew Murray the
gouvernor.
1338.

Cluidall re-
covered out of
the English
mens hands
by William
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin.
Io. Maior, lib. 5,
cap. 5.

land, with such mortalltie of people, as a greater had not lightlie bene seene nor heard of. The cause of which mortalltie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay untilld and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lordes that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Pzefsen: where Robert Haners was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeasing words amongest them, which caused that they brake order, diuided themselves, and fought in an inconuenient place.] All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittels left the house void, and coming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all the strenghts and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

The towne of Edinburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomack named Robert Pendergess; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but little the English nation, was euill intreated and vsed amongest them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Wnatoun, he ceased not to seeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortly after he slue the said marshall, and after ward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he perswaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edinburgh, where he might find his enemies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongest them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretly on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen sleeping in slepe and drunkenness, before they were able to make anie resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Murray the gouernor of Scotland deceased, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Rosmarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1338. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constrained to cease his pursuit of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must needs haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to proceed, after the deceasse of Andrew Murray the gouernor, Robert Stewart took all the charge on him for the gouernment of the realme, till king David returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Cluidall also was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiance of William Dowglas and other Scottish capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he intioed the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henric earle of Lancasser and Derby, hearing of the valure of these two worthy capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramsay, earnestlie desired to see them, and to trie their strenghts in iusting. Whereupon, there was a day appointed therefore at Werwicke by all the said parties, where they met with their complices provided accordingly. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Crame, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the challenge, but tolled him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordingly, for in run-

ning together the Englishman was slain.] The king of England moued with high displeasure at these doings, sent a right valiant knight named Sir Thomas Berkleie with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Stewart the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two capteins saued themselves by flight.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enemies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited Sir John Strimeling, who had with him nere hand five hundred Englishmen and Scots, that took his part in the king of Englands quarell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas won the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought five times in one day with Sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Balliol, and being put to the worse at foure of those times, at the fift he vanquished his enemies, and took prisoner their capteine the said Sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbretton, there to remaine in safe keeping for a time. For these and such worthy enterprises hardlie atchiued, this Will. Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said Sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernor the said Robert Stewart into France, as ambassador to king David, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

In the meane time, Robert Stewart the gouernor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure severall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Ross, and the fourth, to Spaurice of Spombay lord of Clideldale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten weekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutlie defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they won. At length when they were in maner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arrived in the Caie, bringing with him out of France in five ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scottishmen in that season greatlie to purpose.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Castalgaliard, and two esquires, Giles de la Hois, and John de Wzeise; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpille, who had the charge ouer the foresaid five ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege of Turneie, the earls of March and Southerland made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Haners, & John Copeland, with the garrison of Roxburgh, then in the hands of the English, but after wone by the Scots, on Easter day, at the herie houre of the resurrection; the gouernement whereof seemed to be fatall, because all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramsay the capteine hereof that died with hunger, being put in prison for verie enuie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken effones the

Sir Thomas
Berkleie.

The battell
of Black-
borne.

Sir John
Strimeling
discomfited.

The castell of
Hermitage
wonne.

Sir Laurence
Abernethie
taken priso-
ner.

Sir William
Dowglas
sent into
France.

1339.
The towne
of Perth be-
sieged.

There was
also in that
armie beside
other noble
men William
Keith of Sal-
isbury.

William
Dowglas re-
turneth out of
France.

John Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.
1340.
Scala chron.

the castell of Couper to the king of Englands vse, but by persuation of this William Dowglas, he rendered it vp againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had serued vnder him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serue William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne shortly after his comming was rendered into the gouernors hands, by Thomas Wylzed the capteine, in the thirde moneth after it was first besieged, & in the yeare after our redemption 1341.

Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the coming of the lord William Dowglas, the Frenchman Hugh Hanpille, taking vpon him on a day to approach the towne with his ships, and to giue an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest vessel he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Dowglas caused the same ship to be to him againe restored, and with great thanks and liberall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and contentation; although in their returne, as they passed out of Dumlie firth, they escaped verie hardlie from the shore. [The winter after the siege of Turneie, king Edward went to Melrose, but from thence riding through part of the forrest of Etrike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Melrose, where Henrie earle of Lancaster iusted with William Dowglas (by covenant) in the kings fight. King Edward taking a truce, departed from Melrose, halfe ouercome with melancholie against those that first moued him to this iournie, not succeeding as they hoped and desired that it should haue done.]

In the same yere (as some do write) or (according vnto other) in the yere following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driuen to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and such like vnused kinds of meats, to susteine their languishing liues withall, yea, insomuch that (as is said) there was a Scottish man, an vplandish fellow named Tristricke, spared not to steale children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had bene a Wolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is said) to the gouernor, he went with his armie to Striueling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered vnto him the eight day after his comming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulke the capteine, with his wife and children might safelie passe into England, without fraud or guile of any impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) spaurice the sonne of Andrew Murray was made capteine.] Edward Baliol, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus daile fall vnto his enemies, to auoid further danger, after off removing from place to place, at length he was constrained to die into England, lest he should haue fallen into his aduersaries hands.

Not long after, the castell of Edenburgh was wonne by policie on this wise. William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to provide a ship, and to arrive there with in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garrison that kept Edenburgh castell. This Towers according to instructions thus giuen him, provided him of all things necessaries for the purpose, & so comming into the Forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edenburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the steward of household to the capteine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should

bring them earlie in the morning vp to the castell, that they might be receiued in. Towers hiring a cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp to the castell gate, earlie vpon the breake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked forth a wedge or pin deuised of purpose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the punchions fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed againe.

The Dowglas having in his companie William Bullocke, Walter Fraiser, and John Sandlands, right valiant knights, with diuerse other hardie and bold personages, late in couert not far from the castell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by found of home, or otherwise, when to come forth, he hastened there vpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, first slue the porters, and after into the castell, within a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortress, within the which for capteine they left one William Dowglas, the bastard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whose conduct chiefie, both this enterprise and diuers other were luckilie atchiued. Thus was the realme of Scotland clearelie recovered out of the enemies hands, the Englishmen, and all other that took part with the Baliol, constrained to auoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell of Edenburgh was thus recovered by the Scots in the yere last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

The same yere, or in the next ensuing, the second of June, king David with his wife queene Jane, and sundrie nobles both French and Scottish, came safelie through the seas, and arrived in Innerberuie, from whence with no small triumph they were conueied vnto Perth. About the same time, Alexander Ramsay of Dalehouse, one of the most valiant capteins knowne in those daies, gathering a great power of men, entered into England, and hauing knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in purpose to giue him battell, laid an ambush for them, and training them within danger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chased them most egerlie, killing and slaying a great number of them at his pleasure. Amongest the prisoners that were taken, the earle of Salisburie (as the Scottish historie saith) was one, and the capteine of Rokesburgh another.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, perceiving that the most part of the garrison of Rokesburgh were either slaine, or taken in this last conflict, together with their capteine, came hastily thither, and giuing a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force took it. Wherefore king David in recompense of his valiance thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this castell, together with the shirfwike of Girdale. Whereat William Dowglas took such displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramsay within the church of Halwike, and put him in prison within the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time by the said kind of death (as saith Buchanan) was William Bullocke slaine, by David Berkelie. The death of which two did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

King David was sore moued herewith, purposing to see such punishment done vpon William Dowglas for that rebellious attempt, as might serue for an example to all other how they went about ante the like offense. Neuerthelesse, the Dowglas kept him out of the way amongst the mountains

1341. H.B.
1342. Io. Ma.
King David returneth into Scotland.

Alexander Ramsay robbeth into England.

This Ramsay was so renowned, that euery noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinsman to serue vnder him.

The castell of Rokesburgh wonne by Alexander Ramsay.

Alexander Ramsay taken by William Dowglas, & imprisoned.

The towne of Perth rendered to the gouernor.

1341.
John Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.

Afoze dearth.

Children eaten.

The castell of Striueling rendered.

Alias Rugbye.

Fr. Thin.

Edward Baliol with- draweth into England.

The castell of Edenburgh wonne.

Fr. Thin.

A policie.

teins and other desert places, till finally Robert Stewart and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into fauor againe, and had all his lands and livinges restored vnto him, as well in Auidale as elsewhere.

The earle of Salisburie exchanged for the earle of Murray.

Froisard.

1342.

A parliament at Perth.

The bounteous liberalitie of King David. This Hugh was grandfather to Hector Boetius.

King David inuadeth Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.

King David the second time inuadeth the English borders.

Five Scottish knights taken prisoners.

King David the third time inuadeth England. Foulle weather.

Calis besieged.

Ambassadors from the French king into Scotland.

Some after the earle of Salisburie was taken by sir Alexander Ramsay (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murray, that had bene holden manie yeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisburie was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen; & now was exchanged for the earle of Murray. But howsoever it was, king David after the realme of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of war, he called a parliament at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberallie all such as had either done any notable seruice themselves, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defence & recoverie of the realme out of his aduersaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritance & ladie of the baronie of Balbrid given him in marriage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

Shortlie after vpon the breaking vp of this parliament, king David raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to John Randolph erle of Murray as lieutenant generall, he wold not that any of his owne banners should be spred and borne in all that voiage [although himselfe were there in person, seruing secretlie, and wold not be knowne in this iourne.] The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, conueting awaie with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortlie after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his owne standard to be caried afore him at that time, as he that toke vpon him the whole gouernance of that enterprize himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strengths, minded not to giue the Scots any set batell, but to take them ether at some aduantage, if they strated abroad any where vniwarilie to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogether disappointed of their hoped prey, for 7 Scottish knights, whose names were Stewart, Eglinton, Craggie, Boid, and Fullarton, pursuing their enemies on a time ouer fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redeemed for great summes of monie. At length, king David perceiving that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iourne his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raine and haile, that they had much adoe to saue themselves from perishing through the vniueasurabie force of that so rigorous weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable maner nere hand destroyed with the like rage of tempest. Whereupon king David, to the end that his enterprize should not seeme altogether to want effect, ouerthrew sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either done or receiued. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore desiring all waies possible whereby to saue that towne, and to cause his aduersarie to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king David, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what da-

mage he might vnto the Englishmen, to trie if by that means king Edward could be constrained to leaue his siege, and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subiects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scottish chronicles) king Edward addrest his orators into Scotland, offering vnto king David, vpon condition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not onlie the towne of Berwicke, but also Edward Balioll his old aduersarie, for whose cause the warre had so long continued betwixt them.

These offers being proponed in counsell, though some of the wisest sort gaue aduise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought vp) and other of the nobles hauing young heads, vpon desire to be reuenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (wherevnto they were inclined) wold needs condescend to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands beneficiall offers. Whereupon an armie was leuied, and solemne proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should meet the king at a certeine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Ross therefore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slew the lord of the Isles, with seuen of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and thereupon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Ross [whereby the armie was greatly diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing ciuill warres amongst the families departed home.]

King David, though he was sore displeased herewith, and desired most earnestlie to haue punished that heinous act; yet because he wold not hinder his iourne, he let passe the punishment thereof, till more convenient opportunitie might serue thereto. [Notwithstanding that William Dowglas of Lideldale did earnestlie perswade him, at that time to leaue the iourne, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence.] At his coming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to do valiantlie; but first he created William Dowglas an earle, which William was sonne to Archibald Dowglas, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was vndoubtedly a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; insomuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers; set forth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least forty thousand men in all; or (as some writers affirme) thre score thousand.

King David with that his puissant armie, the first of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a fortrell not farre off from the borders called Lidell, they laie round about that place for the space of thre daies, without gassing thereto any assault: but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, slaying the more part of all those which they found within the house. The captaine sir Walter Selbie was taken alive, but immediatlie by king David his commandement, had his head stricken off, and was not permitted to haue so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to haue done, but it wold not be granted. From thence the armie removed, and went vnto the abbey of Lavercock, which they spoiled; and that done they departed, and passing by Patward castell, and the towne of Medpeth, kept on

Ambassadors from the king of England into Scotland.

The king of Englands offers.

The Scots ready to helpe the French, & hinder their neighbors the English.

An armie raised to inuade England.

The lord of the Isles slain by the earle of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Dowglas created earle of Dowglas.

Ri. Southwell. Two thousand men of armes, 20000 hoblers.

King David inuadeth England.

The lost of Lidell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lavercock.

King David lodged in the maner of Bourpaire.

The abbey of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North.

A herald.

The appointing of the Scottish battles.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Dowglas taken.

David Graham opinion backe.

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The lord of
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Fr. Thin.

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e knights,
out first he
hich Wil-
le, slaine
doubted
ed at that
es, lords,
two thou-
n as they
and god-
ers and a
ortie thou-
me) three

Fr. Thin.

William Dow-
glas created
earle of Dow-
glas.

Ri. Southwell
Edward
land then of
armes, 20000
holders.

rmie, the
and com-
orders cal-
ace for the
o ante al-
ght fierce-
leaving the
within the
was taken
comman-
as not per-
his comf-
one, but it
e armie re-
cross, which
and passing
peth, kept
on

King David
invadeth Eng-
land.

The lord of
Lidell.

Sir Walter
Scribne be-
ded by the
Scots.

Lauracross.

King David
lodged in the
manor of
Beaurpaire.

The abbey of
Durham
spoiled.

The earle of
Northumber-
land lieuten-
ant of the
North.

3 herald.

The appoin-
ting of the
Scottish bat-
tles.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of
Dowglas
chased.

David Gra-
ham driven
backe.

on till they came unto the priorie of Berham, which they sacked; but the towne was saved from fire by commandement of king David, who in this iourne appointed to preserve foure townes onelle from burning; to wit, Berham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darlington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay up such store of vittels, as he should provide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the tyme of his abiding in those parties.

From Berham, where he late three daies he marched to Ebbesfer, waisting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beaurpaire; and comming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in bottles, & to burne by the townes and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and slaughter which the Scots practised with fire and sword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told: they spared neither yong nor old, church nor chappell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbey of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserable sacked, although it was said king David was admonished in a dreame, that he should in arie wise abstaine from violating the gods and lands pertaining to saint Cuthbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North under king Edward, to resist these injuries, raised a great power of men, and joining the same with such bands of old soldiers as king Edward had lately sent over out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes unto king David, requiring him to staie from further invading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a small peace might be agreed upon betwixt him and the king his maister: otherwaie he should be faine to have battell to the utterance within three daies after. King David considering this message, required his folks to make them ready to receive their enemies if they came to assaile them, and on the next morrow, he divided his armie into three battels. In the first was Robert Steward prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March; in the second were appointed John earle of Murray, and William earle of Dowglas: in the third was the king himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Dowglas in the first, the king in the middle, and Steward in the third.]

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Dowglas departed from the armie to describe the English host, and to understand their force and order (if it were possible:) but entring somewhat backwardlie within danger of his enemies, he was chased, and that to such disadvantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather five hundred (as some booke have) of yong gentlemen, and such other light horsemen as he toke forth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chase. In the meane season, the English host waied likewise into three battels, approached forward, and came within sight of the Scottish armie. Whereupon David Graham with a wing of five hundred horsemen, well appointed gave a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to have distressed them: but he was so sharpelie received and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constrained to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

These two discomfures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie upon their enemies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end,

Robert Steward, and the earle of March, perceiving their people partlie to shrink backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to save their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this shewing backe of the earle of March and Robert Steward, brought the discomfure upon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence upon the maine battell where king David fought, that within a short while after, the same was utterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this business king David himselfe did in euerie point plaie the part of a most valiant chieftaine, encouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to do their indouours. Neither would he flee after he saw himselfe destitute of all convenient aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing moze displeasing than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

At length having his weapons stricken out of his hands, one John Copland came unto him, and killed him with one of his fists gave this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his teeth before he did yield unto him. Which Copland is misnamed by John Maior, and not onelle called Comptaunt, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is evident by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a mere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the reeward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murray, the earle of Strathern, the constable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancelor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murray]. There were taken with the king five earles, that is to say, Dowglas, Hise, Sutherland, Wigtoun, and Menteith [the earle of March & the Seneschall fled, but after the earle of March being taken, was with the earle of Menteith (as faith Scala chron.) drawn and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rod house, was found upon king David, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be invincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his jewels which were found upon him at the same time. This battell was stricken nere unto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English histories.

In the yere following, the Balliol, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Northian, and Cliddesdale, bringing a great bootie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balliol abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recovering themselves with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and commons, beside the discomfure for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Steward as governour to have the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Dowglas the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, that was brother unto god sir James Dowglas, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Dowglasdale, Tuisdale, Twidale, Strike forest, & Tweedale. John Copland capitaine of Roxburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men, A. J. and

The cause of
the overthrow

The Scots
discomfited.

King David
his valiance.

King David
taken by
John Cop-
land.

1346.
Scala. chron.
Nobles slaine
in this battell.
Fr. Thin.
Prisoners ta-
ken.

Fr. Thin.

The Balliol
solozmeth in
Galloway.

Robert Ste-
ward gover-
nour of Scot-
land.

Countries re-
covered out of
the English-
mens hands,

John Cop-
land chaled.

1349.

The second
pestilence that
was heard of
in Scotland.
Sir David
Berklie flaine

and came forth against his enemies, but receiving the overthrow, he was chased into Rokeburgh a-
gain, with losse of diuerse of his men.

In the yere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came such a pestilence thro-
ugh all parts of Scotland, so vehement and conta-
gious, that it flue nere hand the third part of all the
people. This was the second time that the pestilence
was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland.
The same yere, or (as other bookes haue) the yere
next ensuing, one John saint. Highell flue, sir David
Berklie knight at Aberdeen, in the night season, by
procurement of sir William Dowglass of Liddes-
dale, as then prisoner in England with the earle of
Dowglass, both of them being taken at Durham
field. The occasion was, for that this sir David Ber-
lie had aforetime flaine one John Dowglass, bo-
ther to the said sir William, and father to sir James
Dowglass of Warketh.

1352. I. Ma.
Sir William
Dowglass
flaine.

1354.

1355.

Sir Eugenie
de Garente-
ris a French-
man, arrived
in Scotland.

For tie thou-
sand crownes.

In the yere following, was the same sir Will-
iam Dowglass, being lately before ransomed out of
England, flaine, as he was hunting in Strike fo-
rest, by his cosine and godsonne William earle of
Dowglass, in reuenge of the slaughter of Alexan-
der Ramsay, and other old grudges. This was the
house of the Dowglasses diuided amongst them-
selues, pursuing ech other manie yeres together
with great unkindnesse; unnatural enimitie and
slaughter. In the yere next following, which was
1355, shortly after Easter, there arrived in Scot-
land a noble knight named sir Eugenie de Garente-
ris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in
number, yet valiant and verie skillfull warriours,
which were sent thither by John king of France,
that succeeded his father king Philip of Valois, late-
ly before deceased, and deliuered unto the gouernor
and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, for tie
thousand crownes of the sunne, to be imployed about
the leuieng of an armie against the Englishmen,
that they might be constrained the sooner to with-
draue their powers out of France.

This monie was receiued, though a small part
thereof came to the hands of the souldiers or men of
warre of Scotland, for the lords and nobles kept it
safe inough to their owne vse. Yet neuerthelesse, the
earle of March, and William Dowglass, gather
their people, and passe forth with the same to the bor-
ders, and entering into England, appoint William
Ramsay of the Dalehouse, to ride before with a
number of light horsemen, to the end, that if the
Englishmen did assemble and come forth to strong
against him, he might retire backe to the maine bat-
tell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Mil-
bet more. This Ramsay doing as he was comman-
ded, made a great forraie thorough the countrie, and
hauing got together a great bottie of cattell, with
draue with the same home wards: but being sharpe-
ly pursued by the Englishmen, in hope to recouer
their goods, he fled amaine, and they following eger-
lie in the chase, were vpon the Scottish armie before
they were aware. The Scottishmen, and those few
Frenchmen that were there, set vpon the English-
men fiercelie, and finallie put them to flight, though
not without some slaughter on their part: for there
were flaine of Scots sir John Holieburton, and sir
James Turnebull knights. These were taken pri-
soners of Englishmen, sir Thomas Greie, and his
sonne, with John Darcas, and manie other Eng-
lishmen.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

1355.

* The taking of which Greie is reported by others
to haue bene after this manner. The lords Percie
and Beuill, gardians of the English marches, toke
truce with the lord William Dowglass, at the time
that he conquered the lands which the Englishmen

had twone of the Scots. But Patrike earle of
March (being in confederacie with Garenteris)
would not by anie persuation consent to that leage:
wherevpon (with a number of others) he made a road
to the castle of Porham, ambushing themselves vpon
the Scottish side of the riuer of Tweed, sending ou-
er a banneret with his ensigne, and 400 men to so-
rage & spoile the countrie, who gathering the preies,
draue them in despite alongst the castle: wherevpon
Thomas Greie, captaine of Porham (sonne to Tho-
mas Greie, that had bene three times by the Scots
besieged in the said castle of Porham, in the reigne
of king Edward the second) seeing the commons of
England thus robbed (and deeming it his part to de-
fend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued
forth of Porham with few men more than fiftie of
the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common
people vnerpert in matters of war; who (not know-
ing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrike
had laied in wait behind Tweed) issued forth to fol-
low and recouer the preie: but being so farre gone in
chase of the enemie, as that he could not returne in
safetie (because he was beset before and behind with
the 400 on the one side, & the ambush laied by Tweed
on the other side) the said Greie and his companie
(finding none other remedie but to hazard the suc-
cesse) forsoke their horses, and on foot (standing to the
extremitie) with a wonderfull courage set vpon the
Scots, whereof more were killed than of the Eng-
lish, but the Scots comping so fore on the English
(not able to resist) they began to flie, at what time
Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken
prisoner.

The earles of March, and Dowglass, after the
obteining of this victorie, came suddenly in the night
season unto the towne of Berwik, and raising by
ladders to the wals, toan the towne, but not without
losse of diuerse Scottish gentlemen, as Thomas
Alaus, Andrew Scot of Balmerie, John Gordon,
William Sinclair, Thomas Dreston, and Alexan-
der Dowglass knights. Of English were flaine
Alexander Gill captaine of the towne, Thomas
Percie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and
Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garente-
ris with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beare
himselfe in this enterprise, whome Robert Stewart
the gouernour, rewarding with great gifts, sent
backe into France, commending him by letters vnto
the French king, as he that had done his dutie in
euerie behalle verie thoughtlie. The castle of Ber-
wik, notwithstanding that the towne was thus
twone, held forth the Scots and Frenchmen, by rea-
son thereof when an armie of Englishmen came to
the succours thereof, they rased the wals, and burnt
the houses of the towne, and so departed.

* The tidings whereof were brought to king Ed-
ward at the verie instant of his landing from Calis
into England, for which cause he taried at his parle-
ment appointed at London but three daies, and with
all speed came to Berwik, where he entered the ca-
stle; whereat the burgesse amazed, treated with him,
and therevpon the towne of Berwik was rebeliue-
red (against the minds of the Scots) to king Ed-
ward. As Edward himselfe being come to the rescue
and recouerie of Berwik, and hauing receiued the
towne, and finding it so defaced, toke order for the
reparing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and
there receiued of the Balioll a full resignation of all
his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. For
there the 26 of Iannarie, the said Balioll hauing
resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, al-
lotted these causes: first, in consideration that the
Scots were full of rebellion; also, because he had no
heire, nor anie verie neere of his linage: and for that
he

Berwik
Swone.

1355

The be-
Cantle

Gallow-
couered

Berwik
wals rased.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Berwik
repaired a-
game by king
Edward.
The Balioll
resigneth his
right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Laleus epis-
cop. Rol. 1.
cap. 57.

whitke
burnt.

The be-
Cantle

Gallow-
couered

The be-
of Poi-

The f-
king J-
ken 721

Archer
Dowg-
taken

3 sub-
cu.

Lesleus epis
cop. Roll. lib.
cap. 157.

he was of R. Edwards blod of England, he knew
not where to bestow it better than upon him. This
Balioll is by no autho^r (as Lesleus saith) placed in
the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound
himselfe (by homage) to the gouernement of Eng-
land with an oth, against the gouernement & maie-
stie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force
inuaing the crowne, he continued not long in the
same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long,
and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which
I can see, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332,
as Lesleus himselfe, Buchanan, and all other autho^rs
do agree. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents
untill the yeare of 1342, at that time he yielded his
crowne to king Edward of England; which was
the last part of ten yeares; after which againe he re-
couered a good part of England. Therefore it seemeth
strange to me, that Rolfe will not allow him a
place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan. maketh
him the ninth fourth king, and so placeth him under
that title, and maketh David Bruce (who was
crowned before Balioll, and gouerned after Bali-
olls departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming also
Robert (who succeeded after Bruce) the hundred
king in order of gouernement; in such sort, that both
these writing at one time (but with diuers affec-
tions) cannot agree on the number of these kings:
one receiuing, & the other rejecting him to be placed
in the catalog of their kings. After this, king Ed-
ward passing forth to Haddington, & spoiled and wa-
sted the countrie by the way on each hand as he mar-
ched forward; and for displeasure that his nauie on
the sea (after the souldiers and mariners had bene
on land, and burned the church of our ladie in those
parts called Whitechirke) had with force of a
rigorous tempest bene soe shaken, and manie
of the ships lost and drowned together with men
and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all
the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spo-
iled, as well abbies as all other churches and religi-
ous houses, as though he minded (say the Scottish
writers) to make warre both against God and all
his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355,
after our common account, about the feast of the
Purification of our ladie, & by reason the English
men did so much hurt at that time in those parts by
fire, they called it euer after; The burnt Candlemas.
Shortlie after that king Edward was returned
into England, William Dowglas of Piddesdale
recouered out of the English mens possession the
lands of Galloway, & the lands of Widdale were in
like manner recouered by one Sirpatrike. In the
same yeare on the 20 day of October, was the bat-
tell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of
Wales, otherwile named the Blache prince, over-
threw the armie of France, and took king John
prisoner, with his yongest sonne Philip, and a great
number of other of the French nobilitie besides.
There was at this battell with king John, the earle
William Dowglas, & to the number of three thou-
sand Scots, hauing diuers knights and gentlemen
to their captains, of whome there died in the same
battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, An-
drew Holieburton, and Andrew Glass, knights. The
earle of Dowglas escaped with life and untaken,
but Archembald Dowglas, son to sir James Dow-
glas slaine in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit
his taker suffered him to depart for a small ran-
some, by reason that William Ramsay of Collu-
thie, who was also taken with him, made semblance
as though the same Archembald Dowglas had ben
some poore slaue, causing him to pull off his boots, and
to do other such drudging seruice, as fell not for the
estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the

end it should not be knowne what he was.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing
two kings vnder his captiuitie, sat crowned be-
twixt them at meate in the feast of Christmasse, ma-
king (as the vse is) amongst the Englishmen in
that season a great banquet. And this he did (as is
reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might
be bruted abroad to his high praise & glorious fame.
King David within certeine yeares after was con-
ueied by the earle of Northampton vnto Berwikke,
where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland
assembled together to consult with him touching some
agreement to be had for his ransome: but because
they could grow to no certeine point therein, he
was brought backe againe to London, and there re-
mained in prison as before. In the meane time, Ro-
ger Sirpatrike was slaine by James Lindseie, in a
castell where the said James dwelled, and receiued
the said Roger as his ghest. This Lindseie fled vpon
the fact committed; but yet being apprehended
and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he
suffered death for that offense.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next
insuing, after king David had bene at Berwikke,
there was an agreement made for his ransome,
whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scot-
land, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Dur-
ham field. It was agreed that there should be paid
for his ransome one hundred thousand marks ster-
ling, at sundrie dates of payment, as was accorded
betwixt them. * After he had bene 11 yeares in
England, in which place also Froissard setteth downe
that he paid but 50000 marks English. And Scala
Chron. saith, that at the feast of St. Michael, David
king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of
silver: for which, his hostages came to Berwikke,
being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne
that was bozne of the sister of king David; Tho-
mas Benelcall that was named in Scotland earle
of Angus; Thomas Demurrisse baron of Bothuill,
and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.]

Cruce also was taken for the space of fourteene
yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of
Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in Eng-
land, till the monie were paid, as is before menti-
oned [of which pledges (as saith Lesleus) most died in
England, by means wherof, the king was deliuered
of a great part of his ransome.] R. David was also
bound by couenant of agreement to race certeine
castles within Scotland, which seemed most noisome
to the English borders: which couenant he perfor-
med. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he cast
downe the castles of Dalwinton, Dunfreis, For-
towne, and Durisdere. He also called a parlement,
whererein he enacted sundrie things for the punish-
ment of them that fled from him at Durham field:
and first for that his cosine Robert Steward was
one of them, being through means thereof a great
cause of the overthrow, he procured that the act (by
which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of
his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the
said Robert Steward) was bitterlie reuoked and
disannulled, and John Southerland the sonne of Jane
his yongest sister, appointed heire apparant in place
of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland
were sworn to obserue and keepe this ordinance.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said John,
in hope that his sonne should introy the crowne, gaue
away the most part of his lands, diuiding the same
amongst his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares,
the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuerthe-
lesse deceiued of his hope. For shortlie after his son
being one of them that was giuen in pledge to re-
maine in England, till the monie for the kings ran-
some

Two kings
prisoners in
England at
one time.

Roger Sirks
patrike slaine.

King David
is deliuered.

1357.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Cruce for
14 yeares.

Fr. Thin.

Castles ra-
ced.

A parlement.
Robert Ste-
ward disheri-
ted of the
crowne.
John Sou-
therland made
heire appar-
rant.

The death of
John Sou-
therland.

As. if.

some

Whitechirke
burnt.

Whitechirke
burnt.

Berwikke
swaine.

Whitechirke
burnt.

1355.

The burnt
Candlemas.

Galloway re-
couered.

The battell
of Poitiers.

The French
king John ta-
ken prisoner.

Archembald
Dowglas
taken prisoner

Archibald
Dowglas
taken prisoner

Berwikke
walls rased.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Berwikke
repaired a-
gain by king
Edward.
The Balioll
resigneth his
right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Archibald
Dowglas
taken prisoner

Robert Ste-
ward againe
ordained heire
apparent.
The contri-
bution of the
clergie.

1363.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan,

A demand
proponed to
the lords of
Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.
Their an-
swer.

Queene
Janes death.
Fr.Thin.

John Maior li.
5. cap. 22.

Ouid.

King David
marrieth Mar-
garet Logie.

He repenteth
his marriage.

He banisheth
hir.

She complai-
neth to the
pope.

Sentence gi-
uen on hir
part.
She depar-
teth this
world.

some was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise did. And shortly after his deceasse, Robert Steward was reconciled to the kings fauor, and ordained heire apparrant to the crowne in semblable manner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland condescended to giue the tenth pennie of all their fruits & reuenues towards the payment of the kings ransome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.] Not long after, king David called an other counsell, wherein (according to his promise made to the king of England before his deliuerance) he moued the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter whereof he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie answer, and that was this: Whether they could be contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of Englands sonne, and to his lawfull heires: [Which thing John Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363; who also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red) and done by the perswasion of Jane the queene, forgetting that he said before, that she died in the yeare 1357.]

The lords hearing what was proponed vnto them, answered without anie long studie, that so long as anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer consent thereto. King David right wilfull to heare them at this point, thought himselfe discharged, for that he was not bound to labor further in this sute, because his promise made to the king of England touching this point, onelic was, that if the Scottish lords would agree, then he should intaile the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1357, queene Jane the wife of k. David went into England to see hir brother king Edward, & died there before she returned (leaving no issue behind hir) [at Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith k. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Scal. chron.) in the greie friers in London beside hir mother. This woman doth the said Maior commend for a most rare person, in that she neuer forsoke hir husband in his banishment into France, & in the time of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in hir life she intoyed small worldlie pleasure, hauing had hir bodie dedicated to the marriage bed. For

*Si nihil infausti duxit culiset Klyses,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.*

According to which, it might haue bene said of this woman, that she might haue bene counted happye, if hir husband had neuer bene oppressed with these manie disgraces of fortune; but then she should neuer haue bene extolled with that commendation, which now to the worlds end she hath amongst the wisest.]

k. David, after hir deceasse, married a yong luscious gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daughter to sir John Logie knight, but within three moneths after he repented him, for that he had matched himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the disparagement of his blood. Whereupon he banished both hir, and all other that had counselled him to marrie hir, confining them for ever out of all the parts of his dominions. She hir selfe went vnto Auignon, where as then the pope with all his consistorie remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court, followed the same with such diligence, that in the end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say) that king David should receiue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vse hir as his full and lawfull wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had she not departed out of this life by the way in return-

ning homewards. * Charles the first surnamed the wisse, being king of France (supported by the aids of Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in which sonne, when a greuous contention fell among the French and English, the last were overcome by the first through the singular manhood of the Scots, which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an order of an hundred archers to be about his person, and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the night) within his court gates: which (vpon this originall) is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in this our age. k. David in the meane time repaired sundrie places and strenghts of his realme, & built a towre in Edenburgh castell, bearing the name after him euen vnto this day, called Davids towre. * About this time (or rather more trulie, as others haue before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356, or shortly after the deliuerie of David Bruce from captiuitie as the third lost do say) William Douglas being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the seas (at such time as king John was preparing his host against the Blacke prince) went with k. John vnto the foresaid battell, being honored by his hands with the title of knighthood: but after, hauing manie of his men slaine, and being enforced to forsake the field, he returned home into Scotland. William Douglas shortly after, vpon the deliuerie of David Bruce from the captiuitie of England, was created earle of Douglas. Much about which at the selfe sametime, the said king of Scots advanced William Hamleie to the earldome of Fife, by the means of the wife of the said Hamleie, whom the king intirely loued (as the report went.) The right of which countie king David affirmed to be lawfull in him (so that he might liberallie giue it) as trulie vested in his possession by the forfeiture which Duncan sometime countie of Fife had done in k. Robert Bruces daies; in murthering of an esquier called Michael Beton, whom he miserable slue in a river for extreme displeasure. Wherefore this William Hamleie surmized that Duncan (to obtaine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make Robert Bruce k. of Scots his heire in reuerence, if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a daughter (by his wife the countesse of Gloucester, and daughter to the king of England) which was entertained in England, and should haue bene sold to Robert the seneschall of Scotland. But she (rather respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the honor of hir estate, rather chosing to be a kings wife, than an earles ladie) toke to husband one William Felton, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the said time when William Hamleie was made earle of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the said Hamleie went away with the honor thereof. After this appealing of certeine rebels that sought to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed to haue gone to Jerusalem: but hauing provided all things necessarie for such a iourne, he fell sicke of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of Edenburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne, and fortie seuenth of his age, which was from the incarnation 1370, his bodie lieth in holie rood house, where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

* During the time that this David Bruce was prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his louing affection vpon Katharine Portimer, a damsell of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with hir) that he could not forbear hir companie, but (as it seemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him, whereat the lords disdaining, and highlie offended with the king therefore, procured one Richard de

Fr.Thin.
Lellous lib. 7.
pag. 256.

Davids tow-
er built.
Fr.Thin.

Scala chron.
Of this man
Douglas
and his deeds
in France, the
English chro-
nicles do also
report.

William Dou-
glas made
earle.

Scala chron.
William Ham-
leie made earle
of Fife.

William earle
of Douglas
clame the
croune.

Buchanan.

Fr.Thin.

He resigneth
his right to
the Steward.

Robert.
Robert Ste-
ward is crow-
ned king of
Scotland.
1370.

The death of
king David.

1370

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

The first com-
ming of the
Stewards to
the crowne.
Fr.Thin.

Strange
wonders.

Yewes barren

Great rafine.

John Duns.

The assemblie
of the lords
for the election
of a new king.

William earle
of Douglas
clame the
croune.

Buchanan.

Fr.Thin.

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ned king of
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1370.

The death of
king David.

1370

Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

The first com-
ming of the
Stewards to
the crowne.
Fr.Thin.

Hail, a ballet of Scotland (in feining some matter unto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so conertlie, and handeled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddenly murdered hir riding from Helros to Seltre. Whereupon, the king conceiving great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honorable buried at Petebottle, not ceassing (as sacre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare unto hir in hir life.)

Sundrie maruellous things were sene in the daies of this king David, within the bounds of Alban. In the 16 yere of his reigne, crows, ravens, and pies, in the winter season brought forth their brood, and ceased in the summer and springtime, contrarie to their kind. All the yewes in the countrie the same yere were barren, and brought no lambes. There was such plentie of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be destroyed. In the 27 yere of his reigne, the rivers and other waters rose on such heighth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of harvest, that breaking forth of their common chanelles, with their violent streame manie houses & towne were borne downe and destroyed. About this time liued diuerse clerks, in that age counted notable, as John Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with others.

King David being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Athquo, about the election of him that should succeed in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the sounder iudgement, agreed vpon Robert Stewart; but William earle of Douglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cumyn, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne aspertained by iust title unto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights, he mainetained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appeared that the said earle Douglas purposed to surpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuertheless he was disappointed of his purpose, by reason that George earle of March, and John Dunbar earle of Murray, with the lord Erskine [which thre were capitains of Dunbarton, Sterling, and Edinburgh] and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Stewart, assisting his side to their uttermost powers. The Douglas perceiuing hereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarell, resigned thereupon his pretended title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worth the discussing.

Then was Robert Stewart conuied to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnitie, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yere of Christ 1370. Moreover, that the firmer amitie & friendship might continue and be nourished betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Douglas aforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in mariage to James sonne to the earle of Douglas aforesaid. & Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue intioied the same to our time: quene Marie mother to Charles James that now that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first attained unto it [of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.

He had to wife at the time of his attaining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Ross, by whome he had two sonnes, Walter and David. But before he was married to hir, he kept one Elizabeth pure in place of his wife, and had by hir thre sonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was married to John Dunbar erle of Murray, and another to John Leon lord of Glamis. The earldome of Murray continued in possession of the Dunbars onclie during the life of this earle John & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the intioieng of that earldome: for leauing a daughter behind him that was married to the Douglas, the same Douglas came by that means to the said earldome of Murray King Robert after his coronation made sundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, James Lindsay of Glenelke was made earle of Crawford. His wife quene Eufemie deceased the third yere after hir husband attained the crowne, and then incontinentlie he married Elizabeth pure [or more, daughter to sir Adam pure knight] his old lemmann, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renewe their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they intioied in adulterie.]

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne John, begotten on Elizabeth pure aforesaid, earle of Carrick: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Pentecith and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten likewise on the same mother, he created earle of Buchanane, and lord of Badenoch. [Besides which he had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his second sonne David, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Stratherne. The said Walter procured the slaughter of James the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortly after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend unto John his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, unto Robert his second sonne, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male, and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend unto his yongest sonne David the earle of Stratherne, and to his heires general either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworn to performe this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemne manner.

About this time, the borderers, which are men neuer desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chieftie liue, that is to say, reise and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, vpon a quarell picked, slue certeine of the household seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Earle George soze offended herewith, sent an herald unto the earle of Northumberland, wardene of the English marches, requiring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to receive

Elizabeth pure king Roberts concubine.

How the Douglas came by the earldome of Murray.

Eufemie the quene deceased.

Fr. Thin. Elizabeth the pure married to king Robert.

The preferment of the kings sonnes to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

In act for succession of the crowne.

The borderers desirous of warre.

Roxburgh faire.

Strange wonders.

yewes barren

Great raine.

John Duns.

The assemble of the lords for the election of a new king.

William earle of Douglas nameth the crowne.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

He resigneth his right to the Stewart.

Robert.

Robert Stewart is crowned king of Scotland.

1370.

1370.

Fr. Thin.

Scala chron.

The first coming of the Stewards to the crowne.

Fr. Thin.

the Fr. Thin. Lellous lib. 7. pag. 256.

Scala chron. Of this man Douglas and his deeds in France, the English chronicles dwelle report.

William Douglas made earle.

Scala chron. William Ramse made earle of Fife.

William earle of Douglas nameth the crowne.

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William earle of Douglas nameth the crowne.

refuse according to that they had deserved: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yere following, against the next faire to be holden at Roxburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murray gathered a power of men secretly together, and comming to the said towne, took it, slue all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Hereupon the Englishmen shortly after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and doing much hurt vpon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting together a great bottie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a soze fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncertaine, that sir John Gordon was soze wounded, and the Scots were fve times that day had in chafe, and as oft got the like aduantage of their enemies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelye discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the maner whereof Iohn Maier condemneth and laiceth the fault of breach in earle Dowglas.]

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Perse earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seven thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sewed together, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small pebble stones, & running vp & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horses breaking their halters and bridles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scottishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue bene assailed by their enemies) perceiving themselves set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

In the meane time, Thomas Musgrave capteine of Berwikke, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Jo. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer a waite with the upper hand. [All which before vntill the death of Eufemie the quene] Buchanan appointeth to the first two yeres of the king, before the death of the quene. About this time, pope Gregorie the xi sent a legat from Auignon to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods pertaining to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the fifth king of France sent ambassadoes into Scotland, to renew the old leage betwene the two nations, and to persuaade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdrawne out of France: which was performed accordinglie.

On the 22 day of October, in the yere 1378, David Stewart was borne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day next following, towne of Berwikke was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir John Gordon other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of Englishmen entring by a posterne of the castell, recovered the towne easilie againe out of the Scottishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scottishmen smallie reioiced at this gains, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought awaite with them from the foresaid faire, they dyed into the countrie such a violent and soze pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue done anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yere after the incarnation 1380.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, under the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the erle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and invading the Scottish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fve hundred men, & stood in a strict till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for haist drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the bottie of cattell & goods recovered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the first as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduenturs, baslie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadoes vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his good fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses sustained diuerse waies of late at the Scottish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do write) to renew the old league & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the maner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadoes from king Robert vnto their master the said Ch. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glascow, with manie other noble men, who in like maner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yere of king Robert his reigne.

In which yere John Lion chancelloz of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glamis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the tress in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancelloz, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had married the kings daughter, he attained to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeres after, and durst not returne home, till smallie through earnest sute made to

1370.
Buchanan.
The truce
violated.

Roxburgh
surprised by
the earle of
March.

The English
men invade
Scotland.

The English
men discom-
fited.
Sir John
Lilborne
taken.
Fr. Thin.

Henrie Per-
se earle of Northumberland.

A policie to
afright horses

Tho. Mus-
grave capteine
of Berwikke
taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from
the pope.

Fr. Thin.
1375.
Buchanan.

1378.

Berwikke ta-
ken by Scots

Recovered a-
gaine out of
their hands.

1380.

The faire of
Pennire.

The third
time that the
pestilence cam
into Scot-
land.

1380.

Fr. Thin.

The English
men invade
the Scottish
borders.

Englishmen
slaine and
drowned.

Ambassadoes
fro the French
king.

1381. Icl.

Anno Reg. 11.

The renewing
of the league
betwixt Scot-
land and
France.

The chancel-
loz of Scot-
land slaine.

Enuie & spite.

The earle of
Crawford in
exile.

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The truce ex-
pired.
The garison
of Lochmaben
Anno reg. 14.
1381. Io. Ma.
1384.
The castell of
Lochmaben
rendered to
the Scots.
John Fourdon.
The chancel-
loz of Scot-
land slaine.
Sir William
Fetherston.
Buchanan.
The earle of
Crawford in
exile.

1378.

Berwick taken by Scots

Recovered againe out of their hands.

1380.

The faire of Penne.

The third time that the pestilence came into Scotland.

1380.

Fr. Thin.

The English men invade the Scottish borders.

Englishmen slain and drowned.

Ambassadors to the French king.

1381. I. c. Anno Reg. 11. The renewing of the league betwixt Scot and France.

The chancellor of Scotland slain.

Ennie & Spite.

The earle of Crawford in exile.

Richardson begg'd.

Anno reg. 12. 1382. Io. Ma.

1381.

English ambassadors sent into Scotland. Fr. Thin.

Truce taken.

Rebellion in England.

Jack Straw

The truce expired.

The garison of Lochmaben Anno reg. 14. 1381. Io. Ma.

1384.

The castell of Lochmaben rendered to the Scots.

John Fourdon.

Sir William Fetherston.

Buchanan.

to the king by the earles of Dowglas and March, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings favour.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Bordeaux, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Saviour 1381, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lords, came into Scotland in ambassage [to thome were appointed James earle of Dowglas, and John Dunbar earle of Murray] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handle, that a truce was concluded to indure for three yeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, having one Jacke Straw and others to their capitaine, wherby on doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conveyed by William earle of Dowglas, and Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway, to holie rood house beside Edinburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their capitaine slaine or taken, and put to execution.

As soon as the truce was expired, Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did daillie harrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Annandale, raised a great power by support of the earls James of Dowglas, and George of March, and therewith laid a strong siege unto the said castell of Lochmaben, & having lien there at the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom having put to flight, they gaue therewith also a sharpe assault to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capitaine thereof, and the residue consented to yeld the house unto the Scots even the same day without more ado, upon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of anie overthrow given to those that should come from Carleill, in maner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archibald Dowglas had got knowledge that the same castell was utterly unprouided both of men and vittels necessary for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie togither, with the helpe of the earles of Dowglas and Dunbar, who joining with him, innironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Whereupon the capitaine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters unto the lord wardens of the English marches, requirring aid, and letting them to understand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should doe his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to doe as he should see cause. Whereupon sir William Fetherston requirring a truce of the Scottish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remove their siege, he would yeld the castell unto them, the lives and goods of them within saved. This was granted, and the Scots ceased further to annoy them within by assaults: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeared, they received the castell into their possession, according to the covenant. And so the Scots having

thus wone the castell of Lochmaben, rased it quite downe to the earth.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had achieved this enterprize, appointed the baron of Graistocke with a certeine number of men to go with vittels and munition unto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortreffe, and finding it unprouided, they might peradventure bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to invade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster having the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giving order to them that should passe by sea that they should be entered himselfe by land, and wasting the countreies of March and Louthian, came to Edinburgh, and took the towne. But whereas his souldiers would have spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without doing anie more damage.

His nauie being as then arrived in the fforth, tarried behind, & first burning the abbey of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their capteins landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskines being brethren, Alexander Lindsey, and William Cunningham of Kilmorris, set upon them, and slew the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yere the earle of Dowglas recovered all the strengths of Glendale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held ever since the battell of Durham unto those daies. This earle of Dowglas, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dowglas, shortly after he had achieved this enterprize, and was buried in the abbey of Melrose.

After his deceasse, his sonne James, or (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earldome of Dowglas, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortly after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Melrose castell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came unto Berth, where he found the lord John de Brian, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arrived in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectly furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and five hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongst them 400 haggbutters (as Bellenden saith) and two hundred with crossbowes: the residue bare pikes, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paid their wages for one whole yere aforehand, and had brought vittels with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swords, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dowglas was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled togither in counsell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that joining with these French

The baron of Graistocke taken.

Anno reg 15. 1382. I. Ma.

An armie by sea and another by land, prepared against the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edinburgh.

The Englishmen discomfited in Fife. The strength of Glendale recovered.

The earle of Dowglas deceased.

James earle of Dowglas.

The Scots invade Northumberland.

1385. John de Brian admerall of France.

200. Buchan. 26 barons, 800 men of armes or knights. I. Fourdon. I doubt whether there were any haggbutts used in those daies, though guns were some what before that time.

The carle of
 Ise.
 An armie of
 Scots and
 Frenchmen
 enter into
 England.
 Castels won.

Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dornoglaske, and March, Archembald Dornoglaske lord of Calloway, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. This armie when they were all together, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, toke the castles of Marke, Fould, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwike and Newcastle, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall rains which fell as then in great abundance, they were constrained to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field néere to the castell of Rochelburgh, purposing to haue assailed the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were wone, they left that enterprise. For the Frenchmen required that if they woult it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoefe of the French king, wherevnto the Scots would not agree.

The Frenchmen & Scots cannot agree.

**They invade
Cumberland.**

The French-
men returne
into France.

King Richard
inuadeth
Scotland.

1387.

An armie of
thirtie thou-
sand Scots
inuaded Eng-
land by the
West marches.
Tokermouth
taken vpon
the sudden.

The forme of
an old Deed of
gift.

The true meaning of men in old time.

In the yere next insuing, Walter Wardlaw bi-
shop of Glascow and cardinall; departed this life.
Also withū a while after that king Richard was re-
turned backe into England, Robert Steward earle
of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archem- 50
bald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into Eng-
land with an armie of thirtie thousand men, com-
ming so secretlie thorough the water of Sulway,
that they came to Cokermouth in such speedie wise
vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to
conuete away their goods: so that the Scots remai-
ning there for the space of three daies, got a rich bottie
together, and returned with the same thorough the
countries of Westmerland and Northumberland
safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. 60
Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling
and ranfacking of houses in this iournie, there was
a charter found of certeine lands giuen by king A-
thelstane, in this foyme: I king Athelstane giues to
Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid and als
faire, alsoeuer yay mine waire, and yarto witnesse
Mauld my wife. ¶ By tenure of which deed it may ap-
peare, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true
meaning of a few words barelie expressed in their
writings, than that there needed so long processe and
circumstance as is now vsed with long studie of
penning, nothing being thought sufficient to assure
the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and con-
cluded agreements.

In this last iourne against the Englishmen,
William Douglas bastard sonne to Archibald
Douglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and
honor for his high prowes and noble valiancie, he
was as well in certeine appoaches made vnto Carlisle,
as in diuerse other skirmishes elswhere. The king
also herevpon began to fauour him in such wise, that
he thought him worthy of some high advancement;
and therevpon gaue him his daughter in marriage,
named Giles, a ladie of such excellent brautie, as hir
match in those daies was not to be found: [with
whome for hir dowrie, he gaue the lands of Fiddel-
dale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after
married to the earle of Arkenie. This William
Douglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a black-
ish or swart colour, not overcharged with flesh; but
big of bone, a mightie personage, byright and tall,
valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, mer-
cie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith
he was of such strength, that whome soeuer he strooke
either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went
where he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the
same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight
hundred, fought against thre thousand Englishmen,
of whome thoo hundred he slue in the field, & brought
fue hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

In the yere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched awaie great booties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men together, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed over with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The towneamen doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioining with them, they diuided themselves into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Steward of Dunsford, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in soine pzeie: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afoze the towne.

Peuertheleffe, the said Robert and William received the enemies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediately after gave assault to the towne, and entering the same person, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fire, and burned it to ashes. This done, they tooke threescore ships which they found in diuerse hauens and creeks there on that coast, and fraughting fiftene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortlie after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Pers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerse towres and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberdeen: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all speed, to revenge those injuries done by the Englishmen. Herevpon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fiftene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle

William Dwyer
glas honored
for his high
professic.

Fr. Thin.

1388

Irishmen
fetch prizes in
Galloway.
William Dow
glas inuadeth
Ireland with
five hundred
men, as Iohn
Fourdon saith.
Carlingford
besieged.

The craftie
Dealing of the
tobacco-men.

The Irish-
men eate the
Scots in two
seuerall pla-
ces.

The Irish-
men put to
flight.

Some by as-
falt.

The Fle of Man spoiled.

Englishmen
borne in the
Mers.

Two armies
of Scottish-
men assembled

Fr. Thin.

Cumberland
 invaded.
 Northumber-
 land invaded.

Without
 of the choicest
 men with the
 ears of Wood
 glass.
 The atten-
 blie of the
 Englishmen
 at Newcastle

Henric Hotspur.

The cattle of
Dowglassie in
campeth fast
by Newcastle

The earle of
Dowglas and
henrie Percie
run together.
The Percie
dismounted
beside his
horse.

An assault gi-
ven to New-
castle.

Froissard some
what varieth
from the Sco-
tish writers.

Dowglas in-
camped at
Otterbome

of Fife, having with him the earle of Menteith, Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindseie of Walcop. The other containing like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Douglas and March, having with them James Lindseie earle of Crathorne, John Dunbar earle of Murray, and the lord Hare the constable of Scotland, with diverse other of the nobilitie (both which (saith Froissard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.)

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedburgh, the earle of Fife with his people entered into Cumberland by the west marches, and the earles of Douglas and March with theirs entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing thorough the countrie, spoiling and wasting the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Fife passed neither fier nor sword, all the way, as he passed. At length both these armies met together about a ten miles from Newcastle. Here the earle of Douglas chose forth ten thousand of the most able men that could be found amongst all the northers, with the which he went to Newcastle, to try if by any means he might take the towne. There they gathered into Newcastle before his coming thither, the most part of all the chosen men from Wexle to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by reason of extreme age was not able to stirre abroad (any thing to purpose) himselfe, but he had with him two of his owne sonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Rafe, verie forward and lustie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was surnamed for his often pricking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that seldome times rested, if there were any service to be done abroad.

The earle of Douglas comming to Newcastle, incamped with his people on that side the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earnestlie, which way he might best come to give assault to win it. Henrie Perie desirous to shew some proofe of his singular manhood, wherein he greatly trusted, required to fight with the earle of Douglas man to man; which request the earle granting, together they ran, mounted on two great courters with sharpe ground speares at the utterance. The earle of Douglas in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in the end he droue the Perie out of his saddle. The Englishmen that stood without the gates, made to the rescue, recovered him on foot, and brought him forth with backe into the towne. Incontinentlie hereupon, the earle of Douglas caused the assault to be given, and filling the ditches with haie and fagots, came with ladders to the walls: but the Englishmen so well defended themselves, that the Scots were beaten backe, not without great losse and slaughter of their people.

Froissard making mention of this enterprise thus made by the Scots, varieth somewhat from the Scottish writers in this place: for he speaketh nothing that the Douglas and the Perie should thus run together on horsebacke (as before is specified) but that in giving assault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Englishmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Douglas was fortun'd to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Perie, and there by force plucked the Peries staffe from him, and in returning hoisted it up on height, saying, he would carrie the same for his sake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raised his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, comming to a place called Otterburne, about twelue or foureteene miles from Newcastle, pitched downe his tents there, that his souldiours might take some rest, & refresh themselves after their great travel, for they had not rested of all

the day nor night before, nor to any purpose, since their first entering into England.

In the meane time the English power was highly increased at Newcastle, for a great number of the countrie came, and entered into the towne the same night that followed the day of the assault. Henrie Perie then perceiving his number sufficient to fight with Douglas, set them in order of battell, & determined to issue forth upon the Scots, and to give them an encounter: but when he understood that they were gone hencewards, he followed them with all speed, for he would by no means that they should passe into Scotland without battell, trusting to recover the dishonour which he had suffered by losing his staffe at the barriers before the gate of Newcastle. Earle Douglas advertised that the enemies were comming to give him battell, exhorted his people with few words to remember their wonted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win everlasting fame and honor, with safeguard to themselves and their countrie. The Perie likewise for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fight manfully in reuenge of their injuries done to them and their friends by the Scots, and therewith commanding the trumpets to sound, he gave the onset fiercelie.

Here both the armies joining together, a right terrible encounter ensued: but because the night was at hand, before they began to loose, through want of light to see what was to do, they were senned in fanner for that time; but remembering that the more would shoulde rise, they determined so soone as they began to give light, to renew the battell againe. As soone therefore as the mornie began to appeare, they joined againe with more malice than before. The Englishmen fought so egerlie, that putting the Scots backe, and causing them to give ground, they had wone the Scottish standards, and so by all likelihood got the upper hand, had not Patrike Hepburne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh. Here with also came the earle of Douglas, and with a great mace in his hand laid such lowe strokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

* The said Douglas the younger, having with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithstanding) most grievously wounded, whom his friends (comming about to succor) found then cast upon the ground, next unto whome lay one named Hart most miserable wounded also. At what time a priest (which had faithfully assisted this Douglas in all distress) did (now the bodie being faint and decayed) defende the same from other hurt of the aduersarie. Douglas lieng in this estate, his nere friends (John Lindseie, John and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he stoutly answered (as one whome the presence of death nothing dismayed) that he was verie well; for said he, I do not now die in my bed (by sluggish desinie) but in the field, as almost all my ancestors haue done. Therefore, this shall be the last thing that I will requite of you; first to keepe my death most secret, secondlie that you suffer not my standard to be throtne downe, and lastlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more patience indure all other things. Whereupon they first seuered his bodie that it should not be known; then they erected his standard, crying (as the manner is) A Douglas a Douglas. At which voice, there was so great a concourse of people, & such a full assault upon the enemy; that forthwith they drave them from the place of the battell. For at the very

The English power increased.

Henrie Perie followed the Scots.

The Douglas exhorted his men to fight manfully.

The Perie with comfortable words encouraged his men.

The onset is given.

They were seuered by coming out of the night.

The battell is renewed.

Patrike Hepburne with his sonne & others of his companie attended him, came to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

This priest was William archdeacon of Aberdeen, as saith Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Lessius lib. 7. pa. 263. calleth him William Loundie archdeacon of saint Andrews, himselfe man to Douglas.

This Douglas was hurt in the shoulder in the lower part of his back, and in the thigh with severall arrows, and had a deadlie blow on his head being unconquered. Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3.

name

name of Dowglas, not onelie the common people, but John earle of Murray (supposing that the same side was in distresse) prepared in all hast to succour them.]

The English men put to flight.

Rafe and Henrie Perrie taken prisoners.

Fr. Thin.

Other persons taken.

The number of prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin. There were slaine but five hundred Englishmen as Hector Boetius saith. The death of James earle of Dowglas.

See more of this matter in England.

Archembald Dowglas succeeded James the earle of Dowglas.

The first advancement of the Hepburns.

The earles of Bothwell.

1310.

12. kal. Aug. Buchanan.

1388.

Fr. Thin. Buchan.

Finally, the whole number of the Scottishmen bare themselves so manfully, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slaine & bozne to death. The chase continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is ever seene, though the more part in deed were taken with their lives saued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Rafe Perrie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne. [But Lesleus. lib. 7. pa. 263. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ransom did build the castle of Bounnure, which his heirs to this day do inioy. There was also taken besides the two Perries, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Lilborne, William Mauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, John Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights. There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortye, and slaine what in the field and chase (as Froissard recounteth) aboue an eightene hundred. [But Buchan. saith, there were 1840 slaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.] But yet the Scottish writers themselves report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Dowglas himselfe was thrise stricken through the bodie, and also wounded so mortallie on the head, that being bozne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous griefe for the losse of so worthie a chiefeiteine, than for the gaine of a great victorie. His bodie was conueied vnto Helios, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbete church there. And because this earle James had no heires of his bodie begotten, his cosine Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway succeeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepburns (of the which this Patrike Hepburne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Otterburne did descend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

It chanced in the daies of king Dauid the third, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a yong gelding vnbroken, the which plaieng the vnrule iade, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anie shift to helpe the earle: this Englishman leapt to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bridle reine, held the horse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefit, the said earle gaue vnto this Hepburne certeine lands in Lothian, whose posteritie increased afterwards in such power of lands and surname, that the same inioied not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right worthie fame and estimation. This battell of Otterburne was fought on saint Michaels day, which is the first of August, in the yeare 1388.

Amongst those that fled to the battell, was Patrick Redman gouernor of Berwick, whom James Lindseie (supposing by the beautie of his armor to be of the nobler sort) did vehementlie follow by the space of thre miles. At the last, Redman perceiving that he was not by flight able to escape (and deeming it better to hazard his life, than othertwise

to be slaine without aduenture) allighted from his horse to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindseie did accordingly; in the end after a long conflict betwene them, the Englishman (being as saith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whome (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certeine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongest the borderers, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue betwene the inhabitants of those places. But if anie do not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is let vpon him for a perpetuall disgrace. That in the assemblies of true daies (to demand restitution of things and injuries done by the one nation vnto the other) they vse that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carrie about a hand or glove painted in a cloth vpon a long staffe or speare to be seene of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamie to the deserters thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be ever after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishoneste; they will not afford them good report or intertainment. Lindseie hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made direclie towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden so nate vnto them, that he could not withdraw himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came too late to Helwcastle (to ioine with Perrie at the battell of Otterburne, because he supposed that the enimies would not ioine vntill the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortly after which, he toke his iourne towards the Scots.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderstanding (by those that fled from Otterburne battell towards Helwcastle) that Perrie was overthrowne, and had lost the field, he returned with his friends to Helwcastle, to consult what he should do against the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising, they should all be redie in armor to seke the Scots. According wherevnto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were assembled, who (with these that the bishop had brought thither) were of all sorts gathered together, to the number of 10000 horsemen and footmen. These stirred the bishops mind, that (with all speed) he should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the successe of battell, for the Scots (said they) wearied with the former daies fight, and most of them wounded, will not be able to abide the second battell. With which speeches they perswaded themselves of an easie conquest. Wherevpon the bishop set forward with his armie, whose comming being vnderstood by the scouts of the Scots, the earle of Murray (whom now all men did follow after the death of Dowglas) called the present nobilitie together to consult what should be done with the prisoners, whom they could not in iustice now kill (hauing receiued them vpon ransom) but it would seme a most cruell part: and to rescue them (being their enimies, and almost an equal number to themselves) it was a thing most dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the prisoners should sweare, that they would not stirre whilst the Scots and English were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were overcome, and they (being now their prisoners) recovered from them, that yet they should still remaine prisoners vnto them as before, and so returne to them at a certeine day. These things thus done, they left the prisoners in

Lindseie had a halberd, and Redman a sword with a buckler which he caried at his backe. Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap. 14.

The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise.

Io. Ma. saith if they breake promise, the picture of him is tied to a horse's tale and drawn about the borders of the countie.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Cliford.

The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

John Maior saith, that some say they tied these prisoners fast with ropes. li. 6. ca.

The manner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a horse about their necks like hunters, and in the battell encourage themselves to fight with that. Io. Ma. li. 6. ca. which I suppose, was also the manner of the English (as may be by manie substantial reasons approued.)

A parliament at Perth.

Robert earle of Fife is chosen gouernor of the realme.

I will leaue vncerteine, haning no certeintie deli-
uered thereof vnto me. This Robert the third rather
lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraor-
dinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in
name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one
vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend.
The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daugh-
ter of John Drummond) whome he receiued into his
bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the hono-
10 of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow
to the common wealth by hir or hir alliance. In the
beginning of his reigne, a truce was taken betwene
England and Scotland, for the space of three yeres,
which shortly after was proroged to the terme of
four yeres.)

About the same time William Dowglas of
Piddisdale was chosen by the lords of Putzen, to
be admerall of a nauie, containing two hundred and
fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed
to set forth against the miscreant people of the
northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clif-
ford an Englishman (who was there likewise to
serue with the foresaid lords in that iourne) to fight
with him in a singular combat: before the day
came appointed for them to make triall of the
battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dow-
glas, and vpon the brydge of Danke met with
him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and
fay of the whole iourne. Whereouer, shortly after the
coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came
that Duncane (whom some call Dalech Steward) sonne
to Alexander Steward the kings brother a-
foze rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great
number of men, and slue Walter Ogilvie thirrie of
the countie, that came forth with a power to resist
him from spoiling the people, whom he miserable as-
sisted; howbeit these his insolent doings were not
long unpunished. For the earle of Crawford being
sent against him with an armie, caused him to dis-
perse his companie, and to flee his wates; but being
apprehended with the most part of his said com-
panie, they were punished according to their de-
merits.

At this time also the most part of the north coun-
trie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans
of those Irish Scots, called Waterans, which inhab-
it the hie-land countries, the one named Clankaies
and the other Clanquhattans. These two being at
deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countie with
continual slaughter and reise. At length it was ac-
cording betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls
of Murray and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the
one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, a-
gainst thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe
swoords to the vtterance, without anie kind of armor
or harnesse, in trial and decision of the quarell, for
the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both
these clans right iustfull of this appointment, came to
Perth with their number, where, in a place called the
North Inch, a litle beside the towne, in presence of the
king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought
according as it was agreed, and that with such rage
and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaies part
were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life,
after he saw all his fellows slaine, leapt into the wa-
ter of Taie, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There
were 11 of Clanquhattans side that escaped with
life, but not one of them vntwounded and that verie
sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they
should fight the battell, one of the clans wan-
ted one of his number, by reason that he which shuld
haue supplid it, was priuile stolen awate, not wil-
ling to be partaker of so deare a bargain. But there
was a countie-felow among the beholders, who be-

ing soze that so notable a fight should be passed ouer,
offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill
vp the number, though the matter appertained no-
thing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man
(as saith Buchanan) seemed to be a saddle-maker,
who for halfe a French crowne, and his diet during
his life (if he were victor) took the matter in hand, in
which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than
he, on whose part the said eleuen did furnie, him-
selfe making by the number.] This battell was
fought thus betwene the two clans, in maner as
is before remembred, in the yere 1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second
yere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wher-
in, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinaunces en-
acted for the advancement of the common-wealth,
the king made his eldest sonne named David (that
was then about eightene yeres of age) duke of
Rothesaie, and his brother Robert (that was earle of
Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue
heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the
first dukes that had bene heard of in Scotland, for
till those daies there was neuer anie within the
realme that bare that title of honoz. [Which virgin
title (saith Buchanan of that honoz) gaue neuer god
successe to the maisters]. During the time that the
peace continued betwixt the two realmes of Eng-
land and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and
combats put in by, and exercised betwixt Scots and
Englishmen, for profe of their valiant activitie in
feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honoz. But
amongst the residue, that was most notable, which
chanced betwixt David earle of Crawford Scottish,
and the lord Welles English.

It was agreed betwixt these two noble men; to
run certeine courses on horsebacke, with speares
sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed
for these iusts was London brydge, and the day the
thre and twentieth of Aprill, being the feast of Saint
George. At the place & day thus prestred, they can-
redie to furnishe their enterprise, and being mounted
on their mightie courlers, they ran together right
egerlie. At the first course, though they atteinted,
yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of fal-
ling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Da-
vid sat without mouing, cried that the Scottishman
was locked in his saddle. He hearing this, leapt be-
side his horse, and verie nimble mounted by a
gaine into the saddle, armed as he was, to the great
wonder of the beholders. This done, he took ano-
ther staffe, & so together they ran againe right fierce,
lie the second time, and yet without anie great hurt
on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles
was bozne out of the saddle, and soze hurt with the
griuenous fall.

And for bicause the earle of Crawford thus van-
quished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, he
founded a chanterie of seven priests to sing in our
ladies church of Dundee, in memorie of S. George,
which they did vnto our time, not without singular
commendation of the said earle. After this, he re-
mained thre moneths in England, in sporting and
feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into
Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his no-
ble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst
them. Not long after, one sir Robert Douglas an
Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his man-
hood in singular battell, with whome seuer would
come against him: he vanquished one Archibald
Edmondson, and Hugh Wallace: but at length he
was overcome by one Hugh Traill at Berwick, and
died shortly after vpon displeasure thereof
conceiued.

In the same yere, Richard king of England,
maried

John Ma. lib. 6.
cap. 6.

Buchanan.

William Dow-
glas of Pidd-
isdale chosen
admerall by
the lords of
Putzen.

He is slaine
by the lord
Clifford.
Duncan Ste-
ward inua-
deth Angus.

Fr. Thin.

The north
parts of Scot-
land sore dis-
quieted by
two clans.

Wild Scots
called Water-
rans.
A battell of
thirtie against
thirtie.

A desperate
fight.

Fr. Thin.

1396.

1398.

The first
dukes that
were created
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Iustes and
combats be-
twixt Scots
and English-
men.

The earle of
Crawford of
Scotland, &
the lord Wel-
les of England
inflicted for life
and death.

The lord
Welles bozne
out of his
saddle.

Passie of the
erie of Craw-
ford.
Sir Robert
Douglas.

R. Richard
of England
goeth into
Ireland.

R. Richard
is depozed.

He is aduon-
ced to perpe-
tually pilson.
The escape of
pilson.

R. Richard
birth at Sher-
ring and lieth
buried there.
Henrie the
sixth king of
England is
crowned.
1399. I. Ma.

1400.

The occasion
of the falling
out betwixt
king Robert
and the earle
of March

The earle of
March lieth
into England.

The castell
of Dunbar
sized to the
kings etc.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert
lieth vnto
the earle of
March.

Richard
of England
goeth into
Ireland.

Richard
is deposed.

He is adju-
ged to perpe-
tual prison.
He escapeth
forth of
prison.

Richard
born at Ster-
ling and lieth
buried there.
Henrie the
fourth king of
England is
crowned.
1399. I. Ma.

1400.

The occasion
of the falling
out betwixt
king Robert
and the earle
of March.

The earle of
March flieth
into England.

The castell
of Dunbar
sized to the
kings use.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert
writeth unto
the earle of
March.

married Isabell daughter to the French king, and
some after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish
rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrey.
But in the meane time, his lordes at home rebelled
against him, and determined to depose him from the
crown, so that upon his returne into England, he
was apprehended, put in ward, and shortly after
constrained to renounce all his right to the crowne,
and adjudged therewith to perpetual prison: yet at
length (as the Scottish chronicle telleth) he got forth
of prison disguised in womans apparell, and came in-
to Galloway, where he fell in service with a Scottish
man named Makdonald. But at the last, being be-
trayed and known what he was, and thereupon
brought to king Robert, he was right honorably by
him intertained: neuertheless, knowing himselfe
deposed from his totall estate, he gave himselfe whol-
ly to contemplation, till finally he departed this
world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke
friars there within the same towne, as the same
Scottish chronicles vntrollie do report. But to the
matter, Henrie the sonne of John of Gaunt, some-
time duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard
was deposed, was crowned king of England at
Westminster, the thirteenth day of October, in the
yere 1399.

In the yere next ensuing, that is to say, 1400,
king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie
to him aforehand paid, contracted covenants of ma-
riage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke
of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But
Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation
that the earle of March should be preferred before
him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a
councell to be called, in the which he found meanes to
assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie
(as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie,
with all speed went about to consummate the ma-
riage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all
doubt. The earle of March perceiving this dealing,
came to the king, and required to know his pleasure,
if he minded to performe the covenants concluded,
concerning the marriage betwixt the prince and his
daughter, or not; making as it were a great com-
plaint of that which was already done to the breach
thereof; and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to
his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking
to say, he would be reuenged on such vnturth yer it
were long. Shortly after he fled into England, lea-
uing his castell of Dunbar well stocked of all things
necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters
sonne named Robert Spaitland. But when Archem-
bald Dowglas came thither in the kings name,
and required to haue the castell rendered into his
hands, this Robert Spaitland obeyed the kings com-
mandement, and deliuered the house to the said
Dowglas.

George earle of March informed hereof, procu-
red all his friends to conueie themselves into Eng-
land, and determined with himselfe to do all the dis-
pleasure and mischief he might inuent against his
owne native countrey. King Robert sore dreading,
least by this earles procurement some trouble might
hap to follow amongst his subiects [did first confis-
cating his goods] send an herald at armes into Eng-
land with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure
of the same, not onely to pardon him of all offences
committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or iniu-
ries which he had anie waies forth received, if he
would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the
earle of March refused this offer, the same herald ac-
cording to instructions giuen him at his departure
from king Robert, went immediatly to Henrie
king of England with other letters, earnestly desir-

ring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of
his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scot-
land into his bounds, whereby the peace might be bi-
olated, which as yet remained betwixt the two king-
domes.

King Henrie upon reasonable allegations (as he
pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions
in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake be-
twixt them and their subiects, without anie further
tracting of time. For shortly after, Henrie Berke-
sford (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle
of March entered into Scotland, and got togither a
great bottie of goods and cattell [in Louthian about
Haddington, at what time they did in vaine besiege
the castell of Pais or Pais, who being at Lintone
were come vpon by the Scots, for to haue returne of
the booties taken] Archembald earle of Dowglas
hauing assembled a powre of men, came with the
same towards the enemies, immediatly whereupon
they fled to Berwik, and left all their bootie behind
them, which being recovered by the said earle of
Dowglas and his companie, he returned backe vnto
Edenburgh, where he shortly after being taken
with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leaving
behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for
his high power and noble valiance shewed in ma-
nie and sundrie enterprizes, by him luckilie atchieued
for the wealth of his countrey. He was named of his
terrible countenance and dreadfull looke, The grim
Dowglas.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was cal-
led likewise Archembald, was made earle of Dow-
glas; for his eldest sonne William Dowglas died
in the yere before his father. Shortly after, Henrie
king of England came into Scotland with an ar-
mie, without doing anie great damage to the peo-
ple; for he required no more of them that kept anie
castles or strengths, but onely to put forth a banner
of his armes as he passed by. At his coming to Ha-
dington, he was lodged in the nunnrie there, & shew-
ed much bounteous humilitie toward the nuns, and
all other of that house, not suffering anie manner of
thing to be done preiudiciall to the same. The like
gentleness he vsed towards them of the Holie rood
house, at his coming to Edenburgh, wherein he
likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the
friendlie intertainment, which his father the duke
of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of
his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in
England, through Iacke Straw and his complices,
he shewed such fauour towards them at this present.
To be brieft, it should appere, that king Henrie
came into Scotland, as it were enforced, more thro-
ugh counsell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he
bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in retur-
ning backe againe, without doing them anie fur-
ther iniurie.

[In the yere after, or thereabout, died Walter
Traillie bishop of saint Andrewes, and the] Scottish
quene Annabell Drummond, after whose deceasse
hir sonne David the duke of Rothsaie, that vnder hir
government had bene well and vertuously brought
vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to
all kind of insolent outrage, seeking to besle wiues,
virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all
places where he came. At length, his father percei-
uing his sonnes youthful nature to rage after that
manner in vnbideled lust, beyond the bounds of all
measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to
his brother the duke of Albanie, requiring him to
take his sonne, the said duke of Rothsaie into his cu-
stodie, and to see him chastised for his wanton beha-
uour, as he might learne to amend the same. Here
is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long

13 b. j. time

sent letters
also vnto the
king of Eng-
land.

Henrie Hot-
spur and the
earle of March
enter into
Scotland.
Fr. Thin.

The deceasse
of Archembald
earle of Dow-
glas.

Henrie king
of England
inuaadeth
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
The death of
quene Annabell
Drummond.

The insolent
outrage of the
duke of Roth-
saie.

(as the Scottish writers haue) but the English authors name a farre greater number, as sixtene hundred at the least.

King Henrie (as the same Scottish writers doe record) used the counsell & aduise of the earle of March, in the obtaining of this victorie, being dead latelie before from the rebels side to him. The earle of Douglas, in respect of his noble parentage and high valiance, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Henrie, who for that he had sene him do so valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him worthy of all honor. The earle of Douglas yet was verie infortunat in most of his enterprises, so farre forth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembald Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Hommildon he lost one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shewelburie he lost one of his stones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing that euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen had found in their rebellious enterprisse at Shewelburie, with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Wardlow bishop of saint Andrewes, and lodged with him at his ease and in good libertie within his castell of saint Andrewes aforesaid.

About the same time, king Robert was aduertised, that his sonne the duke of Rothsaie was pined to death in Falkland (in manner as before is expressed) which newes were so gracious vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in sorrow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it so long as was possible from the kings knowledge, and being not sent for by the king to answer him for such treasonable slaughter of his sonne, he came, and so executed the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had bene nothing guiltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised (if it might please the king to come vnto Edinburgh) he would bring in the offenders which were culpable of the murder. The king as then remaining in Bute (where for the most part he euer sojourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reason of long sickness, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edinburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sons death punished. And at his comming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certayne naughtie persons, & such in deed, as for their heinous acts and vnguarantions conditions deserued well to die (though not for this matter) which neuerthelesse by vntreue suggestions and forged accufements, being brought before corrupt iudges (and such as the duke of Albanie had provided for his purpose) were condemned as guiltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer saw.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as was possible, and made so sound and cleare as could be deuised; yet was not the king so satisfied in his mind, but that he had a great suspicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his sonnes death; but for so much as the duke had all the realme vnder his obedience, partly by policie, and partly by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durst not attempt anie thing against him, but rather doubted, least he hauing an ambitious desire to the crowne, would compass also to haue the life of his second sonne (named James) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduise of Walter Wardlow the bishop of saint Andrewes, he provided a ship, and sent the said prince forth in the same to passe into France to R. Charles the first, deliuering him also a letter written and directed

vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at vntowares by anie fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

Henrie lord Sinclair, the second earle of Dakenie, was appointed to haue the conuie of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, took the ship that was appointed for them at the Basse, where it laye at anchor, and losing from thence, they sailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as some say) they were taken on the sea by Englishmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland should passe that waies, laye in wait for him. Others write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not alwaie with the aire of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & stomach therewith. But howsoeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Englishmen by the space of eightene yeares. At his comming to the presence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here insueth, as in the Scottish tongue they be written.

James prince of Scotland taken by the Englishmen. H.B. 1404.

The tenor of the said letter as it is written in the Scottish toong.

Robert king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitie, and iustice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in Scotland; howbeit like things had bene vncertaine to vs afoze. For though thou seemed as enemy with most abussfull incursions in our realme; sit we found mair humanities and pleasures than damage (by thy cumming) to our subdittes. Speciallie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcastell the time of his exill in Scotland. We may not ceis yairfore, while we are on life, but aye luf and loif thee as mair noble and worthie prince, to ioy thy realme. For yocht realmes and nations contend among themselves for conquests of glorie & launds, sit na occasion is among vs to inuade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erat to contend among our selfe, quhay fall persew othir with mair humanitie and kindnesse. As to vs we will meis all occasion of battell, quare any occures at thy pleasure. Forther, because we haue na lesse sollicitude in preserving our children fra certaine deidlie enemies, than had sometime thy noble fader, we are constrained to seeke support at vncowth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasion of enemies is sa great, that small defense occures against yame without they by preserved by amitie of nobill men. For the world is sa full of peruerse malice, that na crueltie nor offense may be deuist in erd, bot the samme may be brought motion of gold or siluer. Heirfore, because we know thy hynesse full of monie, noble vertues, with like puissance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we desire thy

B b.

huma-

The earle of Douglas in-
formet in
battell.
his surname
Tinneman.

The earle of
Northumber-
land & into
Scotland.

The death of
the duke of
Rothsaie com-
meth to the
knowledge of
his father.

The duke of
Albanie excu-
sith himselfe.

The king
commeth to
Edinburgh.

Guiltie per-
sons condemn-
ed.

The suspici-
on of the king
towards the
duke of Alba-
nie.

The king sen-
deth away his
sonne the
prince.